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Hinduism: Anc

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Two Papers contributed to the Internat
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BY

RAI BAHADUR LALA BAIJ NATH, B. A.

of the

*N.-W. P. Judicial Service, and Fellow of the Universit
of Allahabad.*

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AND

or of Legal Maxims in Urdu illustrated from British Indian Law,
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Social Reform, etc., etc.

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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and has been recommended by the Text-book Committee
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To

THE VENERABLE

The Late Swami Bhaskaranand

OF BENARES.

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED

BY

ONE OF HIS LOVING DISCIPLES

AS

A TOKEN

OF

LOVE AND REVERENCE.

PREFACE.

THIS is partly a reprint and partly an enlarged and amended version of some papers contributed by me to the National Oriental Congresses of Paris in 1897, and of Rome in 1899. The first section now headed "Social and Personal," is in part a reprint of a paper contributed to the Oriental Congress of Rome under the title of "The religious situation of the Hindu Society in India," while the second section is an enlarged version of the concluding portion of that paper. The third section, headed "Philosophy," is partly a reprint, with some additions and alterations, of a paper contributed to the Oriental Congress of Paris in September 1897, and published in their report, while its second portion is an elaboration of the concluding section of that paper. Section IV is an entirely new section.

The object of the publication is to present the teachings of Hinduism, as gathered from its most authentic and recognized sources, on all important phases of the social, religious and philosophic life of the Hindus, in a simple manner, free from unnecessary details, technicality, and all controversial matter, in order to induce modern Indians to approach their religion in a more appreciative and reverent spirit, and foreign thinkers to study it in a spirit of greater love and sympathy. The treatment is in no sense full or exhaustive, but I hope that with the present revival of Hinduism so noticeable in India, others possessing greater knowledge and wider opportunities for observation, will take up each of the subjects treated of in these pages in greater detail and do fuller justice to them than I have been able to do.

My studies of the Hindu S'astras in the original, my visits to many of the chief places of India and Europe, and my observation of the daily life of the Hindus, have left upon me the deep impression that the future of this country lies neither with the out-and-out revivalist, nor with the out-and-out iconoclast who would entirely alienate himself from the past, and would have Hindu Society remodelled according to methods of present Western culture. The latter mistake has been made in France with the result that the French are now less prosperous as a nation than they were before. On the other hand I also feel that the Hindus cannot, like any other nation of the world, wait and let their social and religous institutions take care of themselves, nor claim perfection for all that is taught in the S'astras, ancient or modern. The only course therefore open to them, is to adapt ancient institutions to modern circumstances, retain so much of the old as is suited to modern times, and gradually make the necessary changes in the remainder. These, I believe, are the lines on which the best and most thoughtful of Indian reformers have moved in the past and are moving at present. I do not advocate the doctrines of any sect or cult of Hinduism, ancient or modern, but have only ventured to give a brief outline of Hinduism in its most catholic spirit, and feel that in spite of all differences of caste or sect, there is still

much common ground upon which all Hindus could meet and wor for their country's good. My advocacy of Sanskrit as the commo national language of India for purposes of higher religious instruc tion, and the improvement of the vernaculars for conveying the sam to the masses, will, I hope, have the sympathy of not only my Hindu but of my foreign readers also. On the other hand, in holding u Rama and Krishna, as described by their contemporaries, as nationa ideals, I feel almost sure of the reader's concurrence in the convic tion that, without a human person or persons to whom a nation could assimilate its life, it cannot be great. I have described both these heroes only as men, though the highest and the best men of India, and I think that apart from the disputed question of their being incarnations of the Deity, their lives *as men* furnish the loftiest ideals for modern educated Indians to follow. I have therefore tried to show at some length what they really did as *men*, and not what they have been represented to be by their unwise admirers or by their adversaries. My advocacy of the Vedántic ideal of religion is based upon my deepest conviction that it has always been the religion of not only the hermit or the recluse, but of the wisest and the best men of India engaged in the busiest affairs of life, as well as of the wisest and the best of other countries also. The conditions of a country may largely influence the lives and character of its people, but human nature can be changed but little by extraneous circumstances, and I feel that taking it as it is, the religion of the Vedánta is as suited to modern times as when the Upanishads were taught by the rishis in the forests, when the Institutes of Manu were promulgated, when the Mahábhárata was recited by Vyása to his pupils and the Puranas written in his name by later writers, when Indian reformers like Buddha, Sankara, Kabir, Nanak or Chaitanya promulgated their respective cults, or Súr Dás sang of the greatness of Krishna, and Tulsi Dás of that of Rama. By far the largest portion of the quotations made in these pages is from the Mahábhárata, because it embodies the teachings of Hinduism on almost every important subject of religion and philosophy in the fullest possible manner, and affords a complete picture of Hindu Society in the palmiest days of its civilization in a manner unparallelled by any history or epic, ancient or modern. In all cases the translations have been carefully made from or compared with the original. I, however, feel that in many places I have failed to do justice to the beauty or the terseness of th original, and hope that the reader will kindly remember that am writing in a foreign language with which I am imperfectly ac quainted, and which does not often admit of exact expression o Eastern thought, especially in its higher philosophic aspects. I these pages contribute towards stimulating the study of Hinduism in a spirit of love and sympathy among their readers, my labours will be amply rewarded.

Agra, December 1899. BAIJ NATH.

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INDUISM: ANCIENT & MODERN.

सत्यंवदधर्मंचर	सत्यमेवजयतेनानृतं
Speak the truth and act righteously. (*Taitreyopnishad.*)	*Truth alone conquers, not untruth.* (*Mundakopnishad.*)

I.—SOCIAL AND PERSONAL.

INTRODUCTION.

Hindu society is passing through a period of transition due its coming in contact with a civilization in many respects fferent from the traditions under which it has hitherto existed. ch contact must become closer every day, and the question turally forces itself upon the minds of all who wish India resume its proper place among the progressive nations of e world, what must be the direction in which she should move, order to escape the fate of nations which, in spite of a past brilliant as hers, had to succumb in the modern struggle of life, cause of their inability to assimilate their past with the present. ere, as everywhere else, we have thinkers of all shades of opinion, om iconoclasts of the most pronounced type, to advocates of a licy of *laissez faire*, from those who see nothing good in the past, those who see nothing but good in the past, and who believe the lvation of India to lie in her reverting to her past. On the other nd, we find foreign thinkers either holding all Indian civilization be entirely dead, or deducing from it lessons which can scarcely courage Indians to foster it. For instance, Professor Seeley inks India to be "all past and with no future," while, according Professor Huxley, here we have "the descendants of a people full life and vigour, who were always ready to brave the gods themlves in battle when their blood was up, 'sicklied o'er with the le cast of thought,' frank pessimists or at best make-believe timists. The courage of the warlike stock may be as hardly ed as before, perhaps more hardly, but the enemy is self. By the ber as by the Ganges ethical man admits that the cosmos is too rong for him, and destroying every bond which ties him to it by scetic self-denial, he seeks salvation in absolute renunciation." Evolution and Ethics, page 17.)

There are two tests which may be applied to determine the f
of a people and the rank it is likely to occupy among contemp
nations in the world:—(1) What it can incorporate from its pas
its present, and what it can reject as unsuited to its present req
ments. (2) How far its social institutions allow the free-est pla
individual action and individual progress, consistently with
progress of the whole. How far they curb the individual's pu
selfish appetites and desires and afford room for the deve
ment of his unselfish energies, how far they replace pri
gratification by gratification resulting from the happiness
others, determines the degree of success which the institutions
a nation are likely to attain in shaping its future. Modern Eu
pean civilization claims to proceed upon this altruistic ba
There the interests of the individual are being more and m
subordinated to those of the society in which he lives, and wh
the free-est play is afforded to individual progress, the sympathe
side of man's nature is being also gradually unfolded, in ord
to make him recognize that it is in the happiness of others that
own happiness lies. Was this the case in ancient India also, a
is it the same here nowadays is the question ?

Every reader of the great religious and epic literature of ancie
and mediæval India, must have been forcibly struck with the f
that the social institutions of those times, like those of modern E
rope, afforded the free-est play to individual action consisten
with the progress of society as a whole. Dharma (righteousness) w
then the moving force. Duty to all above him, all around him, a
to all below him, was the guiding principle of the Hindu's life. E
ternals in religion did not occupy the place of religious truth. Th
was little or no disqualification from birth in the way of every o
attaining to the highest end of man. Every one could move in t
sphere he was best qualified for. Women had their proper pla
in society. Do your duty without regard to personal gain or pe
sonal comfort, even at the sacrifice of life, was the motto of t
Hindus of those times. There is therefore no wonder that they
tained to the high degree of civilization which they reached and th
successors at the present day cannot do better than foll
them in these respects.

There is at present much dissatisfaction in Indian soci
with many of its existing institutions, and the wisest and t
best intellects of the country are busy in carefully exami
ing them and finding out which of them stands in the w
of its progress, and which of them furthers it. It is the sa
with our religious institutions also, and a return to purer for
of worship and the elimination of all accretion due to superst
tion or later innovation, is the goal which many an Indian
trying to set before his countrymen. The lives of the gods a
heroes of the Hindu pantheon, are being carefully scrutinized to fi
out which portion of them is based upon fact and truth, and whi

iction, and how far they can furnish ideals for modern In- to follow. Every year large numbers of Hindus meet in social ligious conferences to discuss their social and religious in- ons with reference to the more authentic teachings of their on; and a general revival of Hinduism is seen almost every- in India, threatening in some cases to slide back into super- ns which it is aiming to remove.

nder such circumstances it may be of some use to ne some of the chief social and religious institutions e Hindus in the light of modern facts, and to point however briefly, what portion of them can be safely kept improved upon, and what rejected as unsuited to modern irements. How far the lives of those who are now worshipped ds of the Hindu pantheon will bear examination in the light odern facts, and how far they can furnish ideals for modern ans to follow, what effect the chief social institutions of the ent Hindus, which were so intimately connected with their re- n, had upon the lives and characters of the people, how such tutions came to be what they are, what influence, whether for or for evil, they are now exercising upon Indian society as a e, as well as upon the lives of individuals who adhere to them, they can be purified, are questions which, I believe, are not of deep interest to natives of India, but also to those who are ged in studying their languages and literature, and should like e them occupy the rank they are entitled to among the nations e world.

I. CASTE.

ts universal character.—The first great feature of Hindu ty, and one which strikes an outside observer most forcibly, is its division into castes, precluding the members of a lower from g into a higher caste, and thus apparently standing in the way e progress of the individual. Caste in some form or other is the al condition of all society everywhere, and every community, atter what its religion or social development may be, requires s well-being teachers, rulers, producers of wealth, and servants labourers. Even in the most democratic countries of the west, divisions of society have always been, and shall always be d, and the well-being of society requires that the whole of these tions be discharged on a definite and a well-organized plan. But in other countries accession from one class to another is pos- and depends largely upon personal merit, in most cases upon ssession of wealth, in modern India it is not so, though this was y the case in India of the past. In Europe, even though each tries to exclude all interlopers from its ranks in the beginning, is possible to get an admission into a class above one's own, is qualified for it. It was also the same in ancient India. re, the usual broad distinctions of society mentioned

above ought to remain, the question for consideration is, wh
the rigidity of the present system of caste in India ought n
be so relaxed as to remove the barrier which it places in the wa
the progress of the Indian people.

Caste in Vedic Times.—It is now agreed on all hands
there was no caste in its present shape in ancient India. In
Vedic times, in the *gramas* of the five Aryan people (*panch jan*
there were nobles, leaders and kings (rájanya), counsellors, pri
prophets and judges, working men, builders of roads and wiel
of ploughs and rearers of cattle. It is only in the Purusha Su
(Rig Veda, Book X, Hymn 90) that we meet for the first time "
Bráhmana proceeding from the mouth of the Purusha the Râjanya fr
both his arms, the Vaisya from both his thighs, and the Sudra fr
his feet." (Verse 12). But this represents a symbolical and not
actual creation from Purusha the Primēval Being, and the mea
ing of course is that the Bráhmana who had the privilege of
dressing the gods in prayer was the mouth of the Deity,
Kshatriya who had the duty of wielding the sword and protect
the people represented his arms, the Vaisya who attended to tr
and agriculture his thighs, and the Sudra who laboured and toi
for the general body of the Aryans his feet. It would be an ins
to the intelligence of those Aryans who sang: "We have all vari
thoughts and plans and diverse are the ways of man; the Br
mana seeks the worshipper, the carpenter his ripe and seaso
wood, the physician the sick. I am a bard, my father is a ph
cian, my mother lays corn upon the stone; striving for wealth
follow our desires with varied plans like cows" (Rig V
IX-112-1, 2 and 3),—to represent the great Purusha sacrifice to be
actual creation of the universe. References to the five tribes
the Aryans, the Turvasas, the Anus, the Druhuyus, the Yadus
the Purus, who were subsequently represented as produced fr
the sage Vashishtha's cow, to aid him in his fight with Vish
mitra, are met with in the Rig Veda, but the words *panch janah*
panch kshiti mean the five people and not the four castes and
Nishâdas, as some writers fancy them to be. It is only as we go
that references to caste become more explicit. For instance, in
Satpatha Bráhmana (II-1-4-11) we read "uttering 'Bhu' Prájap
created the Bráhmana, uttering 'Bhuvah,' He created
Kshatra, uttering Swah, He created the Vaisya. All this world
so much as Bráhmana, Kshatra and Vis." There is here no m
tion of the Sudras, who are, however, declared in the Taitr
Bráhmana to have sprung from the Asuras or from "
existence." In the Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad (I, 4, 9 to 14)
find the Bráhmana to be "one who like Brahm itself knows
his self, and worships no other deity." The Kshatriya repres
power (law) and dharma both among gods and men, the Vai
the lower classes of gods and the people (vis) among men, and
Sudra (varna) the earth, the no-wisher.

The word generally used both in ancient as well as in modern writings is *varna* (color), not caste (*jati*), thus showing that the Aryans who called themselves the "white friends of Indra," and described their enemies the Dasyus, the aborigines, as the "flat nosed, the black skinned Dasyus," were fairer in complexion than the latter, and that by a natural transition the word "Dasyu" became Dâsa, the modern appellation of slave in India, and was made to apply to all Sudras.

Caste in the Smriti and the Epic Periods.—It is in the Institutes of Manu and later writers that caste was recognized to be one of the chief, perhaps the chief institution, of Aryan society, though even the Institutes of Manu and other Smriti writers do not afford any trace of what it has come to be in modern times. Progress was then recognized to be the law of society, and accession from one caste to another could not have been denied by these sages in the way it now is. "The duties in the Krita Yuga are different from those of the Treta Yuga, those of the Treta from those of the Dwâpara, and those of the Kali from those of the Dwâpara. In the Krita tapas (ascetism) was the chief duty; in the Treta it was knowledge; in the Dwâpara it was sacrifice; and in the Kali they say charity is the only one duty. But, for the protection of all this creation, the Great Effulgent assigned to those who were created from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet, various duties. He assigned to the Bráhmana the duty of imparting and receiving instruction, performing and officiating at sacrifices, giving and receiving gifts. To the Kshatriya he assigned the duty of protecting people, making gifts, performing sacrifices, reading the scriptures and non-attachment to objects of the senses. To the Vaisya he assigned the duty of rearing cattle, making gifts and sacrifices, studying the scriptures, trading by sea and receiving and lending money on interest, and the profession of agriculture. To the Sudra he assigned only one duty, *viz.*, to serve the other three classes without jealousy. The Bráhmana is the lord of all as he was produced from the principal member of the body of the Creator, as he is the oldest of all created beings, and as he is the preserver of the Veda." (Manu I-85 to 91 and 93.)

The language of Manu is thus as symbolical as that of the Vedas and points to the division of work in Aryan society as answering to its creation from the mouth and other parts of the body of Prajápati. Later Smriti writers like Vasishtha and Prásara, as well as the authors of the Grihya Sutras, are also as liberal. Vasishtha declares that, "No one is a Bráhmana without knowing the Rig Veda, for as said in the Sloka, a twice-born who without reading the Veda devotes himself to something else, becomes a Sudra in this very life. A person does not become a Sudra merely by trade or lending money on interest or engaging as a physician. No assembly can be said to be an assembly of Bráhmans, though thousands of persons who live upon the claims of birth alone and

are ignorant of their duties as well as of the Vedas, are assembled there. The four orders are constituted by their nature and their Sanskáras and the meaning of the passage, that He, Prajapati, created the Bráhmana "from the Gáyatri metre, the Rajanya from the Trishtuble, and the Vaisya from the Jágati, is that these various classes of persons are purified by Sanskáras performed according to these metres." (Vashishtha Smriti, Chapters 2 and 3.) In the Apastamba Sutras we read of a person of a lower order rising into a higher one for which he may be qualified by the performance of Dharma, and of a person of a higher order descending into a lower one by acting otherwise. Manu's dictum of a Sudra becoming a Bráhmana and a Bráhmana a Sudra, a Kshatriya or a Vaisya was thus more or less recognized by later writers also. In the Mahábhárata, too, we find the same, for we are told: "There is really no distinction between the four orders. The whole world at first consisted of Bráhmanas. Created equally by Brahmá men have, in consequence of their acts, become distributed into different orders. They who became fond of indulging their desires and were addicted to pleasure and were of severe and wrathful disposition, endowed with courage and unmindful of piety and worship .....those Bráhmans possessing the attributes of Rajas (passion) became Kshatriyas. Those Bráhmans, again, who, without attending to the duties laid down for them, became possessed of the attributes of goodness (Satva) and passion and took to the practice of rearing of cattle and agriculture, became Vaisyas. Those Bráhmans, again, who became fond of untruth and injuring others and engaged in impure acts and fallen from purity of behaviour, added to the attribute of darkness (Tamas), became Sudras. Separated by occupation Bráhmanas became members of the other three orders. All the four orders have therefore the right of performing all pious acts and sacrifices. Even thus were the four orders created equally by Brahmá, who ordained for all of them the observances disclosed in the words of the Vedas." (Moksha Dharma, Chapter 188.) Krishna also declared in the Bhagvad Gita the fourfold division of caste to have been created according to the distinction of attributes and duties (IV-13), and it is said in another place in the Mahábhárata:—"He in whom are seen truth, charity, forgiveness, good conduct, benevolence, observance of the duties of his order and mercy, is a Bráhmana. Those characteristics that are present in a Bráhmana are not present in a Sudra, nor do those that are seen in a Bráhmana exist in a Sudra, and a Sudra is not a Sudra nor a Bráhmana a Bráhmana (except through his characteristics). He in whom are seen these virtues is a Bráhmana and he should be termed a Sudra in whom these qualities do not exist, (even though he is a Bráhman by birth)." The objection that if Bráhmanhood depended upon the possession of certain attributes, the distinction of castes would disappear, was met by saying that "character is the chief requisite, that so long as he is not initiated in the Vedas every person is a Sudra, and that whoever conforms

to the rules of pure and virtuous conduct is a Bráhmana." (Vana Parva, Chapter 180, verses 21, 25, 26, and 32.)

Claims of birth were however now and then asserted in the epic period, and we read in the Mahábhárata, (Anusasana Parva, 29-1) that the "status of a Bráhmana could only be acquired by birth." And yet the stories of Vishwamitra, the Kshatriya King of Kanyakubja, acquiring and being admitted to the status of a Bráhmana, and of King Vitahavya, who sought refuge in the asylum of the sage Bhrigu, when pursued by Pratardana, the King of Kasi, being made a Bráhmana by the mere word of the rishi, (Anusasana Purva, Chapter 30), are typical in showing that birth alone did not determine one's caste in those days. The Bráhmanas did, indeed, assert that whether "cognizant of the Vedas, or ignorant of them, whether pure or impure, Bráhmanas are always to be honored, they are like fire covered with ashes: just as fire, even if it is in a crematorium, is never impure, even so is a Bráhman, whether he is wise or otherwise, always a superior god." Vana Purva, Chapter 200, verses 88 and 89.) Yet these pretensions were never recognized in practice. On the contrary it was declared "that the gods know him for a Bráhmana who has cast off anger and passion, who always speaks the truth here, who gratifies his preceptor, who, though himself injured, never returns the injury, who has his senses under control, who is virtuous, pure and devoted to the study of the Vedas, is master of lust, is endowed with mental energy, is catholic in religion and looks upon all beings as himself." "It is neither birth nor study, nor learning, that constitutes Bráhmanhood. It is character which constitutes it." (Vana Parva, Chapter 313, verse 108.) And it could not be otherwise with the highly developed intellect and the knowledge of their religious scriptures possessed by the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and even by some of the Sudras of those times.

Caste in the Puranic and Later Times.—It is only in the Puranic and later times, and not completely even then, that birth was admitted as alone determining one's caste. The Vishnu Purána in Book III, Chapter 8, declares that "he who observes the duties of his caste, does not vilify another in his presence or in his absence, and does not speak an untruth, pleases Kesava (God) best," and the general duties of the four castes are declared by it to be "acquisition of wealth for the support of servants, begetting of children upon their wives, kindness towards all, patience, humility, truth, purity, contentment, courtesy, gentleness of speech, friendliness, freedom from envy and avarice." The Sukra Niti, a modern work on polity, also says: "Good and bad conditions in life are due to Karma alone. Actions done in a previous life are called *prárabdha*. Can any one remain without action even for a moment? In this world no one is a Bráhmana or a Kshatriya or a Vaisya or a Sudra or a Mlechha by birth alone. Such distinctions are due to action and qualifications alone. Can all creatures be Bráhmanas because they were created by

Brahmá? The glory of Bráhmanhood cannot be acquired by color, nor from one's father. Those who by their knowledge, actions and meditations are engaged in the worship of the gods, who are of a peaceful disposition, having their senses under control, and who are merciful, are Bráhmanas from their attributes. Those who are skilled in protecting the people, are brave, keep their senses under control, are possessed of courage and are capable of controlling the wicked, are Kshatriyas. They who are skilled in sales and purchases and always live by trade and are devoted to the rearing of cattle and agriculture, are known in the world as Vaisyas. They who are devoted to the service of the twice-born, are of a peaceful disposition, have their senses under control, and who carry ploughs, fuel and grass, are known as Sudras. Those who have relinquished the duties of their orders, are of a cruel disposition, bent upon injuring others, wrathful and killing others, and wanting in discrimination, are Mlechhas. "(Sukra Niti I—37 to 44.) The Bráhmana, in short, was a Bráhmana by being the friend of all creatures (Maitro Bráhmanah मैत्रो ब्राह्मण), the Kshatriya a Kshatriya by protecting the people (Kshtattrayate क्षतात्त्रायते), the Vaisya a Vaisya by rearing cattle, and the Sudra a Sudra by rendering service. Sacrifice was the key-note of the system of caste, and it is said in the Mahábhárata (Santi Parva, Chapter 60, verse 54) that there "is nothing in the three worlds equal to sacrifice," and that "every one should perform it with devotion, with a pure heart, free from malice, and to the best of his ability."

How sentiments like these, which conduced to the progress of the Hindus of those times made in the arts of life, came to be disregarded, and when did they give place to ideas like those found in later writings, is an interesting study both for the antiquarian and the patriot in India. All subjects of Indian chronology are however involved in great obscurity, and it is not safe to venture upon giving dates of any of the later writings to which the decline of Hinduism as a religion of truth and healthy action, may be traced. All that can be said is that passages like these which are found in later writings, have done much to perpetuate the present state of things. Says the Suta Samhita, which is a part of the Skanda Purána: "For all orders the distinction of caste is due to birth and not to millions of Karmas, just as the class to which an animal belongs is determined by its birth and not otherwise." (Chapter 12, verse 51.) Sentiments like these, added to the decline of learning in the laity and its monopoly by the priesthood, led the latter ultimately to declare that in the Kali age there were no Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and that there were either Bráhmanas or Sudras. (Kalavádyantyoh-Sthitih.) कलावाद्यन्त्ययोर्स्थितिः "In the Kali the first and the last only exist." What the effect of this upon the present evolution of Hindu society is, I shall now proceed to show.

Caste in Modern Times.—Instead of the four castes of old times, we have now not only the Panch Gouras and the Panch *Draviras* among the Bráhmans, according as they live to the north or the south of the Vindhya range, but even these are sub-divided into as many as 1886 distinct tribes, each refusing to mix with the other. The Sarsawata Bráhmanas of the Punjab alone number 469 tribes. The Kshatriyas are split up into 590 and the Vaisyas and Sudras into even more tribes, not to speak of the thousands of castes formed out of the various professions followed by the people of India. We have thus the spectacle of a society split up into a number of infinitely small divisions, each holding itself entirely aloof from the rest and trying to make its exclusiveness as strong as possible. They are all completely cut off from each other, not only in the matter of intermarriages but also of food, so much so that there is a current saying among the Saryu Par Bráhmanas of Northern India, that for nine of these Bráhmanas there would be ten kitchens. Not only is the present system the parent of the disintegration now so common in Indian society, but is also at the root of many of the evils of infanticide, sale of boys and girls for large and fabulous dowers, and the cause of so much misery now met with in India. Their circle of choice being extremely narrow, fathers of girls must either marry them on terms demanded by parents of bridegrooms, or let them go unmarried, and as no Hindu can afford to do the latter, he must either find money for the match, or anticipating future trouble, must do away with his child's life as in some parts of the country it is still done. In other respects, also, the descent from the ideal of the Sastras to the actual of modern India, is sufficient to drive many a reformer to despair. The descendants of those who were enjoined to devote themselves to the study of the Vedas and be the friends of all creatures, are in many parts of the country not only wielders of ploughs and agriculturists, but are now and then involved in crimes of the most serious character, and every one concerned in the administration of justice will at once bear testimony to the fact that instead of suppression of anger, avoidance of quarrel and possession of self-restraint, the opposite are the tendencies of those who claim to trace their descent from the *rishis* of India. Gifts, study and sacrifice, which, together with the protection of the people, were the chief duties of the Kshatriyas, have given place to weilding of implements of husbandry, ignorance of the very first principles of their religion, drink and cognate vices. It is only the Vaisya class which has kept up its traditions. It has still a large portion of the trade of the country in its hands and has been the foremost to profit by the present system of government and the advantages offered by it. "Fair in complexion," says Mr. Sherring, "with rather delicate features and a certain refinement depicted upon their countenances, sharp of eye and intelligent of face, and polite of bearing, the Vaisyas must have radically changed since the days when their fathers delved, sowed and

reaped. And so great is the change that a heated controversy is going on in the Hindu society, whether the Bengali Banias or merchant bankers are really of Vaisya descent or of a higher origin." (Hunter's Indian Empire, page 196.)

Are the Present Kshatriyas & Vaisyas representatives of the ancient classes of those names?—The question whether there are Vaisyas and Kshatriyas in the present time, was the subject of discussion in an assembly of Pandits lately held at Benares, and it was settled after a full discussion that the present Banias were really the descendants of the Vaisyas of old, that they were equally entitled to the appellation of *Dwija* along with the Bráhmanas and the Kshatriyas, and that those of them among whom the ceremony of investiture with the thread had fallen into disuse ought to revive it. The same has been the dictum for Kshatriyas also.

Reform in the Caste System.—The point for consideration, however, is whether caste in the shape in which it is now met with in India, should remain or should it be modified to suit modern requirements? There is a noticeable movement upwards in some of the lower and the mixed castes of the Hindus. They are trying to have themselves recognized as forming a part of one of the twice-born classes. On the other hand, the latter themselves are showing no disposition to widen their circle and recognize themselves as belonging to a common stock. The Kalwar or the Kayastha or the Dhusar of modern times is trying to be a Vaisya or Kshatriya or a Bráhmana, but the Vaisya or the Kshatriya or the Bráhmana is himself doing nothing to remove his own isolation from the rest of the community. The classes who have been the most sufferers from the present state of things are the Bráhmanas and the Kshatriyas, and the descendants of those who were once the teachers and the rulers of the nations, are now among the ranks of its commonest labourers, or serve those who were declared by their own Sastras to be liable to serve them. The lower classes of Hindus have, however, used caste as not only an institution of keeping them isolated from the rest of the community as the higher classes have done, but have also made it act as a most powerful check against their doing things which are forbidden by its rules, which the higher classes have not done. They impose penalties and punish breach of their caste rules by fine and excommunication in a manner which furnishes useful lessons to members of the higher castes. But whether among the lower or the higher classes there cannot be the slightest doubt of caste standing in the way of their progress.

Reform in the system is therefore inevitable. It may not be, and is for many long years to come not possible, for Indians to return to the golden age when there was no caste, when every body was a Bráhmana with ascetism and knowledge of truth for his sole duties.

But there is no reason why a beginning should not be made in the shape of a gradual fusion of such of the minor divisions of a caste as admit of such fusion. Differences of geographical limits or occupation are not such as ought to break the unity originally possessed by the various castes of India and no reformer can set a nobler task before himself than try and have that unity restored. With a settled country and a people eager for progress, no social disability ought to stand in the way of progress, and if caste in its present shape stands in the way of such progress, as it certainly does, it ought to be gradually brought to be what it really was. Progress and freedom from social trammels were the normal condition of Indian society in the past, and they ought to be the same now also

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II.—THE SANSKÁRAS AND THE ÁSRAMAS.

The aim of the Sanskaras and the Asramas of the Hindus.

The next great feature of Hindu society is its various Sanskáras (Sacraments) and its different orders of life (Ásramas), and the question for consideration is, what portion of each ought to be retained and what modified to suit modern requirements? The aim of the Sanskaras and Asramas, was so to mould the character of the people as to qualify them for a life of peace and happiness in this world and release from trammels of birth and re-birth hereafter. The Aryan was to serve his teacher for a number of years mos dutifully, in order to come out as a man learned in at least one the four Vedas. On his entrance into society he was to marry woman of a suitable position in life, to live the life of a goo householder, earning his livelihood in the most honourab manner possible, and after seeing his children settled in life a following him in the path of virtue, gradually to retire from t world, accustoming himself to suffer hardship, lessening his wan and ultimately passing his days in peace with a mind devoted the realization of the highest truths of his religion. Hindu socie has always been a pre-eminently religious society, but while rel gion in ancient India was a living reality it is not so now, an institutions which were once founded upon the deepest truths, are now adhered to as mere matters of form without their significance being at all realized. I shall therefore examine some of these institutions in the light of both the S'astras as well as modern facts, to show how they ought to be reformed to suit modern times.

The various Sanskaras.—The first injunction of the S'astra was to visit your wife only in season (ritau bharyám upagameta, ऋतौ भार्यां सुप गमेत) in order to prevent undue sexual indulgence, as well as to ensure the offspring being strong and healthy by conserv-

ing the energy of both man and woman. The first three *Sanskáras*, *viz.*, the *garbhádhána* गर्भाधान (laying the seed), which took place when the woman was in her season, the *punsavana* पुंसवन (wish for begetting a male child), which was performed in the second, third or fourth month of pregnancy, and the *simantonayana* सीमन्तोनयन (the parting of the hair), which was performed in the day of the full moon of the sixth or eighth month, were all indicative of the Aryan's desire for strong and healthy offspring. He was to live upon a certain kind of food before visiting his wife, *viz.*, rice, cooked with meat and ghi. On the appearance of his wife's pregnancy he expressed his wish as follows :—"Just as a small pond, full of lotus flowers, is gently shaken by the wind, just as the wind or a forest of trees or the sea move gently, even so do thou move gently in thy mother's womb and come out of it after the tenth month, living, with all thy bodily members, whole and entire and thy mother living." (Rig Veda, IV, 4-20-7-8-9.) "Just as the earth bears all creatures, all trees and plants, all mountains and all that exists upon it, even so do thou, (O woman), bear the child in thy womb." (Atharva Veda, VI, 16-17.) "O woman, like an arrow resting in its quiver, let a male child rest in thy womb. May he be born on the completion of the tenth month, a brave child. May Agni, the first among the gods, protect thy womb, may he protect thy offspring from the noose of death. May Varuna, the king, so order that thou, my wife, be saved from weeping for lost offspring. Mayst thou, O woman, possess a loving eye, a cheerful countenance, a happy heart, be a distributor of blessing, the protector of thy household, the rearer of thy womb, and the procreator of healthy children. May I always find happiness in thy company." These passages show how happy were the relations between husband and wife in ancient India and upon what terms man treated woman in those times. These ceremonies are now-a-days either not performed at all, or where performed they are performed as a matter of form, though without restoration of their spirit, it is useless to perform them.

(a) Garbhadhana.

(b) Punsavana.

(c) Simantonayana.

The child is now born and the *Játkarma* जातकर्म (ceremony of birth) is at once performed. As soon as it has been washed, the father takes a little honey with a golden pin and touches its mouth with it, repeating the following prayer: "Mayst thou, O child, live for a hundred years, protected by the gods. May Sawitri, the Aswins and Sarswati protect thy intellect. Mayst thou be firm like a stone and strong like an axe. Mayst thou shine like gold. Thy first name is Knowledge (Veda). Mayst thou live for a hundred years. May Indra shower blessings upon thee. O child, who art thou, what art thou? Thou art immortal. May Sawita give thee days, the days the nights, the days and nights the fortnights, the fortnights the months, the months the seasons, the

(d) Jatkarma.

seasons the years, and the years long life up to old age. Thou art born of my limbs, from my heart. I join my life to thy life. Mayst thou live as long as I live. Be thou long-lived like me. We pour libations for the betsowal of a healthy mind, healthy intellect, and healthy organs upon our offspring. Let death leave us and go to the ignorant and the wicked. Let it be in the path of the sinful. I say to thee who see-est and hearest, may my offspring be brave and thou shouldst not come among us till we have attained to full age."

(e) Namakarna.

The *Námakarna* नामकर्ण ceremony is next performed on the twelfth day after purification. It should take place on some lucky day of the moon, at a lucky hour, and under a good star. The child, we read in the Gobhila Grihya Sutras, is to be dressed neatly, the mother places it in its father's lap and the latter repeats the mantras repeated at birth. "The first part of a Bráhmana's compound name should indicate holiness, of a Kshatriya power, of a Vaisya wealth, and of a Sudra contempt. Let the second part of a Bráhmana's name imply prosperity, of a soldier preservation, of a merchant nourishment, and of a servant humble attendance. The names of woman should be agreeable, soft, clear, captivating the fancy, auspicious, ending in long vowels and resembling words of benediction." (Manu II, 2, 30 to 40.) Now-a-days, however, if the Jat Karma and Nam Karna are performed, they are seldom accompanied with the fervent prayer uttered by the ancient Aryans and the simple prayer of those days has now given place to the family astrologer giving the child two names, one according to the star under which he was born, and the other the one by which he is to be known in after years. Relations and friends make and receive presents on such occasions, which in many parts of the country are marked off by much display of wealth and indulgence in feasts and shows.

(f) Niskramana.

In its fourth month the child is taken out to see the sun (Niskramana निष्क्रमण *lit.* bringing out). The father prays: "May we see thee, Sun, the eye of the gods, for a hundred years. May we live for a hundred years. May we hear for a hundred years. May we be independent for a hundred years, and even more than a hundred years." Anna prasana, the feeding of the child with solid food, now takes place in the sixth month and the Aswaláyana Grihya Sutras enumerate the various kinds of meats with which it is to be fed, according as the father wishes it to possess abundance of strength or capacity of reading the Vedas, or prosperity. The prayers are the same as on the other three occasions. Now-a-days, however, the child is fed with milk and rice but not with meats, and the prayer portion is either omitted or left to the priest to repeat. The ceremony of tonsure

(g) Churakarma.

(Churakarma चूड़ाकर्म), which comes next, takes place according to both Manu and the Grihya Sutras in the first or the third year after birth. Elaborate rules

and mantras are laid down for applying water to the child's head, and for shaving it. In modern times, however, they are more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and the ceremony usually takes place either at the shrine of some titulary deity or at the temple of some god or goddess, accompanied with the usual shows.

(*h*) The Upanyana.

We now come to the most important *sanskára* of the Hindus, which makes the three higher castes entitled to the application of *dwija* (twice born). This ceremony is called *Upanyana*, उपनयन because of the child being carried to or brought near his preceptor for initiation into the Veda. He has his first birth from his natural father and mother, but his second birth is from Savitri, the gayatri as mother and the preceptor *áchárya* as father. In former times males and females were both eligible for the *upanyana* ceremony, for we read in the Hárita Smriti: "There are two kinds of women, those who are knowers of Brahm and those who immediately enter family life. The *upanyana* ceremony, the conservation of the household fire, the study of the Vedas, and mendicancy in their own households, are for the knowers of Brahm, while for those who wish to enter family life immediately, marriage should follow *upanyana*." This custom is, however, now discarded, and we read in the Kurma Purana: "In the former *Kalpa* (only) tying with girdle (मुञ्जी बन्धन) was laid down for women. They were also eligible as teachers of the Vedas and coud repeat the *gayatri*." But why they should not do the same now, the writer does not tell us.

The age & the time for the ceremony.

The earliest period for the *upanyana* is the seventh or the eighth year for a Bráhmana, the eleventh for a Kshatriya, and the twelfth for a Vaisya, the latest periods being respectively the 16th, the 22nd, and the 24th years, after which a *prayaschita* (penance) is necessary. In modern times, however, though the *upanyana* is generally performed in the case of all Bráhmanas and many of the Kshatriyas, it has fallen into disuse among some sections of the Vaisyas, who are now trying to revive it.

The time for the ceremony is declared to be the spring for a Bráhmana, the summer for a Kshatriya, and the *sárad* (autumn) for a Vaisya, though in practice it can be, and is generally performed on any auspicious day. The child is dressed neatly and decked with ornaments for the occasion, and is taken to the preceptor (*áchárya*) who is to initiate him into the *S'astras* and the practices of the good. He must not only be learned but also duly observant of the rules of the S'astras. The first preceptor is one's own father, then his grandfather, then his brother, and then men of the same caste or clan. Even women could, in former times, be preceptors, for we are told by Dewala that "the mother, the maternal grandmother, the father and mother's sister, the grandmother's sister, and the foster-mother, could even act as gurus." Now-a-days, how-

ever, the father or mother does not generally act as a teacher and strangers or, in some cases, relations are generally resorted to for the purpose. The child is provided with a girdle, a mantle, and a staff for the occasion. A Bráhman's girdle should be of grass, a Kshatriya's catgut, and a Vaisya's wool. The staff for a Bráhmana should come up to his hair and should be made of the *Palasa* wood, for a Kshatriya it should come up to his forehead and should be made of the fig tree, and for a Vaisya it should come up to his nose and should be made of the *bel*. The mantle for the Bráhmana should be of black antelope hide, for the Kshatriya of that of common deer skin, and for the Vaisya of goat skin. After performing the usual *homa* the preceptor inquires from the boy as to whether he wishes to be a Brahmachari, and on his replying in the affirmative, he takes him by the hand and invokes Surya to aid him in accepting him as his Brahmachari. The boy is now dressed as a student and the teacher, placing his hand in that of the boy's, prays: "May my heart be in thy heart, my mind with thine, do thou follow me, listen to my speech with a concentrated mind. Brihaspati has placed thee under my care, do thou follow me only, may thy thoughts be in me alone, mayst thou have good thoughts towards me, and may thy speech be regulated towards me." The boy is now questioned as to whose pupil he is and on his saying that he is his preceptor's pupil, the latter tells him to work for him, not to sleep in the day-time, restrain his speech and bring fuel for him. He is then invested with the sacred thread and receives the *gáyatri* mantra.

The Yagyopavita.

The *Yagyopavita* यज्ञोपवीत (sacred thread) consists of three threads and is so called because the person wearing it is invested with the sign of *Yagya*, another name for Vishnu. Its three threads are said by the Smriti Prakasha to represent the three attributes of Satwa, Rajas and Tamas, of which the universe is composed, or the three gods Brahmá, Vishnu and Rudra in one. Its knots represent the *pranava* with the *ardh-matra* and it is worn with the formula: "The *Yagyopavita* is most sacred, it is the ornament and the sign of Bráhmanhood. It was produced by Brahmá sitting on his seat of lotus and from the threads of the stalk of the lotus." But whatever be its esoteric significance, it is the sign of distinguishing a *dwija* from a *non-dwija*, and though many of its possessors in these times are ignorant of the duties it imposes upon its wearer, yet it originally marked the entrance of the person belonging to the first three castes into the true life of the Aryan.

Life of the Brahmachari.

Our Brahmachari is now regularly initiated into the Vedas and has to acquire learning, not with the facilities afforded by the present system of school and college education, but by the most dutiful service to his preceptor, lasting from 12 to 48 years, according as he aspires to know one, two, three or all the four Vedas. "Always attending

to the Vedas, silently reciting the mantras obtained from his preceptor, worshipping all the deities, dutifully waiting upon and serving his preceptor, with his own body smeared with clay and dirt, the person leading the Brahmacharya mode of life should always observe rigid vows and with senses under control pay attention to the instructions he receives. Reflecting upon the Vedas and discharging all the duties, he should live dutifully waiting upon his preceptor and always bowing to him. Freedom from all other kinds of acts, never showing favour or disfavor to any one, doing good even to his enemies, these, O Sire, are the duties laid down for a Brahmacharin." (Mahábhárata Santi Parva, Chapter 51, verses 17 to 21.)

Gobhila's Rules for the Brahmachari.

Gobhila's rules for the Brahmachári were:—(1) Be obedient to thy teacher, except in treading the path of unrighteousness. (2 and 3) Avoid anger and untruthfulness. (4) Also sexual intercourse. (5) Also a bed higher than thy preceptor's. (6, 7 and 8) Also dancing and singing, perfumes and unguents. (9) Avoid sporting in water while bathing. (10, 11 and 12) Also dressing the hair and beautifying the complexion, washing the teeth and the feet, *i. e.*, do not give undue attention to these things. (13) Also shaving the hair. (14 and 15) Also honey and meat. (16) Also driving in carts drawn by bullocks. (17) Also wearing shoes inside a village. (18) Also wasting the vital seed." These rules show how hardy and simple was the life of the student of those times.

The relation between him and his preceptor was moreover marked with implicit obedience on his part and with deep love on that of his preceptor. No service, however difficult or menial, was grudged by the pupil, while no fee was charged by the teacher, who most willingly communicated to him all he knew. And so highly was the Brahmacharya mode of life applauded that even gods like Indra had to observe it for 101 years before obtaining knowledge of Brahm (Chandogya Upanishad, Chapter 8, Section II, verse 3), and hoary sages like Sukesa and others who had already devoted their lives to it, to live for a year as Brahmacharins in the asylum of Pippaláda before receiving Brahmavidyá. It was extolled "as superior to Yagya, यज्ञ (sacrifice), Isthta इष्टा (adoration), Sátrayanam सात्रायण (feeding hermits and the poor), Maunam मौन (silence), Anásakáyanam, अनाशकायन (fasting), and Aranyyanam अरण्यायन (going to live in a forest), (Chandogya Upanishad, Chapter 8, Section 5), the rishis considering the preservation of chastity not only conduced to the pupil's physical but also to his mental and moral well-being.

The student was to live upon whatever he could get by begging. He was to place all he got before his preceptor and to eat only what the latter gave him. He was most strictly enjoined not to think of women and to keep his vow of chastity inviolate, to

perform his ablutions and prayers at the prescribed hours, to be diligent in study, and to receive instruction only when the teacher was willing to impart it. He was to respect his teacher as his god, to look upon him as the very image of Brahm, and it is declared that it is only the man with a teacher who knows (Achâryavan a purosho Veda (आचार्यवान् पुरुषोवेद) (Chandogya Up., VI, 14-2), and that knowledge acquired otherwise is theft of knowledge. Vidya (knowledge) is moreover represented as telling the Bráhmana to impart her only to one who is qualified so that she may be powerful.

There were life-long students also in ancient India, who never left their teacher's home and dutifully attended them till the dissolution of their bodies, otherwise the ordinary practice was to leave on the completion of the period of studentship.

Life of a Modern Hindu Student.

The two great features of the student's life in ancient India, *viz.*, his rigid observance of chastity and residence in his preceptor's house, are, however, now either unknown among, or are not observed by the majority of Hindu students. The *upanayana* ceremony is also more a formal than a living institution. The student does not leave his family to go and live in his preceptor's house as soon as he receives the sacred thread, nor does he study under the person who invests him with it. His round of mendicancy is now over in a few seconds and his mantle, staff and girdle are only worn to be discarded. His return home (Samávartan) takes place the very moment he is invested with the thread. No relation is established between him and the person who invests him with the thread and he is at liberity to seek instruction wherever he can find it. Sanskrit has, however, still great hold upon the people of India, and many Hindus even now study it for years even though it does not at all pay them to do so. At the chief centres of learning like Benares and Navadipa in Bengal, Bráhmana and other students still flock from all parts of the country. In the former, besides an old Sanskrit College maintained by the Government, there are two large Sanskrit Colleges supported by the Maharajas of Darbhanga and Jummu, besides many small schools and *pathshalas* where Pandits teach their pupils like the rishis of old days. The same is the case with many of the Sanyasis who look upon imparting instruction to others as a part of their duty in life. In Navadipa also, students are regularly taught and there, as well as in Benares, those who are unable to maintain themselves either receive their daily meals at the various *annachatras* (feeding houses) established by the rich and the public-spirited, or in some cases from their teachers themselves, who earn money at Sradhas and other occasions for their own as well as their pupils' maintenance. In some of these *chatras* as many as 500 students and Sanyasis are fed during the day, and in this way the study of Sanskrit, which, but for its modern revival among the educated classes, would have greatly declined, is being kept up by the Bráhmanas. The Bráhmana of to-day, whatever be the extent of his

learning, has imbibed the spirit of his ancestors in having some pupils whom he teaches without any remuneration and as a part of his duty, the pupil sharing in many respects the comforts of life of his master, as well as cheerfully undergoing the discomforts he suffers. Service is not exacted from pupils in the same way as it was in old times. They are not told to tend their preceptor's cows when grazing, nor do other menial work for him, but love and obedience are demanded and willingly given.

Among the classes who have received the advantages of a western culture, a Hindu revival and a greater impetus towards the study of Sanskrit are also most noticeable. Parents and children are now-a-days showing greater eagerness to study their ancient classic than their immediate predecessors did, and a movement in favour of education in schools and colleges combining the scientific training of the west with the religious and philosophic training of the east, is coming into prominence. The Hindu's spirit of religious inquiry has been roused and the day is probably not distant when Sanskrit will not be the dead but the living language of the people of India. All throughout the country men of wealth and position are liberally endowing or founding institutions established for the promotion of Sanskrit learning, and instead of the ancient system of teaching being altogether discarded, there is also a movement towards reviving it in some places by the resuscitation of the *tol* system of education, and in others by that of making pupils live in their preceptors' houses for the whole of the period of their studentship. How far either or both of these can be successful in the present condition of the country, may well be doubted. But that a general revival of Sanskrit learning and restoration of the meaning and importance of the Brahmacharya mode of life will be fraught with good, is undoubted.

(*i*) Samavartan.

After reading one, two, three or all the four Vedas, the student in ancient India left his preceptor, but not before making him a present (guru dakshina), not as a fee, for learning was never sold in this country, but as a mark of respect. The parting advice of the teacher to the pupil, as given in one of the Upanishads,[1] may well be imitated by modern teachers also. Says the guru: "Speak the truth. Practise *dharma*. Let there be no neglect of daily reading the scripture. Having brought welcome wealth to thy teacher, do not cut off the line of offspring. Do not neglect truth. Do not neglect duty. Do not neglect prudence. Do not neglect prosperity. Let there be no neglect of thy duties towards the gods and the forefathers. Let thy mother be a god unto thee. Let thy father be a god unto thee. Let thy teacher be a god unto thee. Let thy guest be a god unto thee. All acts which are unblameable ought to be done, no others. All our praiseworthy doings ought only to be followed by thee, no others. Bráhmanas who are better than us ought to be provided with a seat. What is to be given should be given with faith, not without faith,

with prudence, with modesty, with fear and with affection. If thou hast doubt regarding any act or course of conduct, act as Bráhmanas of meek and sober judgment do in thy neighbourhood." (Taitreya Upanishad, I, 11.) Love of parents was always recognised as a most sacred duty in India, and we read in the beautiful story of the good fowler in the Mahábhárata that, after imparting a knowledge of Bráhm to a young Bráhmana, he told him in reply to his question as to who were his gods, that his aged father and mother were his gods. "These, "says the fowler, "are my gods. What is due unto the gods I do to them. And O Bráhmana the parents, the sacred fires, the atma (self), the preceptor, these five are worthy of the highest respect from a person who wishes for prosperity. By serving them one acquires every prosperity, and it is the eternal duty of all householders." (Vana Parva, Chapter 214, verses 19 and 28.) Nothing can also be more touching than the story of Rama living in exile for 14 years and refusing the crown offered by his brother Bharata, simply to carry out his father's commands, or Yudhishthira's four brothers following him dutifully through good and evil fortune.

Marriage.

This brings us to the institution of marriage and the life of the householder. The S'astras declare every Aryan to be a debtor to the rishis, the gods and the ancestors, and that he should discharge the first obligation by observing Brahmacharya and studying the Vedas, the second by performing sacrifices, and the third by marrying and begetting children. After having discharged the first by living as a student with his preceptor, he should enter family life in order to discharge the other two. "A son," says Baudháyána, "secures these worlds, a grandson bliss, and a great-grandson a seat even above the highest heavens. By begetting a virtuous son one saves himself as well as his seven preceding and seven following generations. One should therefore beget children on a chaste wife of his own caste, married according to rites, possessed of all good qualities, devoted to none but himself, handsome in appearance, young and healthy, having brothers and not belonging to his own *gotra*, and born in an *arsha* family." The Vedic laws of marriage introduce us to a state of society where men and women acted as free agents in matrimonial matters and where women were treated not as inferiors but as equal to men. "How many a maid is pleasing to the suitor who would marry her for her riches. If the girl be both good and fair of feature, she finds by her own worth a friend among the people." (Rig Veda, X, 27-12.) Early marriages were never common in ancient India. On the contrary selection was the rule. The story of the marriage of Suryá (Sury's daughter), moreover, shows that both husbands and wives of that period fully realized the importance of the marriage sacrament. There was then no injunction to marry a girl at the age of 8, 9, or 10, nor was she considered to be a *Gouri* at the age of 8, a Rohini at the age of 9,

and a maiden at the age of 10, nor attaining puberty after that age as she is now. If girls in ancient India had developed so early as these ages seem to indicate, they would not have produced the strong and healthy Aryans they did in those days. Both men and women were careful in observing their Brahmacharya for a proper period and entered the *grihastha asrama* (life of a householder) only when they were fully capable of doing so. Husbands and wives used to dine together, sit on the same seats and drive in the same carriages, always and not merely on occasions of marriage. There were apparently no costly ceremonies attending marriages, nor were large dowers demanded from fathers of girls, nor were the latter sold as they are in modern India. Now-a-days, in some sections of the community, the price of a husband varies with his educational attainments and the smallness of the circle of choice allowed to the girl's family. The father of the girl had not to beg or borrow to find a bridegroom for her, but gave lands, cows, slaves, dresses, buffaloes, gold, jewels, horses and other things to the best of his means. At the marriage ceremony the husband told the wife: "I take thy hand in mine for happy fortune, that thou mayest reach with me, thy husband, old age. The gods Bhaga, Aryaman, Sawita and Purandhi have given thee to me for my household's mistress. O Pushan, send her on most auspicious, who shall be the sharer of my pleasures and shall twine her loving arms around me and welcome my love and embraces." As soon as the woman reached her husband's home, the latter offered a sacrifice to the fire and the bridal pair were addressed as follows: "Be ye not parted, dwell ye here, reach the full term of human life with sons and grandsons, rejoice, sport and play in your own household." The husband also prayed: "May Prajapati give us children, may Aryaman adorn us till old age comes near, auspiciously do thou enter thy husband's house, bringing blessings to his bipeds and quadrupeds. Be not evil-eyed nor slayer of thy husband, bring welfare to his cattle, be radiant and gentle-hearted. Love the gods, bring forth heroes..... O bounteous Indra, make this bride blessed in her sons and grandsons. Vouchsafe to her ten sons and make her husband the eleventh man. Over thy husband's father and mother, over his sisters and brothers, be the queen of his household. May the universal gods, the waters join our hearts. May Matriswa, the Dhatri and the Sarswati bind us together." (Rig Veda, X, 35, 36, 37 and 42 to 47.)

III.—THE LIFE OF THE HINDUS IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES.

Laws of Health.—We have seen that the Aryans of ancient India were a strong, healthy and active people, full of life and vigor, who not only prayed for a long-lived progeny, but took practical steps to ensure longevity both for themselves and their children. If they wished to live for a 100 years, which they considered to be the full duration of man's life upon earth, they also took the necessary precautions to secure it. They looked upon man not so much from outside as from inside, and made the spiritual, the moral and the mental in him rule the physical. Health was considered to be the parity of correlation between the inner and the outer man, the old rule of *mens sena in corpore sano*, and disease was the absence or the excess or disparity of such correlation between the time, the mind and the objects of the senses. They looked upon both the mind and the body as the seats of health and disease, and tried to secure not only the proper correlation of all the various humours of man's body but also peace of mind. Like the ruler of his town or the driver of his cart, man was enjoined always to be careful of his body regulating his daily life with reference to the seasons of the year. The year was divided into six seasons,—the Sisira, corresponding to Magha and Phaguna, the Vasanta to Cháitra and Vaisákh, the Grishma to Jaistha and Asarh, the Vársha to Sravána and Bhadrapada, the Sarada to Aswin and Kártika, and the Hemanta to Margshirsha and Pansha. The first three were the seasons of taking (adána) आदाना and the last three of giving (*visarg*) विसर्ग. In the former, when the sun was in the northern solstice, a mode of life different to that when it was in the southern solstice was prescribed. In the latter portion of the taking and the first of the giving period, *viz.*, in summer and the rains, the body was considered to be weaker than in the intermediate periods, the Sarada and the Vasanta when it was neither weak nor strong, while in the last portion of the Hemanta and the first portion of the Sisira, it was the strongest. Various kinds of fleshmeats, and milk and its preparations, rubbing the body with oils of divers description, exposure to the sun and keeping warm, were recommended for the Hemanta and the Sisira seasons, while in the latter exposure and all kinds of pungent and bitter things were to be avoided. In the Vasanta season use of purgatives and unguents and cleaning the body with cool and fragrant water, light food and light drinks, as well as athletic sports, were recommended. In the Grishma season, when the body becomes weak, avoidance of all physical excesses and the use of cooling foods and drinks, and the avoidance of all intoxicating liquors, in the Varsha season sour and saline foods, cleanliness in dress, and in the Sarada foods which check the bile and avoidance of exposure to the sun, were recommended. Not only preservation of health but subjugation

of the senses was also the primary object of the rishis of ancient India, and for this purpose the practices of the good and the wise were most strictly enjoined to be followed, not only in matters spiritual but also in matters physical. Worship of the gods and the wise, the aged and the learned, sweetness of speech, reverence to guests, control of the senses, emulation and not jealousy of others' virtues, strenuous exertion for one's good, cleverness and ability, above all righteousness of behaviour and honesty of purpose, were considered to be even more necessary to secure good health than regular purification of the body by baths, cleanliness, decency in dress, avoidance of impure persons and filthy places and bodily excesses. Man was declared to consist of eight saras or elements—the skin, the blood, the flesh, the fat, the bones, the marrow, the vital seed and the mind—and only he in whom all these existed in a due proportion was held to be the strongest and the healthiest man of his time, capable of enduring fatigue and toil, possessed of confidence in himself, attentive to everything that required attention, his body firm, his tread well balanced, and his voice deep and reverberating, possessed of happiness and power, free from symptoms of bodily or mental decay, not subject to sudden outbursts of temper, and blessed with a strong and healthy offspring.

Exemplified in the lives of ancient Hindus.

All the great rishis and warriors of ancient India, like Vashistha, Vyasa, Rama, Lakhsman, Hanuman, Krishna, Bhishma, Arjuna, Bhima, Karva, &c., are described in the Mahábhárata and the Ramayana as persons possessed of this strength of body and mind. Krishna is described to be a person possessing a "delightful and lovely countenance, with eyes like the leaves of the lotus, smooth cheeks, broad and brilliant forehead, neck like a conch, a broad chest, a belly falling in graceful folds with a deep-seated navel, round arms reaching up to the thighs, firm and well-knit thighs and legs, and well-formed feet and toes. He is also mentioned to be as great an adept in the art of driving a chariot as in looking after horses and on the field of battle, with showers of arrows falling and warriors pressing on all sides, he groomed the horses of Arjuna, while the latter not only pierced the earth with his shafts and brought out a jet of water for the horses to drink, but also made a hall of arrows for the Rishi Narada who happened to come there, and yet Krishna, smiling with the coolest assurance, as if he were amidst women and not on the field of battle, removed the pain and fatigue of the horses, plucked out their arrows, and bathed them properly. (Mahábhárata Drona Parva, Chapters 99 and 100.) Poetical as this may seem, it has at least this basis of truth, that the best men of those times were as strong in body as in mind. This was due to proper conservation of energy and never letting it be wasted. Gobhila's rules for the Brahmachari, which I have quoted above, show how careful the rishis were in making their followers strong and hardy.

The daily life of the Hindu in ancient times — Sandhya, its meaning and object.

With the same object in view, the householder was also enjoined to observe certain rules of life. He was to leave his bed at the Brahma Muhurta, about 4 A. M., when the sun was below the horizon, to think of *dharma* and *artha* as to what was right and proper, and to remember Vishnu. He was then to answer his calls of nature and after washing and bathing, to say his morning prayers, the *pratah sandhya*, प्रातः संध्या. So obligatory was the latter held to be, that the king was enjoined in the Mahábhárata (Anusasana Parva, Chapter 104, verse 19) to make Bráhmanas who did not perform it to do the work of Sudras, and it was said that the rishis attained to long life in consequence of their regularity in performing it. Its object was to make man pray for the forgiveness of his sins, to acquire internal and external purity, and to know his relation to the universe and its maker and his goal as unity with Brahma. The rishis declared that, if properly performed, Sandhya was alone conducive to the highest end of man. The sun they worshipped in it was not the physical Sun in the heavens, but the Purusha within it, and the time and place of its performance, *viz.*, morning and evening on the bank of a river or other secluded spot, were enjoined in order to ensure calmness of mind and concentration of thought.

In praying to Surya, Agni, Manyu (the god presiding over anger) and Manyupati, the god presiding over desire and hatred, for purification of sins committed during the day and night "through mind, speech, hands, feet, organs of generation or in any other manner," as well as in offering "all that was of evil as a sacrifice to the god of waters, the origin of immortality, the Truth, and the Light, *i. e.*, Brahma, who is the origin of the universe and free from evil," (Taitriya Aranyaka Prapathaka, 10 Anuvaka 24), the performer recognized his sinful nature upon earth and wished to purify all that was of evil in him before approaching his Maker. In praying to the waters to give him the power of intellect, splendour and strength of eyes, to make him fit to receive that rasa (Brahma) which is beneficial, or in addressing them as kind mothers who make their children fit to receive the rasa (Parabrahma) and surrendering himself to them as the abode of Parabrahman, or in wishing for purification from sin "just as one afflicted by heat is refreshed taking shelter under a tree, or one who is impure by a bath, or as ghee by passing through cloth," the worshipper wished to wash himself clean in and out in order to be fit for receiving the light of Brahma.

The object of the *aghu marshana* mantra अघमर्षण, which is taken from Rig Veda, X, 191, was also to make man recognize that Truth and Eternal Law were the origin of the universe, that in the Mahapralaya, when all universe was merged into Brahm, Brahm — the Truth—alone existed, that from it was produced night (matter in its unmanifested condition), that from its thought, kindled to its ut-

most, came waters in their causal form, that from it evolved Brahma, the maker of the world, in its manifested condition, that he created in due order the sun and the moon as in the former kalpas, that he is the ordainer of the days and nights, the year, the heavens, the earth, the regions of the air and light.

The gayatri, with its seven Vyahritis and its Sirsa mantra, was also enjoined to be recited, as leading the worshipper to the highest end of man. With his breath restrained, he meditated upon the seven worlds or the seven states of consciousness, (Bhu, भूः Bhuvah (भुवः) स्वः (Swah) Janah जनः महः maha तपस tapas, and सत्यं Satyam as Brahm. In repeating the Gayatri mantra he realized his identity with Brahm. The interpretation of the mantra, as given by Sayana, is: "Let us meditate as on ourselves, on the shining Creator and All-Pervader, that Divine Light which destroys avidya and its effects. May that Sun enlighten our intelligences."

Sankara's interpretation is the same: " I, the Pratyagatma, who am a mere witness of things seen by the Buddhi, meditate on my nature as that Brahm, which is well known, which presides over everything, which is of the nature of the highest bliss, which is not the cause of sorrow and which is of the nature of knowledge."

The meaning of the Gayatri Siras mantra is that " the All-pervading, the All-effulgent, the Immortal is Brahm." The literal meaning of the Gayatri, *viz.*, " Let us meditate on that excellent glory of the Divine Vivifier, may He enlighten our understandings," also points more towards the meditation of the Purusha within the sun than of the latter as we see it in the heavens. The ideal of all the rishis was the same as that of the Upanishads, and the interpretations of Sayana and Sankara are therefore in accordance with the philosophy of the latter, which aimed at the realization of man's unity with Brahm.

His Sandhya over, the Aryan dressed and worshipped the deities. He bathed and took his food twice a day, eating according to measure and taking nothing between meals. He did not however take his food before he had offered it to the gods, the rishis, and the guests, and we read in the Gita: "The righteous who eat the remnant of sacrifice are freed from all sins, those who cook for themselves alone, eat sin itself" (III-13). Only such food as was not forbidden by the S'astras was enjoined to be eaten, and abstinence from food on days of the new and the full moon was enjoined. Before taking meals a little water used to be sipped and the mouth and the feet washed and the dress changed. Food was taken with restrained speech and without censuring the articles served. A remnant of food was always left for birds and reptiles. Two portions of the stomach were to be filled with food and one with water, leaving the fourth empty for passage of air. All evil habits, such as breaking clods of earth, tearing grass from under the feet, indulging in bodily or mental exertion in a state of fatigue, using improper seats or beds, riding vicious animals, climbing trees, laughing loud, making

indecent or improper gestures, indulgence in excessive sleep or in the pleasures of the palate were emphatically denounced. Adherence to truthfulness and a life of tranquility and observance of a peaceful behaviour, were enjoined. Avoidance of prying into others' secrets, association with the unrighteous or the disloyal and neglect of wives or servants or friends, even though they were sinful, were prohibited. Subjugation of all evil propensities for alcoholic stimulants, gambling and women of ill-fame and freedom from malice are most strictly enjoined, not only in all the Smritis and the epics, but in medical works also. Charaka's dictum as to what is to be done and what is to be avoided—is to serve the good, to avoid the bad, to observe Brahmacharya, fasts and penances, to acquire a knowledge of the S'astras and realize their meaning, to shun company and love solitude, to have a distaste for objects of the senses, to make exertion for securing release, to possess fortitude, to avoid undue exertion and burn all actions which have been done in the fire of knowledge, to have no egotism, to see danger in company, to concentrate the mind and the intellect, to examine truth and to realize it. All these are declared by that ancient rishi to lead to that purification of the memory which secures permanent bliss.

"The man who is devoted to chastity, avoids wine and sexual indulgence, causes no pain to any one, does not tire himself out by exertion, is of a peaceful disposition, speaks sweet words, is devoted to duty, is pure in body, is of a firm, charitable and an ascetic disposition, worships the gods, the Brahmans, the cow, the preceptor, the teacher and the aged, is devoid of cruelty, is compassionate, awakes and sleeps at the proper hour, eats ghee and drinks milk daily, knows what ought to be done at a certain time and a certain place and the method of doing it, is free from self-conceit, observes the practices of the good, is devoted to one *Dharma*, waits upon those who know the science of the Atma, believes in God, serves those who have brought their senses under control and is conversant with the Dharma sastras, such a person has always the benefits of a Rasayana (Elixir of life) without using (a medicinal) one. (Chikitsa sthana, Chap. I, verse II.)

Illustrations from practical life.

This was not merely an ideal but was realized in actual life, for we read in the Mahábhárata of kings like Yudhishthira and heroes like Krishna adhering to these rules throughout their lives. "The king rose early in the morning and after performing his ablutions dressed in clean robes and sitting towards the east with his hands joined together and following the path of the righteous, mentally said his prayers and then entered the chamber where a blazing fire was kept. There he performed his oblations to the fire (the agnihotra), and then met Bráhmanas well read in the Vedas. They uttered in distinct voices agreeable benedictions, and the king made them presents of money, clarified butter, auspicious fruits, horses, cows, &c. He then touched various

articles calculated to bring good fortune,—clarified butter, honey, *gorochana*,—and looked at floral garlands, waterpots, auspicous and well-decked maidens, and then entered his audience chamber." (Drona Parva, Chapter 81.) Krishna also did the same and one morning when Yudhishthira, after he had been installed at Hastinapur, went to see him, he found him sitting rapt in yoga meditation, and the poet tells us: "He beheld Krishna of the hue of a blue cloud, sitting on a large sofa adorned with gold and gems. Attired in yellow silks and decked with celestial ornaments, his body blazed with splendour like a jewel set in gold. On his breast he wore the Kaustabh gem, and looked like the Udaya mountain decked with the rising sun. So beautiful did he appear that there was nothing to compare him with in the three worlds. Approaching him Yudhishthira asked him if he had passed the night happily, telling him that it was through his grace that they had been victorious in battle. But Krishna did not reply till his meditation was over. (Santi Parva, Chapter 46.) In another place we read of Krishna being waked at dawn by bands of choristers and sweet sounds of music. After rising from bed he went through the ordinary offices of nature and taking a bath he recited the sacred mantras, poured libations to the fire, dressed and worshipped the rising sun and made presents of gold and other things to Bráhmanas before going out on his mission.

Dress, houses and cities of ancient India.

The dress of that period was the ordinary *dhoti*, but probably not a *chadar*, for the Kshatriyas who wore short-sleeved jackets as we see in some ancient sculptures in India. They wore crowns (mukuta) on the head and decked themselves with ornaments. The rishis clad themselves in barks and skins and wore clotted hair on the head. Beyond this the epics afford no indications of the dress of the period. Palaces and well-built houses were common and gorgeous descriptions of these are met with both in the Vedas as well as in the epics. In the Rig Veda reference is made to kings sitting "in their supremest homes, the thousand pillared firmly based." (II, 41, 5.) But it is in the epics that the descriptions are most elaborate. Dasratha's capital, Ayodhya, is described as 12 yojanas in length and ten in breadth, abounding in spacious roads well laid out, full of shops stocked with all kinds of goods, containing stately edifices adorned with flags, and having theatres, gardens and mango-groves, enclosed by a wall and surrounded by a deep moat, inhabited by merchants from various countries, and adorned with mountain-like palaces, glittering with jewels, abounding in paddy and rice and ever resounding with sounds of musical instruments." (Valmiki Ramayana, I-5.) Yudhishthira's Sabha (palace), as built by Mayasura in Indarprastha, was even more gorgeous. It was of great beauty, consisted of colmns of gold and occupied an area of five thousand cubits. It was so spacious, delightful and refreshing, composed of such excellent materials and furnished with such gold-

en walls and archways, and adorned with so many varied pictures that it surpassed in beauty the palace of Brahma himself. There was in it a peerless tank, full of fishes of golden hue and adorned with a staircase made of crystal. Its banks were overlaid with slabs of costly marble set with pearls, and round it were artificial woods, containing trees full of flowers emitting delicious fragrance. (Mahábhárata Sabha Parva, Chapter 3.) Inside the palace was a place built of such pure crystal that King Duryodhana once mistook it for a lake of water and drew up his clothes to the great amusement of the bystanders. In another place he mistook a lake of crystal for dry land and fell into it, exciting great laughter among his companions.

The state of the people in ancient India.

The epics, moreover, give us some glimpses of the state of the people of those days. There were no persons in Ayodhya "who were atheistical, or of a crooked mind, or given to lust or not having their senses under control, or unlettered, or unsightly, or who did not light the sacrificial fire, or who did not perform sacrifices, or who engaged in improper occupations." "The Bráhmanas of that place were of subdued senses, always engaged in the performance of their own duties, freely giving away their money in charity and studying and receiving gifts with discrimination. None of them was atheistical or untruthful, or slenderly read in the Vedas, or addicted to slander, or incompetent or illiterate. There was no Bráhmana who was not versed in the Vedas or the Vedangas, or who did not observe his vows, who did not give away by thousands, or who was poor-spirited or of unsound mind or afflicted. And no man or woman was devoid of beauty or grace, or lacked reverence for their monarch. And the four orders with Bráhmanas at their head contained persons serving the gods and their guests, and endowed with gratitude, munificent, heroic, and possessed of prowess. And the men were long-lived and ever adhered to truth and duty, and lived in that best of cities, always surrounded by sons and grandsons and wives. The Kshatriyas were obedient to the Bráhmanas, the Vaisyas followed the Kshatriyas, and the Sudras, occupied with their proper vocations, ministered unto the three orders." (Valmiki Ramáyana Bálkánda, Chap. VI, verses 6 to 19.)

Administration.—The administration of the various petty kingdoms into which the country was divided in ancient times was conducted by kings assisted by a number of counsellors, generally seven. They were the governor of the citadel, the commander of the forces, the chief judge, the general inferior in command, the chief priest, the chief physician, and the chief astrologer. They were all required to be capable of "giving advice, ever intent upon the good of the king, learned yet modest, true to their word, never committing wrong, either from passion or avarice, and adepts in their intercourse with the people." In addition to these, the great rishis not only passed their time in contemplation, but also visited kings' courts,

now rebuking the vicious and the foolish for their folly and vice, now comforting the distressed, now imparting the highest knowledge and now acting the part of public critics in the most fearless and outspoken manner. Fully aware of the temptations of power, they always cautioned kings against them. For instance, we find Narada asking Yudhishthira "if he was free from the fourteen vices of kings, *viz.*, atheism, untruthfulness, anger, incautiousness, procrastination, keeping evil company, idleness, restlessness of mind, taking counsel with only one man, consulting unwise persons or those unacquainted with the science of profit, abandonment of a settled plan, divulgence of counsels, unaccomplishment of beneficial projects and doing things without proper consideration, telling him that by these vices kings even firmly seated upon their thrones were ruined." (Sabhá Parva, Chap. 5.) Kings were great patrons of learning in those days and learned Bráhmanas were always maintained by the rajas who then ruled the country. Their courts were also resorted to by Bráhmanas and rishis of other portions of the country, and at all Yajnas the Bráhmanas engaged in discussions, making by well-chosen arguments "the worse appear the better reason" and "falling upon their opponents, like hawks darting at meat thrown out into the air." (Sabhá Parva, Chap. 36.)

Sacrifices.—The number of sacrifices in those times, and the amount of wealth given away to Bráhmanas on such occasions, shows that either the resources of the country must have been enormous or that the descriptions were of an ideal rather than an actual state of affairs: For instance, King Bharat performed a thousand sacrifices and a hundred Rájsuyas. In the sacrifice of King Dilpa the sacrificial stakes were made of gold. King Yayati built sacrificial altars upon the whole earth up to the seashore, the distance of each altar being measured by throwing logs of wood. King Gaya subsisted for a hundred years only upon the remains of sacrificial food, and, while he gave away his wealth, he prayed that he should have regard for only truth and virtue. Rantideva used to feed the Bráhmanas in vessels and plates of gold. In his palace a hundred thousand cattle used to be slaughtered every day, and, while feeding the guests, the cooks used never to say they had never enough. Sagara is said to have given to Bráhmanas mansions containing gold columns. King Prithu, after whom the earth is named Prithwi, gave unto Bráhmanas 21 piles of gold, each measuring 400 cubits. All this seems a fairy tale full of poetical exaggeration, yet there is this truth in it, that the kings of those days were very rich and could afford to make large and costly gifts to Bráhmanas. And yet even a sacrifice, accompanied with the costliest gifts, was not held to be equal to the sacrifice made by the poor of those days of their hard-earned and paltry subsistence, for we read in the Mahábhárata that a Bráhmana, his wife, his son, and his son's wife, who had been starving for many days, at last got a *prastha* of barley. They pound-

ed it and were going to eat when a guest entered their abode. The Bráhmana offered him his own share of barley, but the guest's hunger was not satisfied. His wife, son and daughter-in-law each then gave up his or her portion also, although they had had nothing to eat for so many days, preferring starvation to leaving a guest hungry. And it is said that it was the gift, made with a pure heart, of things acquired lawfully and given away with faith and devotion that secured all three the heaven. It was not in the costliness of a sacrifice, but in the spirit in which it was performed, that the merit lay.

Food.—The articles of food of those times were also fewer and simpler than of these days. The rishis of the Vedic and the Epic periods were flesh-eaters, and in the former Soma juice, the only intoxicating liquor known to the Aryans, was largely drunk. In the epic period flesh meat began to be discarded, and in the Mahábhárata we read of Bhishma telling Yudhishthira that "though nothing upon earth was superior to flesh meat in point of taste or bringing strength to the weak or the development of the body, yet because it led to cruelty and wanton sacrifice of life there was nothing meaner for man than to increase his own flesh by sacrificing the life of another living creature. There was not, nor will there ever be, a gift superior to the gift of life, and abstention from cruelty is the highest self-control, the highest gift, the highest penance, and equal in merit to all other sacrifices, gifts and ablutions in sacred waters. The use of animal food was therefore to be deprecated." (Anusasana Parva, Chap. 116.). In another place it is said : "Wine, fish, meat, honey, alcohol.....have been introduced by knaves. The hankering after these in sacrifices is due to error of judgment. The true Bráhmana realizes the presence of Vishnu in every sacrifice, and sacrifices to him with agreeable preparations of milk and fruits and flowers, and dedicates to him all worthy acts with a pure heart and with a knowledge accompanied with holiness." (Santi Parva Moksha Dharma, Chap. .)

Position of woman.—Such a condition of society could alone have produced women like Viswára, a lady of the family of Atre, who composed a hymn in honor of Agni (Rig Veda V, 28), or a Maitreyi, who received instructions in Brahmvidya from Yajnvalkya, her husband. The wife was always reckoned as one of the 18 members of a sacrifice, and the dictum of Manu that "where women are honoured, there the gods rejoice, and where the husband is pleased with his wife and the wife with her husband, there dwells all prosperity" was not an ideal but a description of an actual condition of society in India. All heroines of Indian epics—Sita, Sawitri, Draupadi, Sakuntala, Damayanti, &c.—were never helpless when placed in situations of difficulty; on the contrary, they were as strong in prosperity as in adversity. Draupadi declares that "the eternal virtue of a woman is based on devotion to her husband. The husband is the wife's god and her refuge. Indeed, there is no

other refuge for her." (Mahábhárata Vana Parva, Chapter 233, verse 37.) And yet, when occasion demanded it, she courageously assisted her husband with advice and managed his affairs in a way which will be creditable to the best superintendent of even the largest modern establishment. According to her own account she had the charge of the whole of the enormous household of King Yudhishthira. There she had to feed every day eight thousand Bráhmanas in golden plates, and eighty thousand *Snataka* Bráhmanas with thirty attendants attached to each, and ten thousand *Yatis*. She had also the charge of a hundred thousand maidservants whose names and dresses were all known to her; and of a hundred thousand elephants and horses, framing rules regarding them. She was fully aware of all the income and the expenditure of the kingdom, and took her onerous duty cheerfully out of love for her husband. (Mahábhárata Vana Parva, Chapter 233.) And yet, when placed under the direst adversity, she did not forget her duty and repulsed the advances of the evil-minded Jayadratha, King of Sauvira, saying: "Well known as I am, I cannot demean myself before the King of Sauvira. I have not been false to my lord even in thought, so that by that merit I shall see thee dragged and vanquished by the sons of Prithá. Thou canst not, cruel as thou art, frighten me by seizing me by violence." (Vana Parva, Chapter 268, verses 21 and 22.) The charge of Kunti to her sons is even more forceable than that of the Spartan mother to her son: "The time has come for that for which a Kshatriya lady brings forth a son. They that are foremost among men never become cheerless when they incur hostilities." (Mahábhárata Udyoga Parva, Chapter 136.) Women in those days not only appeared in public but their advice was also sought for on matters of state, as was that of Gandhari on the eve of the proposed war between Kurus and Pandavas.

The householder of ancient times.

The men of that period could not therefore be otherwise, and the S'astras tell us of householders devoted to the path of virtue and fully cognizant of their duties, attaining to the highest end of man even without relinquishing family life. For all high-souled householders heaven was ordained and the S'astras declare that by self-control a man easily acquired innumerable worlds. "What need has a man of restrained senses for a forest? Similarly, O Bhárata, what need of the forest is there to him who has no self-control? That is, a forest where a man of self-control dwells, and that is even a sacred asylum." (Mahábhárata Santi Parva, Chapter 150, verse 36.) The Aryan householder was enjoined not to destroy life, nor to appropriate what did not belong to him, nor to visit other peoples' wives. He was to avoid evil conversation, uttering harsh words, publishing other people's faults and speaking falsehood. He was not to covet the possessions of others, nor to do them any injury, nor to disregard the injunctions of the Vedas, nor to do evil by act, word, body or mind. He was to establish his own household fire, to keep a store of grain lasting for either three years or one year, or for

a day only, or not even that, the last being the most meritorious way of living. He was to cook no food for himself only, but to eat after he had sacrified to the gods, fed all his guests, relations and servants (Vighasáshí). He was not to visit his wife except in her season, nor to let anybody in his household remain unfed. He was not to eat more than twice a day, was to show due reverence to his father, mother and preceptor, to respect the wishes of his wife and children, to treat his relations with consideration and to live peaceably in his family. Good conduct (*sad áchara*) was the key-note of the system and was declared to be the root of all prosperity, the prolonger of life, superior to all branches of knowledge, and the most efficacious mode of propitiating the deities, and it was said that no worship of God in the three worlds was equal to compassion for all creatures, friendly feelings towards all, charity and sweet words.

Life in Modern India.—Many of the ideas of those times, regarding gifts and external purity, are even now current among Hindu society, but how vastly inferior is the present life of a Hindu to what it was in the Epic or even the Puranic period! There were then no early marriages, society was a simple society where people did not relinquish their duty for gain or from fear or delusion. Fasts and penances were not uncommon and we read of people fasting even for a whole month at a time, but self-restraint and self-denial, the practice of truth and righteousness were always held to be superior to mere mortification of the body. There were then no restrictions about the three higher castes eating each other's food. "A Bráhmana may take his food from another Bráhmana, from a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya, but he must not accept food from a Sudra. A Kshatriya may take his food from a Bráhmana or a Vaisya. He must, however, eschew food given by Sudras, who are addicted to evil ways and who partake of all manner of food, without scruple." (Mahábhárata Anusásana Parva, Chapter 135, verses 2 and 3.) Gifts of food, land and cows, especially of Kapilá cows, were highly applauded then as they are now, but the receivers of those gifts were to be men who were friends of all creatures, possessed of righteousness and pre-eminent for their good conduct and penances. No gift was, we are expressedly told in the Mahábhárata, to be made to a "person who was of unrighteous behaviour, sinful or covetous or untruthful, or who did not offer sacrifices to the gods and the fathers." Bráhmanas were enjoined not to solicit gifts and their firmness consisted in not soliciting them from anybody Visits to sacred places were common and the merits of Pushkara, Prabhâsa, Naimisha, Hardwara, Prayâga, &c., are descanted on at much length in the Mahábhárata. But it was also said that "merely washing the body in water did not purify one. He on the other hand is regarded as pure, who has washep himself by self-denial. They who show no anxiety for the past, nor feel any attachment to the present, and who are free from desire, are

said to be possessed of the highest purity. Knowledge is conducive to the purity of the body, as well as to freedom from desire and cheerfulness of mind. The purity that one attains by ablutions in sacred waters is inferior. Verily, that purity which arises from knowledge is the best. The ablutions which one performs with a blazing mind in the waters of the knowledge of Brahm, in the Tirtha called Mánasa, are the true ablutions of those that are conversant with truth." (Mahábhárata Anusasana Parva, Chapter 108, verses 9 to 13.)

There were then no restrictions upon people visiting foreign countries, and people freely visited them without losing caste. The Mahábhárata mentions, among other places, the Thasypa Hrada (the Caspian Sea), while accounts of Sea Voyages are also met with in the Vedas, and reference to ships in the Smritis.

The five great sacrifices.

Every member of the twice-born classes performed his five great sacrifices (the pánch mahá yagya) in order to save himself from the five sins incidental to family life, the five *sunas*, or the places where animal life is sacrificed, *viz.*, the mill, the fireplace, the broom, the pestle and the mortar, and the waterplace. These five sacrifices consisted of (1) reading and teaching the Vedas, called the Brahmayagya, (2) oblations to the forefathers, called the Pitriyagya, (3) sacrifices to the gods, called the Devayagya, (4) distribution of food to living creatures, called the Bhútayagya, and (5) the feeding of guests, called the Manushyagya. Now-a-days the first is either not known or properly performed by many of the members of the first, second and third orders, and where it is performed it is simply in the shape of the Sandhyâ, accompanied now and then with reading a portion of the S'astra, except where a Bráhmana has pupils to teach. The Pitriyagya is performed mostly at the *pitripaksha* in the month of Aswin. Sacrifice to the gods has now given place to throwing a little food in the fire before commencing the morning meal, while the *Athitiyagya* is performed by feeding guests, if any happen to be in the house, and not by giving food to chance-droppers before taking one's meal.

Contrast between the old and the new mode of life in India.

Contrasted with the old how artificial and how devoid of faith and love is our new mode of life in India. Among Bráhmanas there is either an absence of learning or piety or even both. Among Kshatriyas there is generally little or no disposition to perform their duty in life. Among the Vaisyas, who have benefitted most by the present condition of things, there is generally a disposition to waste their wealth in unmeaning shows and pomp, and want of realization of the true meaning and object of charity. The artizan class is gradually declining under foreign competition. The great industries of the country which once made it famous throughout the world, are all going. The agriculturist has now to face a famine even every five or at the utmost ten years. Popu-

lation has increased without any increase in the peoples' means of subsistence. Old wants have not only increased but many new and artificial ones have been created. Indulgence in articles of food and drink which are entirely unsuited to Indian constitutions, and adoption of foreign manners and foreign dress, are even more popular among the Hindus of to-day than among their predecessors a few years ago. Diseases and vices which were quite unknown to our predecessors, even in the immediate past, not to speak of the remoter periods, are cutting off the flower of the nation in its prime and amidst its career of usefulness. The higher classes, blessed with education, wealth or power, not only show little or no sympathy to ameliorate the condition of their poorer brethren but hold themselves aloof in a manner which is sometimes worse than that of even some foreigners. Litigation is being indulged in as a pastime as if people had nothing better to do. Religion is being followed more as a matter of form than in the spirit in which it was followed in ancient or mediæval India. All these and many other evils are matters of the commonest observation and the remedy lies in recognizing these evils as evils and trying to remove them by taking as much lesson from life in ancient India as it is capable of affording and applying it to our changing circumstances, our new wants and new aspirations. That there will yet be found a large portion of the old order of things which will be of use even now, is patent to every observer. For instance, the rules of life given in Charak are recognized by even European and American medical authorities to be such as if followed "would give less work to undertakers and fewer chronic invalids to the world." The same may be said of the rules of morality and religion inculcated in our smritis and the ithihasas. If followed, they will not only conduce to the well-being of the nation but shall also pave the way towards its progress in the future. Only there must be a will to follow them. "Affluence, prosperity, modesty, contentment and fame dwell in labour and skill, not in idleness. Friends are not competent to give happiness, nor foes to inflict misery. Thou hast been created by thy Maker to engage thyself in work. Success springs from work. Thou shouldst not avoid work." These words of Vyasa ought to be laid to heart by all modern Indians.

The Vanprastha and the Sanyasa.—Having passed the second portion of his life as a householder, the Aryan retired from active life to seek union with Brahm. When he found his body declining and his hair turning grey, his sons and grandsons settled in life, he betook himself to the third *Asrama*, known as the Vanprastha. He did not leave his household fires, nor his sacrifice to the gods, but made his vows of abstemiousness stricter, eating only once a day what remained after feeding his guests, living upon vegetables and wild grains, exposing himself to heat and cold, sleeping on the bare earth and owning no other furniture except a mat

(*a*) In Ancient India.

of grass. Thus gradually lessening his wants he learnt to sacrifice personal ease and comfort till in the fourth period of his life, *viz.*, from the age of 50 to 75, he was ready to adopt the *Sanyasa* (renunciation) with which his true life was said to commence. How largely prevalent the *Sanyasin* mode of life was in India of the past, and what fascination it still exercises upon the minds of all classes of Hindus, will be seen from the fact that it was the goal of the best intellects of the country in the palmiest days of its civilization and is more or less their goal now-a-days also. Vyasa, Vashishtha, Narada, Yagyvalkya, Parasara, Suka, Sankara and others who have left their mark upon Indian thought were all *Sanyasins*. Bhishma, the great Kuru warrior, Krishna, the hero of the Mahábhárata, Janaka and others who ruled kingdoms, made wars, led armies or acted as guides to kings and chiefs, were also in reality, though not outwardly, life-long Sanyasins. Some adopted Sanyasa after they had done their work in life, others did so from their earliest years. Unattached to all objects of the world, finding his pleasure within himself, relinquishing every kind of work which was in the least calculated to distract his mind, having pledged the vow of harmlessness to all creatures, divested of desire, free from delusion, giving up even his sacred thread and his love of study, eating little and that also once a day, without any fixed habitation, clad in rags, living in perfect solitude, entering a village only once for the purpose of begging food, indifferent to praise and blame, the Aryan in the last portion of life waited for death like a servant waiting for the command of his Master. Even then he was a true Bráhmana. This is the dictum of the S'astra. "The gods," it was said in the Mahábhárata, "know him to be a true Bráhmana who can make a spot teeming with thousands appear to him to be perfectly solitary and unoccupied. He who succeeds in beholding in the soul that resides in the body, that foremost of Beings which is not attached to earth, which is immeasureable even in the measureless firmament, which pervades all, in which is set the wheel of time, which is the cause of all this universe, of such a person the condition cannot be known by others, just as the course of a bird flying in the air." This ideal of life the rishis of old declared to be unattainable by work, however highly meritorious. "The man that is destitute of knowledge, whether he pours *homa* (oblations) or performs sacrifices, can never by work attain to emancipation. Nor can he enjoy any great happiness in the end. Restraining all the external senses and alone one should therefore seek to know Brahm. Giving up work one should not exert even mentally." Self-restraint, renunciation and knowledge were declared by the rishis to be the only three doors of the temple of emancipation. To the emancipated this transitory world was rightly declared by them to be incapable of giving joy or sorrow, nor had birth, death and even emancipation any meaning for those who had attained the *Swarajya*, the empire of self.

This ideal, though difficult, was not unattainable, as Indian history abundantly shows. Kings sacrificed their most cherished possessions in order to attain it. Householders relinquished all that was near and dear to them, not for an *ignis-fatuus*, nor for the purpose of mistaking the illusions of their own minds for union with Brahm. On the contrary they felt that only in cutting off the knot of desire which bound them to the world, lay the road to eternal happiness. Hard as the battle of spiritual discipline was to fight, the Indians of old fought it manfully alone and single-handed, knowing that if they lost it they were doomed for ever.

(*b*) In Modern India.

In modern India, also, although the Vânprastha and the Sanyâsa orders do not form two distinct modes of life, but run into each other, yet the tendency of the nation is towards a life of ascetic self-denial. The institution has not been free from abuse, yet the Hindu has always considered it to be the only means of release from a world of sorrow and trouble. In spite of many of the so-called Sanyâsins of the present day, leading a life of slothful ignorance, or even something worse, and degrading the truth of religion to justify their freedom from all moral and social restraints, (nistraigunye-pathi-vichartah ko vidhi ko nishedah—what injunction or prohibition is there for him who treads in the path of Brahm, which is devoid of attributes), yet there are even now men who have set before them and are steadily pursuing the ideal set forth in the S'astras. Their aim is to see themselves in all things and all things in themselves and destroy all sense of difference and separation. The orthodox order of Dandi Sanyâsins are still very exclusive, and deny the privilege of Sanyâsa to any one but a Bráhmana, and that also till lately to any but a Panch Dravida Bráhmana; yet even there we find men not only of the highest culture but of the loftiest character and most earnest seekers of Brahm. I need only mention the instance of the late Swami Bhaskarananp of Benares, who died in August last at the age of about 70, and whose death was so universally regretted by not only natives but by some of the Anglo-Indian community also. The Swami was born in a Bráhmana family in the Cawnpore district and retired from the world at the age of eighteen as soon as a son was born to him. He then travelled throughout India, and finally settled in Benares where he lived for many years, devoting himself to doing all possible good to those who visited him, receiving every one without distinction of color or creed with equal kindness, and yet setting an example of the most rigid ascetism, combined with the greatest unselfishness. His asylum was the resort of all tourists both from India and foreign countries, and he was known not only as the holy man of Benares, but also as one of the highest and the best of natives. Householders, princes and chiefs, as well as men who have received the highest education of modern times, derived as much pleasure and found as great solace in his company as the

recluse and the mendicant. Though not very learned, he had the clearest ideas on all subjects of religion and philosophy. But above all was the example he set of suffering manfully the vicissitudes of heat and cold and what is known as the pair of opposites in the S'astras, that earned for him the respect of all who met him. Without even a blanket to shelter him from cold, with barely a mat to sleep upon, with not even a *kamandalu* (bowl) to drink water from, and not even a rag on his person, Bhaskaranand was as cheerful as ever, always having a kind word for every one who went to see him. His views were of the most catholic description. He did not agree with Sankara in thinking Sudras to be disqualified from reading the Brahmavidya, for the S'astras never recognize such a distinction. With tears in his eyes he used to repeat that well-known verse of the Yogavashishtha, where Rama tells Vashishtha that though not sold to any one, we are yet sold as slaves to our own desires, and though knowing all this to be false, we are yet blinded by illusion. People ascribed to him miraculous powers (*Siddhis*), but he repudiated them and declared the greatest *Siddhi* to be the due performance of duty. His disciples, among whom are some of the best men of India, are trying to build a grand temple in his memory; indeed, he was an object of worship in temples even in his life-time, which is seldom the case with any Sanyasin now-a-days. But it is the record of a pure and noble life, a life devoted to the most earnest realization of truth, which will ever live in the hearts of all who knew him.

There are many other good Sanyasins among the Dandis, but it is among the unorthodox that Sanyasa seems to flourish in its real vigour. Among the Udasis and the Nirmalas of the Punjab, there are not only men of the highest culture but of the greatest self-denial, and capacity for suffering also. Sound knowledge of Hindu religious philosophy is becoming more common among them than among the orthodox school, and up in the Himalayas is found many a recluse passing his days in peaceful calmness, reminding one of the *rishis* of ancient India.

V.—THE SRADDHA.

(*a*) In ancient times.

The last great institution of Hindu Society, both ancient and modern, is the Sraddha, or oblations in honor of the departed, though instead of the simple and inexpensive ceremonial of ancient times, it is now an occasion for display of wealth in many parts of the country. Such rites were common in other nations of antiquity also, but it is their elaborate character that constitutes their distinguishing feature in Indian Society. The word Sraddha is not found in the Vedas. It is met with largely in Manu and the Grihya Sutras, and the Vedic mantras recited at it are those which are recited for oblations of water (*tarpana*) to the forefathers. These mantras are: "Those of our forefathers who are yet in

this world, those who are in the middle regions, and those who reserve to drink amrita, may they all go to the higher regions. Those of the fathers who have assumed the form of prána (vital air), may they be purified, and may the fathers who are cognizant of truth, protect us in the avahana (invocation). May those of our fathers who have just gone, and who deserve to drink the amrita, may those who are descendants of Angiras or Bhrigu, guide our intellect aright. May our fathers who are worthy of drinking the Soma juice, and who follow the rites enjoined in the Vedas and the Smritis may they come by the path of the gods to this sacrifice, may they be satisfied with the Swadhá, may they bless and protect me. O Amrita, thou that art produced from the nectar of flowers, O corn and clarified butter, which destroy all diseases and remove all obstacles, O waters which carry off the three humours, may you be *hari* to my fathers, may you give them satisfaction. Swadhá and salutation to those of the fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers who have partaken of the Swadhá food. The fathers become pleased after eating and drinking. May they satisfiy me by giving me desired blessings. O fathers, be you purified by washing your hands. Fathers who are living in this world with bodies, those who are not living here, those whom we know or those we do not know, Thou knowest them, O Jatvedas (fire), do thou make them partake of the sacred Swadhá. May the wind carry off honey, may it flow in the rivers, and may herbs produce it. May the night be sweet as honey, may the morning be sweet as honey, may the particles of earth be sweet as honey, may heaven, the father of us all, be sweet as honey. May the lord of the herbs be sweet to me, may the sun be sweet to me, may our cows yield milk sweet as honey. Salutations to the spring which belongs to the fathers, to the summer, to the rainy season, to the *sarada* (the autumn), to the *hemanta*, and the *sisira* (the cold season). Salutations to you, O Pitris, give us families. We give you coverings, your covering is a thread, do you wear it."

(*h*) In Modern Times.

How far these mantras justify on the one hand the worship of the father, the mother and other living ancestors only, as some reformers in India think, or the costly gifts of dresses, jewellery and almost every conceivable article of household furniture on the other, may well be questioned. All that they intend is the invocation of the living and the dead in sacrifice, in token of love and affection. The institution of the Sráddha is very old and the meaning of the word is " that which is given in faith," though the Sutras add " to the Bráhmanas for the sake of the fathers," and its origin is ascribed by them to the wish of men to live in heaven with the gods and not to be left behind as they had been. In the Mahábhárata it is said that one Nimi, son of Dattatreya of Atri's race, happened to lose a son. He conceived the idea of a Sráddha in his memory and got together and fed a number of Bráhmanas and

offered cakes and sesamum seed to his son. But the rishi became filled with grief and thought he had done something not sanctioned by the Vedas, till he was assured that he had performed a sacrifice in honour of the Pitris. (Anusasana Parva, Chapter 91.) Thenceforward the Sráddha became an institution of Aryan society. But whatever be its origin, its object is only to remind us of those to whom we owe our existence in the world, and the gifts we make at it, are intended as a loving tribute to their memory, serving at the same time as a means of encouragement of learning and piety. The Mahábhárata therefore forcibly enjoins that gifts on such occasions should only be made to "persons who are conversant with the Vedas, the Dharmasastras, the Puranas, the Bhashyas, and the rules of grammar, who act up to the standard laid down in the *S'astras*, who are conversant with the religion of emancipation and who are devoted to truth and to the practices of yoga." It is also said that "a man of intelligence should examine the Bráhmanas who are invited to a Sráddha as to their intelligence, appearance, birth, conduct, age and learning, and that the merit of feeding thousands of false Bráhmanas is equal to that of feeding only one Bráhmana who is versed in the S'astras." (Mahábhárata Anusasana Parva, Chapter 90.) Modern Hindu society cannot therefore do better than revert to the system inculcated by the rishis of old and save not only its own money, but also put a stop to that encouragement of vice, which its present indiscriminate system of charitable gifts at places where Sráddhas are usually performed, *viz.*, Gaya, Benares, Prayag, &c., sometimes affords.

VI.—REFORMS NECESSARY.

(*a*) Social reform.

Indian civilization cannot therefore be said to be quite dead, but it requires some new life to be infused into it; and some changes to suit modern requirements. What such changes are I shall now briefly attempt to show.

We have seen that the life of the student in ancient India was marked by strict observance of the vow of chastity. The same ought also to be the case now. Marriage should now, as it was in those days, be postponed till the Indian youth is capable of taking care of a family. There was then no extravagance in marriages, nor indulgence in shows as it is now, and a return to ancient methods in this respect will be productive of undoubted advantage. Women were then, and ought also to be now, educated and given the place they are fitted for in society. The Hindus of those times had fewer wants than their descendants of these days. They were not so mindful of personal ease or comfort as of their duties to society. Why should the same not be the case now also? Valmiki has said: "For those who live upon their lawful earnings and are devoted to

their own spouses, who are self-controlled, and are dear to their guests, there is emancipation even in the midst of a family." This should be laid to heart by all modern Hindus. We cannot revive the Aswamedha or the Rajsuya sacrifices prevalent in the Vedic times, nor the eight forms of marriages, nor the various kinds of sons mentioned by Manu or other Smriti writers. But we can usefully revive their rules about marrying at a proper age, bestowing gifts upon the worthy and every one having a thorough knowledge of the principles of his religion and his duties in life, as well as being less exclusive on account of caste or family prejudices.

(b) Common language.

Above all it is necessary to revive the ancient ideal of a common national language. Sanskrit was the spoken language of the higher and *prakrita* of the lower classes of Aryans. The various Indian vernaculars were apparently not in existence in ancient India. They cannot, however, be wiped off now. But they can be vastly improved, and the best and the most authentic teachings of Hinduism brought home to the people through their medium. English is destined to be the medium of thought in India, but as it does not often admit of expression of Hindu religions and philosophic truth in its truest sense, Sanskrit and the Indian vernaculars founded upon it ought to be made such mediums. With an India capable of expressing its religions and philosophic thought in its own classical and modern tongues, the goal of the reformer ought to be to direct his most earnest effort towards making the ancient classic a living and not a dead language, as well as enriching the vernaculars.

With their *deva bani* (the language of the gods) as the universal medium of expression of religious, devotional and philosophic thought, more universally cultivated and made a living and not a dead language, their vernaculars enriched in the way suggested, and with the person who spoke in the former one of the grandest and most exalted messages of God to man, as one of the national heroes to be worshipped, India ought not to be only all past but should have a bright future also.

(c) Necessity of men of action.

The wisest and the best of India need moreover be no longer monks for the cloister only, but persons ready to fight the battle of life manfully, combating evil and securing their own good by securing the good of their fellows. The only way to regain the place we once occupied among the civilized people of the world is by cherishing the good around us, diminishing the evil that surrounds us, striving for truth with stout hearts, not with the over-confidence of youth, nor with the discouragement of old age, and working as manfully as our forefathers did. If we do so our success is assured. May He who is the Sovereign Lord of all, and the Upholder of all, lead us from the unreal to the real, from darkness to light, from death to immortality.

(असतोमासद्गमय तमसो माज्योतिर्गमय मृत्योर्मामृतंगमय)

मन्मना भव मद्भक्तो मद्याजी मां नमस्कुरु ।
मामेवैष्यसि सत्यंते प्रतिजाने प्रियोऽसिमे ॥
सर्वधर्म्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज ।
अहं त्वां सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥

Fix thy mind upon Me, be My devotee, sacrifice to Me, prostrate thyself before Me and thou shalt come even to Me. I pledge thee My troth; thou art dear to Me.

Renouncing all Dharmas, come unto Me alone for shelter; sorrow not, I will liberate thee from all sins.

II.—RELIGIONS.

I.—THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL INDIA.

We have seen that Hindu Society of both ancient and mediæval India was a highly civilized society, possessing many an institutions which deserve not only admiration but also imitation in the spirit in which they were originally conceived. *Dharma* (duty) and *Satya* (righteousness) were the two moving forces of Indian Society of the past. Sanskrit has no word corresponding to the word *religion* of Western countries. But the word *Dharma* in it means that which supports, not like *religion*, that which only binds, and the reason seems to be that in the words *Satya* (truth) and *Dharma* (duty) of the Hindu Scriptures, was comprised all that binds man not only to his fellow-creatures, but also to all that exists, as well as points out the relation in which he stands to God.

The creed of the rishis of the Vedas.

The aim of the Aryans was to seek unity through truth and duty. Their religion was therefore *Ekam Sad Viprah Vahudha Vadanti, Agnim, Yamam Matri S'avanam Ahu.* "The wise call the one *Sat* in many ways; they call it Agni, Yama, Matri Swam." (Rig Veda, I, 164-46.) The rishis who sang of Prajapati or Indra, or Agni, as "he alone who was God above Gods," or as the maker of all things, did not mean to eulogize this or that power of nature as the Supreme Being, but to declare Him, manifested as Agni or Indra or Prajapati, to be the Supreme Ruler of the universe. Their goal was to realize the *Atma* (Supreme Spirit) as the Sovereign Lord of all beings. *Sa eva ayam atma, Sarveshum bhutanam adhi pati, Sarveshum bhutanam raja.* (Sathpatha Bráhmana, XIV, 5, 5, 15.) And we read: "The Bráhmana who is wise and recognizes all things to be in the *atma*, who does not become bewildered when pondering upon it, and who recognizes the *atma* in every created thing, shines in heaven." (Apastamba Sutras, 1, 8, 23, 1.) The ideal of both ancient and mediæval India was therefore es-

sentially Vedantic, and for the enlightened and the cultured; no better ideal than to do one's duty unselfishly in order to find his ultimate rest in the source and the innermost self of all, could be held up. Their object of contemplation was the *Virata* form of the Creator as manifested in the creation. "A thousand heads, a thousand eyes and a thousand feet has the Purusha. He encompasses all this universe, and is yet above it to the extent of ten fingers. All this which is, which has been and which shall ever be, is verily Purusha. He is the Lord of Immortality and because He quits his true nature in order to appear as this manifested creation, therefore His manifestation, which is for the bestowal of fruit of their actions upon creatures living in the world, is not His real nature. All that which has been, is or will ever be, is merely His glory. The Purusha is greater than it: all these creatures are merely a fourth part of Him. The other three portions, which are Immortality itself, abide in his own self-effulgent nature. This Purusha, with his three portions, is beyond this universe the product of nescience, unaffected by its virtue and vice. Only one portion of Him is repeatedly manifested as this diversified world. He manifests himself as this creation with its gods, men, and beasts, pervades it, and Himself becomes all that is animate and inanimate." (Purusha Sukta 1, 2, 3 and 4.)

Religion of the Smriti and the Epic periods.

This form of worship was not only current in the Vedic but also in the Upanishad and the Smriti periods, and the Upanishads and the epics bear ample testimony to the fact that while Brahm, without attributes (nirguna), was enjoined to be an object of realization through *Samadhi* or concentration of thought by the negation of all that is finite, Brahm, as manifested in creation, was enjoined to be an object of worship. This was clearly explained by Krishna to Arjuna when, in reply to his question as to how the Divine ought to be contemplated, he told him to contemplate him as the Innermost-self of all, as the beginning, middle and end of all, as the seed of all, as all that appears to be glorious, powerful or effulgent. And Krishna's manifestation of His divine power, the Virata, was to show that the manifested was only a portion of the Divine glory (Bhagvatagita, Chapters X and XI). "The Heavens are Thy head, the earth Thy feet, the three worlds are pervaded by Thy might. Thou art the primæval Purusha. The quarters are Thy arms, the sun Thy eye, strength is Thy vital seed. Thy seven senses for the outgoing of the vital energy are restrained, O Thou of unmeasurable glory." (Bhishma Stava Raja, verses 98 and 99.) In ancient India there were no temples nor image worship. In the epic period, however, we find Arjuna worshipping Siva, who is represented as fighting with him in the disguise of a Kirata (mountaineer), and the offerings made by Arjuna to an image of Siva going to the Kirata. References to places of gods (devayátana) are also met with in the epics, but there is nothing to show that idols were worshipped, even in those times, in the same way as

they are done now. Hero worship was, however, as great a factor of the Hindu Society of that as of every other period. But the heroes were also men who had acquired such a status by their work. The S'astras repeatedly enjoin their readers against image worship, "*Natasya pratimá asti yasya nama mahad yashah*—There is no image of Him whose name is Great Glory." (Svetaswatara Upanishad, IV—19.) God was not worshipped with incense and flowers, but with a pure heart, through universal benevolence, kind words and kind actions. "God," says Vashishtha, "is not the lotus-born Brahmá, nor the Lord of the thirteen classes of gods, Indra, nor the god of wind (Vayu), nor the Sun, nor the Moon, nor a Bráhmana, nor a King, nor I, nor thou, nor the body, nor the mind, nor any embodied being, nor any conception of mind, nor Lakshmi, nor Sarswati. God is the Parmatma, the Supreme Self, the ever blissful Siva." (Yoga Vashishtha, Chapter 29, verses 119 to 121.)

Religion in the Puranic Times.

In the Puranic times, also, the ideal of the Upanishads was followed, though not so steadily as in the epic period. Then man began to recognize his inability to reach the true ideal and turned to Bhakti or devotion, and we read in the Vishnu Purana of Prahláda praying to Vishnu: "In whichever of thousands of births may I pass, may I, O Lord, always have unshaken devotion to Thy lotus-feet. That love which men of the world ever have for the objects of the world, may I ever have for Thee, always remembering Thee." Even the best of exponents of the religion of non-duality in later times recognized this, for Sankara says: 'Though all difference has ceased to exist, I am thine O Lord, not Thou mine. The billow is of the sea, not the sea of the billow."

This fervent devotion to God has since been the distinguishing feature of religious life in India, and the wisest and best of this country have either been followers of the religious philosophy of the Upanishads or of the religion of faith and devotion of later times. Fetish worship or superstition has never been the religion of the thinking and the cultured of India, whether now or in the past, and modern India ought also to recognize the fact more forcibly than it has hitherto done, that it is by a return to purer forms of worship, recognition of the paramount importance of duty, and a common ideal, that its progress towards the goal of all religion lies. "I conceive," says Herbert Spencer, "that the object of religious sentiment will ever continue to be that which it has ever been, the unknown source of all things. While the *forms* under which men are conscious of the unknown source of things may fade away, the *substance* of the consciousness is permanent. Beginning with causal agents conceived as imperfectly known, progressing to causal agents as less known and less knowable, and coming at last to a universal causal agent posited as not to be known at all, the religious sentiment must ever continue to occupy itself with this universal causal agent." (Essays, Speculative and

Practical, page 43.) This has steadily been the progress of thought everywhere, and the object of the Hindu S'astras in securing man's development on all planes—physical, mental, moral and spiritual—was also to lead him on towards this ideal.

II.—HERO WORSHIP.

Hindus have, however, not had merely philosophic, but always personal ideals also. While the perfect man of other countries has generally been the recluse, that of India has always been a man of action. The principal gods of the Hindu pantheon are all deified heroes and heroines of Hindu history, and Siva's conquest of Tripura, and Durga's fight with Mahish and other demons, are not only described in the Puranas but are also sung by the people and typified as objects of image worship in temples. The same is even more largely the case with Rama, Krishna, Hanuman and other objects of worship in India, and an examination of the lives and characters of the first two is necessary, because they are the most worshipped of all Indian gods, and because as historical personages they may furnish ideals for modern India to follow.

Valmiki, the author of the Ramayana, described Rama as a contemporary hero, without deifying him.

Rama.

He commences with inquiring of the rishi Narada as to who in this world was possessed of all good qualities, was brave, cognizant of duty, of a grateful mind, firm in his vows, just in his dealings, kind to every creature, wise, powerful, alone most fair to all men's eyes, having his mind under control, devoid of anger and envy, full of splendour and whom even gods fear in battle. And Narada tells him that though the qualities he mentions are difficult to be found in one person in this world, yet he knew of one who possessed them and that person was Rama, a scion of the Ikshwaku family. Even he was possessed of all these virtues and he describes him as follows:—

With soul subdued, a chief of might,
In scripture versed, in glory bright,
His steps in virtue's paths are bent,
Obedient, pure and eloquent.
In emprise he wins success,
And dying foes his power confess,
Tall and broad shouldered, strong of limb,
Fortune has set her mark upon him.
Graced with a conchshell's triple line,
His throat displays the auspicious sign,
High destiny is clear impressed,
On massive jaw and ample chest,
Deep in the muscle scarcely shown,
Embedded lies, his collar bone,
His lordly steps are firm and free,
His strong arms reach below the knee,

All fairest graces join to deck
His head, his brow, his stately neck,
And limbs in fair proportion set
The manliest form e'er fashioned yet.
His plighted word he ne'er forgets,
On erring sense a watch he sets.
By nature wise, his teacher's skill
Has trained him to subdue his will.
Good, resolute, and pure and strong,
He guards mankind from scathe and wrong,
And lends his aid, and ne'er in vain,
The cause of justice to maintain.
Firm as Himalayas snowy steep,
Unfathomed like the mighty deep,
The peer of Vishnu's power and might,
And lovely as the lord of night,
Patient as earth, but roused to ire,
Fierce as the world-destroying fire,
In bounty like the lord of gold,
And justice self in human mould.

(Griffith's Valmikis Ramayana, Canto I.)

And Valmiki, in recounting the exploits of the great hero, justifies in the fullest manner the truth of Narada's description.

There is not the slightest blemish in Rama's character, which the most exact modern thinker could lay his finger upon, and even as the perfect man described by Valmiki, he furnishes the best ideal for the religious-minded Hindu. I shall only quote one passage to show how strong and firm was his adherence to truth: "I shall not break the bonds of truth for gain, or from anger or from delusion. The wise have declared the path of the good to lie in adherence to truth, duty, boldness in action, compassion towards all, sweetness of speech, worship of the twice-born, the gods, and the guests. Those who are attached to their duty, who associate with the good, who are possessed of splendour, who are prominent for their charities, who cause no injury to any one, earn respect in the world; those whose impurities are destroyed are worshipped as great Munis. (Valmiki's Ramayana, Ayodhya Kanda, Chap. 109.) And Rama's life was a long record of the truth of these sayings. *Satya* and *Dharma* were his watchwords throughout life, and he sacrificed personal ease and comfort and preferred a life of exile to the throne offered to him by his brother Bharata, in order to set an example to others.

Krishna.

There is, however, much controversy regarding the character of the other great Hindu hero, Krishna; and while one set of thinkers represent him as the perfection of humanity, as god himself, as distinguished from the other incarnations of Vishnu, which were but portions of the divine, another represents him to be a grossly licentious and unscrupulous

person, and doubt even the fact of his being a historical personage. The labours of the late Bunkam Chandra Chatterji and others in Bengal have, however, succeeded in removing much misconception that had gathered round Krishna and his life and character. They have proved, and I think in a satisfactory manner, that the story of the Mahábhárata is founded upon historical fact, and that Vyasa, the compiler of that great Epic, was a contemporary of both Krishna and the Mahábhárata. There is a mass of interpolation in the story, due to the effort of each later writer who had something good to say, to make it a part of the great epic, in order to secure for it immortality. But the back-ground is founded upon historical truth.

The story of the Mahábhárata was extant in the time of Panini, the great grammarian who flourished in the 12th or the 13th century, B. C., when neither the Upanishads nor the Bráhmanas of the Vedas are said to have been written. "Gavi yudhibhyam Sthirah" (Panini, 8-3-95) गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः refers to Yudhishthira. Striyam avanti Kunti Kurubhyahsch (4-1-76) स्त्रियवन्ति कन्तिकुरुभ्यः refers to Kunti, Yudhishthira's mother. "Vasudeva Arjunbhyam *Bun*" (4-3-98) वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यांवुन् refers to Arjun and Vasudeo, another name of Krishna. The meaning of the last Sutra is that the affix *bun* comes in the sense "this is his object of veneration," after the words Vasudeo and Arjuna. The fact of Krishna having killed Kansa, his maternal uncle, is also mentioned by Patanjali in his Vyâkarana Mahâ Bhâshya. Kansa Badham achashte कंसवधमाचष्टे, "Kansam ghatayati" कंसंघातयति (Note on Panini, 3-1-26) and Jaghana Kansam kil Vasudevah जघानकंसंकिलवासुदेवः (Note on Panini, 3-2-11). The name of Krishna also occurs in the Chandogya Upanishad (3rd Prapathaka, Chapter 17). Saying all this Rishi Ghore of the race of Angiras said thus to *Devaki's son, Krishna*: "He who knoweth thus, should at the time of his death, repeat these three Yajur Veda Mantras: 'O Thou art undecaying, Thou art unchanging, Thou art the essence of true life (verse 6).'" References to Parikshita, Arjuna's grandson, and Janmajeya, his son, are also found in the Aitreya Bráhmana Pinjika (8-21), and Satpatha Bráhmana (13-5-41). Krishna was therefore a historical personage and lived some time between the 15th and 16th centuries, B. C., and his worship is very old in India.

But while a great portion of his life is founded upon fact, a still greater portion is based upon later additions, and it is not an easy task to separate the former from the latter. Every reader of the main story of the Mahábhárata, shorn of all poetical exaggeration and later accretion, will be convinced of the fact of Krishna, who was its real hero, being the greatest person of his time. It was declared by Bhishma, himself one of the greatest warriors and sages of his time, in the assembly of Yudhishthira, when Krishna's claim to receive the first honour was disputed, that he combined in him "knowledge of the Vedas and Vedangas and great strength,"

"Who among men," said Bhishma, "is greater than Krishna. Indeed liberality, cleverness, knowledge of the Vedas, bravery, modesty, achievements, excellent intelligence, humility, beauty, firmness, contentment and prosperity, all eternally abide in Achyuta." (Sabha Parva, Chapter 38, verses 19 and 20.) And indeed throughout his life, whether in the court of kings or on the field of battle, in affairs of state as well as in those of every-day life, all these qualities were always prominent. His mission was to establish *dharma* (righteousness) and destroy *adharma*, and he acomplished it. An exemplary child, possessed of almost superhuman strength, he cleared Vrindavana of the evils with which it was then infested. As a charioteer and an athlete he was unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries. Even his pupils never knew what it was to be defeated in battle, much less himself. His intellect was as clear as ever in matters and situations of the greatest difficulty and danger. He was a man of keen perception, knowing everything, whether it appertained to the affairs of this world or of the life to come, in the most thorough manner possible. Always devoted to his own atma (Supreme Self), finding his pleasure in himself, merciful and kind to the weak, ever ready to help the distressed, never sparing the wicked, even though they were his own kith and kin, doing everything without the smallest thought of personal ease or comfort, busily engaged in the affairs of the world and yet always above it, he was an ideal for his contemporaries, whether they were men of the world or hermits of the forest.

Krishna's life, as told in the Vishnu Purana, the Hari Vansa, the Bhagvat, and the Brahmavaivarta Purana, represents not so much the historical Krishna of the Mahábhárata, as a creation of the poet's own fancy. How and whence these writers got their facts is inexplicable. The Vishnu Purana is said to have been written in the 10th century A.D. The Hari Vansa is later than it, while the Bhagvata was written in the 13th century, and the Brahmavaivarta later still. The language of the Bhagvata, in which Krishna's childish adventures are described in the greatest detail, is so highly artifical as to point out unmistakeably that its author was a very recent writer. The others have also little historical value and their accounts of Krishna's infancy and childhood may safely be rejected without detracting from his real greatness. The only reference to his childhood in the Mahábhárata is in the Sabha Parva, Chapter 41, where it is said by Sisupala, when disputing his claim to receive the first honour, "Thou hast once more simply pained our hearts by reciting particularly the deeds of this one (Krishna); such as the slaying of Putana and others..... .....If Krishma in his infancy slew a vulture, what is there remarkable in that, or in that other feat of his, O Bhishma, in his slaughter of Aswa and Vríswa, both of whom were unskilled in battle. If this one threw down by a kick an inanimate piece of wood, a car, what is there remarkable in that? O

Bhishma, what is there remarkable in this one having supported for a week the Govardhana mountain, which is like an anthill? While sporting on the top of a mountain this one ate a large quantity of food. Hearing these words of thine many have wondered exceedingly. But, O, thou who art conversant with the rules of morality, is this not more wonderful still, that that great person whose food this one ate, was slain by him." (4—11.) Sisupala's invectives were, however, all lost upon Bhishma and others who regarded Krishna's childhood as phenomenal. His life was also one standing protest against the immorality with which he is charged now-a-days. He was the great apostle of *dharma* essentially, and one who combined in him all the best traits of humanity in their fullest development. If the substance of religion is culture, then Krishna was the most cultured, and therefore the most religous person of his age. Whatever he did was characterized by one thing, which was that he did it to the best of his power, according to the dictates of dharma, and having done it never troubled himself about it afterwards. As he himself says: "He attains to peace who is self-controlled and meets all sense objects with senses devoid of attachment and aversion and brought under his control." (Bhagvatagita, II, 64.) According to him, even for the person who had no wish for himself, performance of duty was necessary in order to preserve the bonds of society. "There is for me," says he, " nothing to perform, nothing to attain, nothing unattained, and yet I am engaged in work. If I do not do my work vigilantly, others shall also fall in my ways. If I do not work, the world will suffer, men will perish. As the foolish engage in work from motives of reward, let the wise engage without such motive in order to preserve the bonds of society." (Bhagvatagita, Chap. III, verses 22 to 25.) In another place we find him saying: "If anyone thinks anything better than work, I consider him weak and his words meaningless.....It is by the virtue of work that the gods flourish.....The Saints shine in the other world by following a life of study, austerity and work." (Mahábhárata Udyoga Parva, Chap. 28, verses 8, 9, and 16.) "The exertions of the wise are always associated with virtue, pleasure and profit. If all three cannot be attained, men should follow virtue and profit. If these three are pursued separately, those who have self-control, chose virtue, those who are neither good nor bad, chose profit, which is always a subject of dispute, while the fools only chose gratification of desire. He who seeks profit and gratification, should however practise virtue, for neither profit nor gratification of desire is dissociated from virtue." (Ibid, Chap. 124, verses 34 to 37.) In urging Yudhishthira to rule his kingdom and not to give way to sorrow for those who had been killed on the field of battle he says: "O Scion of the Bharata race, *moksha* (emancipation) is not obtained by foregoing external things, (like kingdom, &c.,) but by giving up attachment to things which pander to the flesh. The virtue and happiness which

are attainable by the person who has renounced only external objects, but who is at the same time engrossed by passions and weakness of the flesh, let these be the portion of our enemies. The word with two letters is *Mrityu* मृत्यु, (death) and the word with three letters is ब्रह्म (Brahm), or the Eternal Spirit. The consciousness that this or that is "mine," or the state of being attached to worldly objects, is *Mrityu*, and the absence of that feeling is Brahman. And these two, Brahman and *Mrityu*, O King, have their seats in the souls of all creatures. Remaining unseen, they, without doubt, wage war with each other. What matters the world to him who, even if he has acquired the sovereignty of the whole earth with its animate and inanimate creatures, does not become attached to it, or engrossed in its enjoyment? On the other hand, if one who has renounced the world, and taken to the life of the recluse in the forest, living on wild roots and edibles, has, O son of *Prítha*, a craving for the good things of the world, and is attached to them, he may be said to have *Mrityu* in his mouth. Crookedness of heart leads to destruction, and rectitude to Brahm. This and this only is the aim and object of all true wisdom; what can mental distraction do (to one who understands this)? Thy *Karma* has not yet been annihilated, nor have thy enemies been subjugated, for thou dost not yet know the enemies that are still lurking within thy own flesh. The time has now arrived, when thou must fight the battle which each must fight single-handed with his own mind. Therefore, O Chief of the Bharata race, thou must now prepare to carry the struggle against thy own mind, and by dint of abstraction and the merit of thy own *Karma*, reach the other side of existence and overcome this mysterious and unintelligible (mind). In this war there is no need of any missiles, nor of friends nor attendants. The battle which is to be fought alone and single-handed is now before thee. And if thou art vanquished in it, thou shalt find thyself in the most wretched plight. Knowing this, O Son of Kunti, and acting accordingly, thou shall attain success; knowing the destiny of all creatures and following the path of thy ancestors, do thou duly administer thy kingdom. (Mahábhárata Asumedha Parva, Chaps. 12 and 13 abstracted.)

The vulnerable side of Krishna's character, as described in the Mahábhárata, is said to consist in (1) his having induced Arjuna, the great Pandava hero, to fight his kinsmen contrary to his inclination, (2) in his having urged Yudhishthira to tell an untruth in order to bring about the death of Drona, the great Kuru leader, and (3) in his having made Arjuna depart from his vow of killing the person who charged him with cowardice, by pleading that in certain cases it is better to tell an untruth and be false to one's vow when the end to be achieved is to save life. * Regarding the first, Krishna repeatedly declared in the Mahábhárata that his mission

*Even his worst detractor, Sisupala, never charged him with any other defects of character.

was to restore righteousness and destroy unrighteousness, to protect the good and destroy the bad, and when he felt that the sons of Dhritrashtra were sinfully depriving their cousins of their rightful inheritance, and that with all his best efforts war could not be averted, he urged Arjuna to do his duty, doing everything for the sake of the Lord, making pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat equal, regarding his own as well as the Atma of every one else to be indestructible and immortal, and following his duty of a Kshatriya, as laid down in the S'astra, without having the sense of "I" or "mine" in what he was doing. The standard so laid down may be difficult of achievement, but this was Krishna's ideal.

The portion of the Mahábhárata, where Krishna urged Yudhishthira to speak an untruth, is as follows: "If Drona fights," says Krishna, "filled with rage even for half a day, I tell thee truly thy army will be annihilated. Save us then from Drona. Under such circumstances falsehood is better than truth. By telling an untruth for saving life one is not touched with sin. There is no sin in untruth spoken unto women, or in marriages, or for saving cows, or for rescuing a Bráhmana." (Mahábhárata Drona Parva, Chap. 191, verses 46 to 49.) The last of these verses, however, is not found in the Bombay but in the Bengal text only. The third occasion was when Yudhishthira charged Arjuna with cowardice in not slaying Karna, another great Kuru warrior, and told him to give his *Gandiva* bow to another person. Now it was Arjuna's vow to kill at once the person who charged him with such an act of cowarice, but here was his own elder brother, whom he had followed through good and evil fortune, and whose death meant Arjuna's own death. How to act, how not to sacrifçe the life of one who was so near and dear to him, at the same time keeping his vow unbroken, was the dilemma in which Arjuna was placed. But Krishna came to his rescue and told him that no one was greater than a speaker of truth: "Behold, however," said he, "the practice of truth is exceedingly difficult to be understood as regards its nature. Truth may be unutterable, and even falsehood may be utterable, in cases where truth would become falsehood and falsehood truth.

In a situation of peril to life, and in marriage, falsehood becomes utterable. In a situation involving the loss of one's property, falsehood becomes utterable. On an occasion of marriage, or love, or when life is in danger, or when one's entire property is about to be taken away, or for the sake of a Bráhmana, falsehood may be uttered." (Karna Parva, Chapter 69, verses 31 to 34.) And Krishna illustrated it by the instance of the hunter who, although guilty of a cruel act in killing a blind beast, went to heaven because of the latter being a source of trouble to others; while a Rishi who had taken a vow of always speaking the truth, had to languish in hell because of his telling certain robbers who were following a party of travellers as to where the party had gone, whereby the robbers killed

them. He concluded by saying "Dharma is that which causes no injury to any creature, and Dharma is so called because it upholds all. (Dharnât Dharmah.) Where, by even an oath, one may escape from a gang of thieves and robbers, or save his wealth from them, or from giving it to sinful persons, or where there is danger to life or risk of destruction of one's entire body of relations and kinsmen, it is better to speak an untruth. The person who speaks an untruth on such occasions is not guilty." (Ibid, Chapter 57, verses 64 and 65.) Finally, Krishna advised Arjuna to keep his vow by addressing his brother disrespectfully, which was equivalent to death.

How far modern casuists are likely to agree with Krishna, is left for the reader to judge. Many writers think both these portions of the Mahábhárata to be later interpolations, though Krishna's view, that that is truth which is consonant to *dharma*, and that is *dharma* which is conducive to the good of all, otherwise it is *adharma*, is founded upon a very old doctrine of the Hindus, and has been followed by them from time immemorial. In the Mahábhárata it is said: "Silence is better than speech; if speak you must, then it is better to speak the truth; if truth is to be spoken, it is better to say what is good; and if what is good is to be said, it is better to say what is consistent with *dharma*." (Udyoga Parva, Chapter 35, verse 12.) In another place it is said: "There is nothing higher than truth. It is better again to speak what is beneficial than to speak the truth. I hold that to be truth which is fraught with the greatest benefit of all creatures." (Mahábhárata Santi Parva, Chapter 330, verse 13.)

The other side of Krishna's character, which represents him to be a grossly licentious person, guilty of violating the chastity of the milkmaids of Brija, stealing their clothes when they were bathing in the Jamma at Vrindavana, or of his amours with Radha, the wife of Ayan Ghosh, with whom his name is now inseparably associated, is not true, as none of these adventures is found in the Mahábhárata, nor did Sisupala, Krishna's worst detractor, charge him with them. All that be charged him with, was his murder of Jarasandha, King of Magadha, in an unfair manner, which was not true, and of his saying that his wife, Rukmini, was intended for Sisupala, which was no dishonour for Krishna to say. It is moreover incredible, in the case of a person who set before him the lofty ideal of establishing the empire of righteousness, and who professed to set an example to others. Even in the Puranas these adventures are described in varying details. They are less detailed in the Vishnu Purana than in the Hari Vansa. In the Bhagwata they are described in greater detail, and in the greatest detail in the Brahmavaivarta Purana. In the Mahábhárata there is no mention of either Radha or of the milkmaids of Brija. In the Vishnu Purana, also, though there is an account of Krishna's sporting with the *Gopis* on a Sarada night, there is no mention of Radha. It is the same in the Hari Vansa also. In the Bhagwata Radha is only once mentioned, while in the Brahmavaivarta we have an elaborate account of Brahma perform-

ing Krishna's marriage with Radha. The same is the case with the clothes-stealing adventure. It is not mentioned in the Vishnu Purana or the Hari Vansa, but only in the Bhagwata and the Brahmavaivarta. The *ras lila* is mentioned in the Vishnu Purana and the Hari Vansa, but not in the same detailed manner as in the Bhagwata. Whence these writers got their facts is not clear. The Bhagwata and the Brahmavaivarta probably derived their materials from Vishnu Purana and the Hari Vansa, but whence did the latter themselves get them? None of these four Puranas gives a complete account of Krishna. The Hari Vansa does not describe the part he played in the Mahábhárata, nor his last days, nor the destruction of his family and kinsmen through vice and mutual discord. It stops short at Krishna's visit to Pushakara to see the rishis after he had killed all his enemies and seen his foster father and mother in Brija. The same is the case with the accounts in the Bhagwata and the Vishnu Purana. Regarding Krishna's wives, also, all that the Hari Vansa say is that all the damsels who were kept in confinement by Narakasura offered themselves to Krishna after he had killed Naraha in battle; without saying that their number was 16,000. Subsequent writers make it that number. The fact seems to be that each later poet elaborated the account of Krishna's adventures as suited his fancy, till instead of the apostle of *dharma*, who never relinquished it from fear or love or delusion, and who identified himself with the Supreme Brahma and exhorted Arjuna to fix his thoughts upon him alone, to worship him alone, to bow to him alone, and to seek him alone, relinquishing every other *dharma* (Bhagvad Gita, XVIII—65), we have not the very edifying spectacle of the hero of the Puranas indulging in licentiousness of the grossest kind at a very early age, as well as a husband having sixteen thousand and one hundred wives! But whatever charm the character so given to Krishna may have for emotional devotees, it affords a very low ideal for a man of intelligence to follow. Writings like these, it must be said with great regret, have brought him lower than he ever ought to have been. Much of what goes under the name of the Vaishnavism of the present day, is due to this lowering of the great hero. The Bhagwata is certainly good poetry, full of much emotion. But it does not describe the real Krishna, nor one who can be an object of worship for the educated and the thoughtful. No attempt to explain these amorous adventures of the greatest warrior, general and sage of his time, esoterically, by saying that the milkmaids of Vrindavana represent the various *Vritis*, (modification of the human mind,) and Krishna the supreme self, in whom they find their ultimate rest, or that *Radha* represents the human soul, and Krishna the supreme soul, or that the clothes-stealing allegory represents the attitude with which the human soul ought to seek the divine soul after leaving aside all its worldly trappings, is likely to carry conviction to persons

other than those of Krishna's devotees, who require in their hero something more than boyish adventures. For the right-minded Krishna, as described by his contemporaries, who were also the wisest and the best representative Indians, as the best, the wisest, and the most religious man of his age, is quite and ought to be quite sufficient to allow of his forming one of the ideals of the Hindus of modern, as he was of ancient India.

Rama and Krishna worshippers in modern times.

I shall however show that not only by their contemporaries but by later poets and thinkers also, Rama and Krishna have been more rightly understood than by those who now worship them in temples without reflecting on their deeds, and that their religion is infinitely purer and approaches the ancient ideal more nearly than modern Hinduism as practised by some of its followers. The Hindi literature of Northern India only dates from the 12th century A. D., but almost from its commencement down to the present day, it is full of the adventures of Rama and Krishna.

Kabir.

The earliest and the most popular Hindi religious writer is Kabír Dás, called Kabír by the people—the well-known weaver reformer of Benares. He lived, according to Mr. Grierson, in the 15th century A. D., and was a disciple of Ramanand, and the founder of the Kabir-panthi sect, whose followers are still more or less largely to be met with in almost all places in Upper India. He was essentially a people's reformer, and a very free and fearless exposer of all cant and dogma, an uncompromising adherent to truth wherever it was found and an idealist who brought idealism from the pedestal of thought into the life of the people. He respected neither caste nor sect, and as freely denounced what seemed to him apart from truth in the practices of the Hindus as in those of the Mahomedans. His Sabda, Sákhi and Sukhnidhán are all popular works in Hindi literature, and he seems to have largely influenced the views of the great Sikh reformer Nanak. Says he: "The mind is one, you may apply it either in devotion to God, or towards the vanities of the world. If thou wishest for Me, be like Me, leave off the vanities of the world. Thou hast everything in thyself. There is no enemy in the world. Leave off thy egotism, make thy mind peaceful, and the world shall all be kind to thee. Make thy mind steady by every means in thy power, whether it be by devotion, or knowledge or meditation. Neither Máyá dies nor does the mind ever die. Desire and hope never die, only the body dies again and again, so says Dás Kabír. O, Brothers, such is the sweet nectar of Hari's (love) that by drinking of it, one becomes immortal. Dhru drank of it, Prabhláda drank of it, Mírabaí drank of it, the Saint of Balkh and Bokhárá drank of it, giving up his kingdom. The nectar of Hari's love is however dear in price and only the few who have no glasses in their houses can drink of it. Man only runs tof all, says Kabir;

hear, O wise men, it is Hari's love alone which purifies. There is nothing like Hari. Every one wishes to go there, but I do not know where Heaven is. Thou knowest not thy own inner self and merely talkest of Heaven. So long as thy heart yearns for Heaven, so long it cannot yearn for the feet (of Hari.) No moat nor rampart of the Heaven do I see. Says Kabir, it is the company of the wise alone which is Heaven. All thy life has been wasted in mere talk, without thinking of Krishna. At the age of five thou wast an innocent child, at twenty and twenty-five thou travelledst in various countries in search of wealth, at thirty thy thirst of wealth was burning hot, till thou collectedst lacs and crores and wert not content. In old age thy powers became dull and thy throat choked with phlegm. Thou never visitedst the wise and hast spent thy life in vain pursuits. The world is selfish and all is vanity, says Kabir. O Fool, awake, why art thou beguiled?

These earthly kings of yesterday are vainly showing themselves off. But thy servant never wanders about. He is master of the three worlds. O my foolish heart awake and engage in the service of God; no one who spreads forth his hand to ask for his grace can measure it. Says Kabir, all doubts and delusion disappeared, when Hari favoured Dhru and Prahláda. O wise men, this moment, this hour shall never return even if you spend millions for it. A human incarnation is most difficult to attain. The bee (soul) has no friend nor companion, but leaves the world alone and friendless. Why are you sleeping, get up. Time is flying fast, says Kabir, sing the praises of Govinda, all this show is false. See how insane I am, that I am hankering after life. Time has destroyed even Siva, Sanaka, Brahma, and other Munis; even gods and demons who wielded the sceptre of the three worlds have been destroyed; Time ate them all, but even it was also destroyed. The physician is sent for and speedily he comes and says something, holding the arm of the patient; but no one has ever given such a medicine as made the body immortal. Vedas, Puranas, the Koran, books, Pandits and Mullahs have all been questioned, but none made me a jot less or more. I have wandered over all the world, and ransacked every place, but, says Kabir, the only medicine for the evils of life is singing the praises of Hari."

Mira Bai.

The only poetess of Northern India—Mirá Bái—comes next. She was the wife of Raja Kumbhkarana of Chittor and flourished about 1420 A. D. Tradition says that her devotion to Krishna exposed her to much persecution on the part of her husband and his relations, but she remained firm, and that when a cup of poison was brought to her to drink, she drank it off like Socrates cheerfully, repeating the name of her favorite deity. Some of her songs are very popular among Hindus, and she is reckoned as one of the greatest devotees of Krishna. For sweetness and depth of feeling Mirá's songs occupy a high place in Hindi literature, "The Rana has, he thinks, poisoned me, but till gold

is tested it does not shine. I have thrown away like water the fear of the world or of the family. Do you hide the women of your own household, I am another's. I have been pierced through the heart with the arrow of Krishna's love, Mirá is dancing before the Lord and is clinging to his feet."

"I am mad for Kishna, no one knows my disease. It is only the wounded who knows the trouble of the wounded; my beloved's chamber is on the cross, how can I reach it. Mira's Lord is Girdhar. He is verily her physician."

"Mine is verily Girdhar Gopal, no one else. He who has the crown on his head, the conch, the discus, the club and the lotus in his hands, and a garland over his neck, is my Lord. Father, mother, brother, relations have I none. I have left off my family's fear, what can any one do to me. I have lost all fear of the world in the company of the good. Now the report has gone forth and every one knows of it. I have nourished the creeper of love with my tears. Mirá is the slave of her beloved Girdhar, come what may."

The last two songs are very popular in Hindu Society.

Nanak.

The great Sikh reformer Nának, who flourished between 1469 and 1539, and whose great work, the Granth Sahib or the Adigranth, is the canonical book of the Sikhs, was also a great worshipper of Rama, typified as Vishnu or Hari, and his saying "Nának dukhiá sub sansárá, jo sukhiá so náma adhára (O Nának, every one in this world is unhappy, it is only the name of the All-supporter that is happy)," is in the mouth of every Hindu. Whatever he has written or said is marked by the deepest piety and the most fervent devotion. Says he, "His name is Truth, the Creator of all things, fearless, void of enmity, the timeless entity, not born from a womb, self-existent. In Eternity Truth was, in the beginning of the Yugas Truth was, Truth now is, Truth, O Nának, shall ever be. By repeated meditation, even though I meditate a hundred thousand times, I cannot attain Him. He is not attained by abstraction though I persevere in it. The hunger of the hungry is not appeased even though the wealth of the universe is brought together. Not a thousand dexterities, nor even a hundred thousand avail. How can I become the Truth, how break down the veil of error? We should walk in obedience to the command of the Almighty and by His favour, O Nának, in accordance with what is written. Form is by His decree, His decree cannot be otherwise, ... By His command are high and low. By His command are happiness and misery. By His command one is saved. By His command another wanders forth. Every one is under His command, no one is beyond it. He who reflects upon His command cannot, O Nának, utter 'I.' I have only one request to make, O Lord, O thou fountain of mercy, make me the servant of the good. Every morning let me serve the feet of Thy devotees and see Thee. Let my body and mind be devoted to the service of others, and my voice sing the praises of Hari. Let me at every breath remember my Lord,

and remain always in the company of the good. There is verily only one refuge for me, Nának go to it. The wind is the guru, the water is the father and the broad earth the mother. The days and nights are two nurses who fondle the world. Good and evil come and go. The actions of every one overtake him, whether far or near. Those who meditate upon the Nama (name) cross the Ocean of Misery, Nának, they are purified and released. The most sacred Dharma is to repeat the name of Hari, the best action is to seek the society of the good, which wipes off all evil thoughts, the best determination is always to determine to repeat the name of Hari, the best speech is to sing the sweet praises of Hari, and the best place is where the name of Hari is uttered."

"Yogis find Him through Yoga, the wise through knowledge, but Nának finds Him who is the goal of mercy, through devotion. Neither saints nor ascertics nor men of wisdom know the ways of Him who in a moment makes a king a beggar and a begger a king, makes void fulness and fulness void, assumes various forms and is yet above all, beyond the reach of thought, the All-powerful Creator of all. Those who do not obey the directions of the true Guru are miserable in all the four Yugas: See how foolish they are that they do not know the person in their house (self in the body). In spite of this they are beguiled by their own egotism. Those who are cast off by the true guru are never honoured elsewhere. Alas! they never utter the true *Word* which fulfills all desires, O my heart, always see Truth within thyself. If thou dost so, thou shalt be released from all trammels of birth and death and shalt see the Word pervading all."

Sur Das.

The great master of Hindu song, Súr Dás, the blind bard of Brija, next claims attention. He lived at the Court of Akbar in 1550 A. D., and his songs exercise an influence over the lives and thoughts of the people of Upper India, which is as lasting as it is deep in character. Men, women, and children are all heard repeating or singing them, and from the Darbar to the cottage Súr Dás is upon everybody's lips. In fact, he is the founder of the Krishna worship among the people. He made a vow of composing a lac and a quarter of songs in honour of Krishna, but when, as the tradition tells us, he was struck with blindness before finishing his task, Krishna himself came and completed it. These latter songs all conclude with Súrshyám as the name of the composer, while Súr Das's own compositions conclude with the word "Súr" only. There is, however, no doubt of the fact that Súr Dás was one of the greatest masters of the art of singing. For depth and originality of feeling, fervent piety and an ever present sense of the purest attachment to the object of his worship, Súr Dás stands unrivalled among the worshippers of Krishna. For rythmistic flow of verse and gracefulness of style, he was par excellence the foremost Hindu musician of his age, and in so great a veneration is his memory held, that the little but where

he is said to have lived in Bindraban, is still preserved and visited by thousands of pilgrims every year. Though it is not possible to preserve the beauty of the original in the translation, yet I venture to give a few of his songs—"All days are not the same. Past actions give their fruit. O, my foolish mind, give up all sorrow. One day there is a pile of wealth equal in height to Meru in the palace of Rájá Harish Chandar, the next day he is the servant of a Chandála, receiving the cloth covering corpses carried to the burning ground. One day Rama goes about with Jánki in the Pushpaka car, another day he wanders about in the jungles weeping for her. One day Yudhishthira is on the imperial throne with Sri Bhagwán (Krishna) serving him, another day his queen, Draupadi, is in the hands of the Kaurava Dushashana, pulling her by the hair. One day the bridegroom goes to marry his bride surrounded by pomp, another day he is being carried as a corpse to the crematorium. When residing in the womb of the mother man got his future all marked out for him. O, Súr Dás, exertion is useless, what fate has ordained is true."

"Hari is my refuge. No other ceremonial or meditation is there for this Kali period, Nárada, Suka, Sankara and others found only this much butter after churning all the Srutis. Actions and attributes are all spread like a net in every direction. But, O Súr, it is singing the praises of Hari alone that lightens all earthly burdens. So long as the True One is not medidated upon, so long the mind wanders forth in search of the necklet which is over its own neck. The fool sees his own dirty face in the mirror, but thinks the mirror to be dirty and tries to clean it. There are the oil, the lamp, the wick, and the fire, but not till the lamp is lighted, is there light, nor is darkness destroyed. When the pure thought comes, the past is regretted. The blind does not know the splendour of the sun, till his own vision is restored. Let one wander in ever so many births, but let him always have love for Thy lotus feet. May he hear Thy praises, like the peacock the roaring of the clouds, may he drink the nectar of Thy name, like the chatáka bird the precious drop from heaven, may his eyes see Thy splendour, like the chakor bird the full moon. May faith reside in the lotus of his heart. May his nose always smell the fragrance of Thy glory. May his actions be always devoted to Thy service. O Lord, give to Súr love for singing Thy praises. The shelter of Rama's name is great. The Lord destroys the sin of those who seek Him and extends to them His grace. In His presence the high and the low are all equal. The philosopher's stone destroys all the faults of all kinds of iron. Do not, O Lord, consider my faults. You are called *Samdarshi* (seer of all as equal). You can extend to me Your grace if you chose. Some are styled streams, some streamlets, full of dirty water, but when they all become united in one, they assume the name of the divine stream of Ganges. One piece of iron is used in the Púját, another by a butcher. But the philosopher's stone knows no distinction and turns both into pure gold. Do you remove all this

net of Máyá and carry me across the river of life, otherwise it is being wasted. Save me, O Lord, this time. You are the Lord of Lords. You are called the Great Giver. Who is there meaner than me, who devoid of good actions and blind from birth? You are the protector of the three worlds. I am Your slave. You have saved the high and the low, do you extend Your grace to me also. I am the lowest of the fallen. My sins are so heavy that Ajámil's sins count nothing against them. Dharma disappears on hearing the mention of my name. Hell is wide open for me. I have no place to go to, do you take care of Your slave. You have, O beloved of Lakshmi, saved the vile and the fallen. Do you not now turn away from me. I, Súr Dás, shall only consider you true if you save a sinner like me."

A very large portion of Súr Dás's songs deal with Krishna's boyish sports in Brija, but he has also left some songs of pure divine love which bear witness to the fact that his creed was deep, pure and abiding faith in Krishna as an incarnation of the Diety.

Tulsi Das.

The next great master of Hindi literature, Tulsi Dás, also called Gusáín Tulsi Dás, may be said to be the founder of the worship of Ráma in Upper India. He lived in the time of Shahjehan, the Mogul King of Dehli, about 1600 A.D., and was a resident of Rajpur in the Banda District. His Rámáyana is more popular among the masses of Upper India, than is the Bible among the masses of Europe. As he says he did not follow Válmiki only in writing it, but also took his materials from the various Puránas, the S'ástras and the Vedas, and composed it in Hindi for his own mental satisfaction. The Rámáyana is a great-perhaps the greatest work in Hindi literature, and it is read every where, from the palace to the cottage. Tulsi Dás's other works also breathe the same spirit as the Rámáyána, and he often rises to the loftiest strains of thought, breathing the purest spirit of Hindu philosophy. I give a few extracts from his works :—

"O Scion of the Raghu race, you are the friend of the distressed, the ocean of bliss, and the mine of mercy. Hear, O Lord, my heart is burning with three kinds of fever and is running mad. Now it is bent upon Yoga, now upon worldly enjoyments. Now it pines for separation from a beloved object, now under the influence of delusion, it cherishes feelings of revenge. Now it is all compassion, now a poor miserly beggar, now a proud monarch, now this fool a conceited learned man. Now a man of wisdom devoted to virtue, now it sees the world full of wealth, now of enemies, now of women. This delirium of the world, which causes intense pain, is not destroyed without the grace of Hari. The control of the senses, the various regulations, repetition of mantras and performance of penances, are all good medicines for this disease, known as the sansara, but none of them can eradicate it thoroughly without the grace of Ráma's feet.

"I have fixed my mind on Thy feet, knowing that the Puránas and the Srutis have sung Thee alone as the disinterested friend of Thy devotees. I have met with many a father, mother, wife and son,

relations and friends, wherever I was born. But they were all devoted to their own selfish objects and loved me from impure motives. None taught me to sing the praises of Hari. Gods, munis, men, demons, serpents, Kinnaras, whom have I not bowed to after assuming this body? But though I have been burning with the three descriptions of fever on account of my sins, no one has ever given me relief by destroying them. In return for unceasing efforts for pleasure I always got pain, because I did not serve the feet of the Lord. Now I stand like a boat in the dry bed of a river, surrounded by the sorrows of the world. Consider, O Lord, this condition of mine, which is due to my having forgotten Thee, the source of all happiness. Now do not be angry and extend Thy grace to me. Tulsi Dás is at Thy feet.

O my heart, thou wilt repent when the time is past. Having attained this human body, which is so difficult to attain, serve the Lord with act, word and thought. Kings like Sahasra Báhu and Ráwana did not escape the powerful destroyer Time. They collected money and built palaces, saying "I," "I," but had to leave the world empty-handed. Know sons and wife to be devoted to their own ends, do not be attached to them. They will leave thee in the end, why dost thou not leave off attachment to them even now? Now be attached to the Lord and relinquish all bad desires, O Tulsi. Desire is never quenched by enjoyment, like fire by clarified butter.

This is the essence of all religions. O my heart, this is the true mantra to be learnt by thee, be devoted to Ráma. In the regions of the serpents, of man or of gods, whether king or beggar, whoever repeats the name of Ráma crosses the ocean of life. The various fasts, penances, and vows enjoined by the Vedas are never equal in efficacy to repeating the name of Ráma. Shambhu, Nárada, Vyása, Brahmá, Ganesha, Bhushanda the crow, and Jatáyus the vulture, all sing his praises. Says Mahadeva to Parvati, "Keep the name in thy heart." O Tulsi Dás, it is its power which washes off all impurities of Kali.

"There is no difference between God with attributes and God without attributes. So say the saints and sages, the Vedas and the Puránas. That which is without attributes, without form, beyond the reach of thought, becomes associated with attributes out of love for his devotees. But how can that which is without attributes become associated with attributes? Just as water crytallized into ice is not different from water. But how can one whose name like the sun disperses darkness, become associated with delusion? Ráma, who is the sun of truth, intelligence and bliss, can never be touched by the night of delusion. In the Lord, whose nature is light, there can be no dawn of understanding. Joy, sorrow, knowledge, ignorance, are all attributes of the individual soul possessed of the sense of "I." Ráma is known in the world as the all-pervading Brahma, all bliss, the Lord of all, and the ancient (Purusha.)"

"Fools do not know their own delusion, but senselessly attribute delusion to the Lord, like foolish people who, seeing the sky clouded, say that it is the sun which is dim, or seeing the moon through their own fingers, say that it looks double. O Umá, delusion is attributable to Ráma in the same way as darkness, smoke or dust is to the sky. Inanimate objects, the senses, individual souls, and the gods possess various degrees of intelligence. But he who illumines all, and is above all, is the eternal Ráma, the Lord of Avadh. The world is the object and Ráma the Lord of the Máyá, and the abode of all attributes is the Sun which enlightens it. By his Truth this delusion, though unintelligent, appears to be intelligent, under the influence of Máyá. Just as the mother-o'-pearl appears to be silver, or as the rays of the sun cause the mirage, so is this delusion, but though false in the past, the present and the future, it can never be got rid of. In this way the world depends upon Hari, yet though unreal it causes pain, just as one seeing his head cut off in a dream is in pain till he awakes. He whose grace destroys this delusion is verily, O Girjá, the merciful Lord of the Raghu race. It is He whose beginning and end no one ever knew. The Vedas sing of Him according to the limit of their comprehension. He moves without feet, hears without ears, acts variously without hands, tastes without a mouth, without a tongue he is the ablest of speakers, touches without a body and sees without eyes, and smells all scents without a nose. In this way are all his actions beyond the ken of men; his glory no one can describe..... He is the Sovereign Lord of all creation, animate or inanimate, my Lord Raghubar who resides in all hearts. By even unintentionally mentioning his name, man washes off sins of many lives. What of him who remembers Him with reverence? He crosses the ocean of life easily like a puddle on the road." (Tulsi Dás's Rámáyana Bálkand.)

This is no other but the religion of the Upanishads with Ráma as the embodiment of Brahma, and its effect upon the popular mind cannot be otherwise than of the healthiest and the loftiest character.

Sundar Das.

Sundar Dás of Mewár, who lived in 1620, was also a great religious writer. His Sundar Kavya is repeated by every one in Hindu Society.—"Know my friend, thy enemy is in thy house (within thee). Thy wife, sons and relations are all preying upon thee and eating up thy resources from all sides. They speak to thee sweet words and surround thee. But in adversity none will be thy friend, and they will all disappear. Therefore, says Sundar, all this world is a vanity and disappears like a dream."

Girdhar Kabiraya.

Girdhar Kabiráya of the N.-W. P. Doab, who was born in 1713, was another great poet of Hindi. His Kundaliyas are deservedly famous.—Says he: "Do not be proud of your wealth even in a dream. It is fickle, like water, which never stops in one place. When wealth is so

fickle, earn good repute while you are in the world, speak sweet words to all and be humble." Says Girdhar Kabiráya, "Every one shall bear witness to the fact that wealth is a thing of a few days."

"Forget the past and look to the future. Fix thy mind in what thou canst perform easily. Fix thy mind in what thou canst perform, lest the evil-minded should laugh at thee and thou mayst have to fall back. Says Girdhar, "Just think of what will be for future good, let byegones be byegones."

Brij Basi Das.

In modern times, also, men like Bríj Bási Dás, the translator of the Probodh Chandrodaya Nataka, have been pervaded by the same spirit. Says Bríj Bási: "Leave off all desires for the things of this world, make your mind peaceful and happy, give up all desire of life, die to the world even when you are living in it, whatever is past, is past, even now bring your mind towards discrimination. Whose are you, who are you, where are you, do you ever think about yourself?"

Narayan Swami.

Náráyan Swámí, a living author in Bindrában, says: "O fool, give up thy foolish pride. Thy time has past, thou art a sojourner for two days. Many kings have appeared on this earth noted for their appearance and prowess, but none escaped this huge serpent of Time. All traces of them have gone. White palaces, wealth, elephants, cars, and armies, and women with moonlike faces had all to be relinquished when going to the crematorium. Thou hast left the company of the wise and runnest after the things of the world like a dog or a monkey. Thou dost not sit quiet for even a moment, to remember Him who gives happiness. O foolish heart, why dost thou wander about. Take my advice. O Náráyan, do thou soon make the acquaintance of the Prince of Brija.

Haris Chandra.

Modern Hindi religious literature has not however kept pace with the times, like that of Bengal. Few modern Hindi authors show much originality of thought or adapt themselves to modern requirements; nor, with the exception of the late Haris Chandra of Benares, and one or two others, few of our educated men have ever taken the trouble to enrich their own vernacular like the educated natives of Bengal. Haris Chandra was born in 1850 and died in 1885, and was, with the unanimous consent of all his contemporary Hindi writers, given the title of Bháratendu, the "Moon of India." His works bear the stamp of genius, and although they make no attempt to explain the old order with reference to the new, yet his Satya Haris Chandra, Mudrá Rákshash, Prem Phulwari, Bhakti Sutra, Bhárat Janani, Vidya Sundar and other works are all written in the purest Hindi, and breathe his intensest love for his mother country and grief at its fallen condition. He was, like Sur Dás, a great devotee of Krishna. Says he: "I do not know how I shall please Govinda. Recitation of mantras, ascetism, knowledge, or meditation does not seem to please him. The Vedas and the Puranas do not know his true

nature, each describing it differently. What recitation or ascetism was performed by the street woman (Pingala), or what gifts were made by the vulture, that they were saved? The ascetic and the wise are left behind and do not find a place to stand upon. The foolhardy talk variously. The ways of men are various, now straight, now crooked. O Haris Chandra, no one ever knows how to conquer the mind. Nothing is hidden from thy view, O Merciful Lord. Thou knowest everything that passes in the heart. This body is impure from its nature, the mind is naturally bent towards low objects, avarice is always running after objects of sense, shamelessly the more it is driven back. If Thou forgetest thy devotee, how shall Haris Chandra be saved, say, O Lord of the unhappy? Whom shall I please in this world? Whomsoever I attempt to please turns away from me in anger. The senses are drawing me each towards itself, but upon its own enjoyment. The mind runs after the inconceivable and is not sorry for it. Fame says, it must alone be nourished. Desire wishes for its own objects, while emulation is holding its own sway. In sleep and dream the mind and the body are all actively roaming hither and thither. The senses have become dull, life breaths are waning, but even now they are not satisfied. That which brings loss of strength in its train is looming at a distance, yet like the dog running after a sweetmeat, man is looking up towards heaven, as if he were tired of every thing else here. Fie! Hari Chand on this world which is made up of insatiable desire." His wish for the future of India is worthy of his genius. "May the good not be troubled by the bad. May all be devoted to the feet of the Lord. May all that bears the semblance of righteousness disappear. May Bhárat regain its past glory. May its wise be free from self-conceit. May its women be devoted to their husbands. May every one be happy. May rude speech disappear and sweet words be spoken everywhere."

In Bengal Bankim Chandra Chatterji and others have all set themselves about enriching their vernacular religious literature in a manner which is as noble as praiseworthy, and is perhaps unparalelled in the history of any Indian vernacular. Bankim Chandra's Dharmatatwa and Krishna Charitra are written entirely according to the spirit of the age. I give two extracts from these works:—

"Man is possessed of a certain number of powers, to which we have given the name of *vritis* or faculties. The fullest cultivation of these powers, their development to the utmost possible extent and their harmonization constitute the perfection of humanity. The ultimate result of the cultivation of all the powers of man is the development of that harmonious whole which is synonymous with happiness. The application of all the powers so harmoniously developed to the service of God, is devotion. God is in every creature, therefore love towards all is the aim and object of devotion to God, Without such love there is no devotion, no humanity no

religion. Love towards self, love towards kindred, love of country, love towards the lower creatures and mercy are all included in love. Of these, considering the dispositions of men, love of one's own country is his chief duty and his most sacred Dharma." (Dharmatatwa, page 327.)

Regarding Krishna his conclusion is that he was "in all circumstances and in all times pre-eminent by the exhibition of all the best qualities. He was unconquerable and unconquered, full of purity, love and mercy, always ready to do his duty, righteous, possessed of a full knowledge of the Vedas, polity and religion, devoted to public good, just and compassionate, free from attachment and egotism, and devoted to Yoga and ascetism. His work in life was the service of humanity, but his actions were superhuman and because he performed superhuman deeds, for the service of mankind as man, to take him either as a man or god, is left for the reader according to the bent of his own intellect. Those who take him to be a man, will have to say of him what Rhys David said of Sakya Singh, that he was 'the wisest and the greatest of the Hindus.' Those who look upon his deeds as those of God, will join with me in saying with reverence that 'not without cause, nor with a cause, nor with or without a cause, is thy assumption of a body except for the protection of righteousness.'" (Krishna's Charitra, page 462.)

Krishna and Rama, ideals for India to follow.

This is a very correct estimate of Krishna, as I have tried to show above. There is no doubt that he combined in him, in the most perfect manner, all human excellences—physical, mental, moral and spiritual —in their fullest development possible, and, as he himself said in the Bhagvad Gita, incarnated in Yuga after Yuga for the protection of the good, destruction of the wicked and restoration of lost righteousness. Even Súr Dás and others who havealways sung of him more largely as the beloved of the Gopis of Brija than as a pure Divine Being, never lost sight of his real greatness, as the extracts I have made above show, and for the educated and the enlightened Hindus of modern India perhaps no better ideals in life can be held up than the great hero of the Ramayana or the Mahábhárata. For the common people of modern times, also, it is however necessary to show their real greatness as gathered from reliable sources. The movement set on foot in Bengal deserves imitation everywhere. To bring the truths of Hinduisin home to the masses in their own tongue, in the clearest and most correct manner possible, is the only way to strengthen the faith of the people in their past. Hinduism can be explained in a rational manner and many of our religious institutions which are thought to be either dead or lifeless, are founded on the deepest social and moral significance, as I have tried to show in these pages, though in the briefest manner possible. To bring home the significance of each of our time-honoured institutions to the people, so that the

nation may follow them, not as they are doing now, but as their predecessors did in the past, is, I believe, our only way to acquire the same place among nations of the modern, as we occupied among those of the ancient world. The wise, the great of India have always been the most religious men of their time and we, their descendants, ought also to be the same.

III.—PRACTICAL HINDUISM.

Illustrations from the lives and characters of Eminent Hindus.—The religion preached and followed by the sages of not only ancient, but also mediæval and even modern India has, however, never been a religion of theory, but carried into practice in every-day life, as the lives of its sages, kings, warriors, generals and statesmen abundantly show. I shall illustrate it by only a few examples. Foremost amongst kings stands Harish Chandra, the very embodiment of Truth, whose motto was that the sun and the moon may leave their places, but he shall never relinquish truth. The story of his having given the whole of his kingdom to Viswamitra, and then sold himself and his queen as slaves to find the *dákshiná* (fee for the ratification of the gift) for the rishi, is familiar to all readers of the Puranas. Harish Chandra became the slave of a Chandala who received clothes covering corpses carried to the crematorium. His wife became the slave of a Bráhmana. Their only child died of snakebite and the queen carried his corpse to the crematorium to burn, but Harish Chandra did not leave his sense of duty even in this trying moment and would not let his own child's corpse be burnt till he had received his master's share of the cloth.

(a) Raja Harish Chandra.

Another important figure in Hindu religious and philosophical literature was Janaká of Mithilá, who was styled a Rajarshi, a royal sage. His Court was, as we read in the Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad, the resort of the wise and the learned of those days, both for receiving and imparting instructions, and his discussions with Yágya Valkya show that he was able to meet the *rishi* on equal terms. In the Mahábhárata we are told that when Vyáṣa could not convince his son, Suka, of the truths of the Vedanta, he sent him to Janaká for instruction, and the latter instructed him. Janaká's doctrine was, "My wealth is unlimited because nothing is mine. If the whole of Mithilá is burnt, nothing of mine is burnt." On another occasion, in answer to a question of a rishi lady Subabha, who had applauded a life of mendicancy and had pointed out to the king the many obstacles to happiness in sovereignty, Janaká said: "I am free from attachment though engaged in ruling a kingdom. If emancipation follows knowledge, it can as well be attained by

(b) Janaka.

one holding a sceptre and wearing a crown, as by one carrying a triple stick (sign of mendicancy). These are mere outward symbols, having no value in aiding one to the attainment of emancipation." (Mahábhárata Mokshadharma, Chapter 321.) "Although a (large) inhabited tract is subject to me within this ancestral kingdom of mine, yet I failed to find my dominion, searching through the whole earth. Failing to find it on the earth, I searched Mithilá (for it). When I failed to find it in Mithilá also, I then searched for it among my own children. When I failed to find it even there, my understanding became clouded. After that cloud had passed away, I recovered my intelligence. Then I thought that I have no dominion, or that every thing is in my dominion. Even this body is not mine, or the whole earth is mine. All conditions here have, in all affairs, been understood by me to be terminable. Hence I do not find that which can be called mine. (Considering) whose is this, I thought of the Vedic text about nothing being anybody's property. My understanding tells me that nothing should be (called) mine. Depending upon this notion, I have got rid of the idea of anything being mine. Hear now what that notion is, upon the strength of which I have come to the conclusion that I have dominion everywhere. I do not desire for my own self those smells that are even before my nose. Therefore the earth, the element of smell, is always subject to me. I do not desire for my own self the colour or light that appears before my eyes. Therefore the element of light is always subject to me. I do not desire for my own self those sensations of touch which are in contact with even my skin. Therefore the element of wind is always subject to me. I do not desire for my own self those sounds which are in contact with even my ear. Therefore the element of sound is always subject to me. I do not desire for my own self the mind that is always in me. Therefore the mind is subject to me. All these acts of mine are for the sake of the deities, the Pitris, the Bhútas, together with the guests." (Mahábhárata, Aswamedha Parva, Chapter 32, verses, 9-11 and 15-24.)

(c) Yudhishthira.

Yudhishthira's conduct was also an exemplification of the same truths. Says he: "I act virtuously not from the desire of reaping any fruits from virtue, but from that of not transgressing the ordinances of the Vedas, and because I see such to be the practice of the good and the wise. My heart, O Krishná, is naturally inclined towards virtue. The man who wishes to reap the fruits of virtue is a trader in it. He is mean and he should never be counted amongst the virtuous. He does not attain the fruits of his virtue. Nor does a man of sinful heart who, having accomplished a virtuous act, doubts its efficacy, obtain the fruits of his act, in consequence of his scepticism. I speak unto thee, under the authority of the Vedas, which constitute the highest proof in such matters, that never shouldst thou doubt virtue! The man that doubts is destined to take his birth in the brute species. The man of weak understanding,

who doubts Dharma or virtue or the words of the Rishis, is shut out from all regions of immortality and bliss, like Sudras from the Vedas. Doubt not, O Krishná, the ancient religion that is practised by the good and framed by Rishis of universal knowledge, capable of seeing all things! O daughter of Drupada, religion is the only raft for those desirous of going to heaven, like a ship to merchants desirous of crossing the ocean. O thou faultless one, if the virtues that are practised by the virtuous bore no fruit, the world shall then be enveloped in terrible darkness. No one shall strive for emancipation, nor seek to acquire knowledge, nor even wealth, but men shall live like beasts. If asceticism, austerity, sacrifices, study of the Vedas, charity and honesty, were all fruitless, men would not have practised such virtues, generation after generation." (Mahábhárata Vana Parva, Sec. 31 abstracted.) In reply to a question as to what is the ancient *path*, he says: "Argument leads to no certain conclusion. The ordinances of the Vedas differ from one another. There is not one Rishi whose dictum is universally accepted. The essence of virtue lies hidden in the cave (of the heart). That is the path which has been trodden by the great." (Vana Parva, Chapter 313, verse 17.) When asked by Dharma, the god of righteousness, to choose a boon, he chose as follows:—"May I, O Lord, always conquer covetousness, folly and anger, and may my mind be ever devoted to charity, truth and self-restraint." (Ibid, Chap. 314, verse 24.) In another place he says: "Whatsoever wealth there is upon this earth, whatsoever there may be among the gods or whatsoever there may be unattainable even by them in the region of the Prajapatis, or in the highest heaven, or in the region of Brahma himself, is nothing if not obtained by righteousness." In only one instance did he depart from truth, when at the field of Kurukshetra he said to the great Kuru warrior Drona, whose death depended upon the news as to whether his son Aswathámá, was living or dead, that Aswathámá was killed, adding either "a warrior or an elephant of that name." Drona died on hearing the news, but Yudhishthra had also to pay the penalty of his untruthfulness. In no other instance did he sacrifice virtue. Even in the closing scene of his life, after all his brothers and wife had fallen, and he was offered a journey to heaven, he declined to go alone and leave behind him the faithful dog who had followed him, saying: "Even this is my firm and steady vow. I never forsake a person who is terrfied, nor one who is devoted to me, nor one who seeks my protection, saying that he is destitute, nor one who is afflicted, nor one who has come to me, nor one who is unable to protect himself, nor one who is solicitous of life. I shall never give up such a person till my own life is at an end." (Mahábhárata Mahápraasthanika Parva, Sec. III, verse 12.) On his way to heaven he hears cries of distress coming from the place where his wife and brothers were confined, enduring all the torments of hell. Unable to know the cause, he refuses to go alone and without them. The illusion is removed,

and he is told that he was given a sight of hell for the single untruth he had spoken on the field of battle, and that having never departed from the rôle of virtue on any other occasion, nor ever swerved from truth, he was thoroughly pure. Yudhishthira's motto was that he alone was truly wealthy to whom the agreeable and the disagreeable, weal and woe, past and future, were the same.

(*d*) Bhishma.

Higher than even Yudhishthira was the great Kuru leader Bhishma, who was as great a general as a philosopher. Devotion to truth and duty, self-restraint and self-sacrifice were all illustrated by him throughout his long life in a manner unparalleled in the history of Indian heroism. His former name was Devavrata. His father, Santanu, once fell in love with Satyavati, the daughter of a fisherman, who would not give her in marriage till he was assured of her issue from the king succeeding to the Raj. Bhishma, having come to know of his father's attachment for the girl, went to her father and not only renounced his own claim to the throne, but by taking a vow of life-long celibacy cut off his line of offspring, saying that even dying childless he should attain to heaven. The sacrifice brought him the appellation of Bhishma (the terrible) and so greatly pleased was his father with his filial devotion, that he granted him the blessing that he should live as long as he chose, and that death should not come to him without obtaining his command. So firm was his attachment to his vow that when, on his brother's death, no male child was left in the family and he was earnestly solicited by his step-mother, the fisherman's daughter, to marry and rule the kingdom, he replied: "I shall renounce the three worlds, the empire of heaven, or anything that is even greater than that, but Truth I shall never renounce. Earth may renounce its attribute of scent, water its attribute of moisture, light its attribute of exhibiting form, the air its attribute of being perceivable to the touch, the sun its glory, the comet its heat, the moon its cool rays, space its capacity of generating sound, the slayer of Vritra (Indra) his prowess, the god of justice his impartiality, but I shall never renounce truth." (Mahábhárata Adi Parva, Chap. 103, verses 13 to 18.) And he continued not only true to his vow, but was always the most prominent figure in the Kuru Court, both as a councillor as well as a general. At the field of Kurukshetra he fought the Pandavas for 10 days, causing great havoc in their army, and so invincible was he thought to be that it was only when he yielded to Yudhishthira's repeated requests to tell him the time and manner of his defeat and death, that he told him both and fell. Even in his last days he did not depart from his Kshatriya hardihood. Remembering that his father had given him the two boons of being incapable of death in battle and choosing the time of his own death, he allowed himself to fall pierced throughout the body by the arrows of Arjuna. He did not however die, for the sun was then in the southern solstice, but waited till it came into the northern solstice. He would have no

other pillow for his drooping head, but that of three keen shafts shot by Arjuna, nor any other water but what came out of a jet pierced in the earth by Arjúna's shafts. Lying on his bed of arrows, and surrounded by great rishis, the old lion of the Kurus sang a hymn in the praise of Vishnu, which is truly styled the king of hymns. Its concluding portion is:—"The two syllables Ha-ri (हरि) constitute the sole provision of journey for those who have to pass through this wilderness, known as the Sansara. They alone destroy all worldly attachments, and constitute the only medicine for the sorrows and troubles of life. As truth is full of Vishnu, as the Universe is full of Vishnu, as everything is full of Vishnu, so let my soul be also full of Vishnu, and my sins be destroyed." (Mahábhárata Santi Parva, Chap. 49, verses 94 and 96.) When asked by Yudhishthira and the assembled chiefs to advise them upon the duties of kings, of the various sections of society and of the four orders, upon the character of persons in distress and the means of attaining release from the Sansara, he showed himself as great in giving advice and discoursing upon the subtlest questions of religious philosophy, as in the art of war. Promptness in action and truthfulness in behaviour, he declared to be the essence of all duty, and that release from the Sansara was for him, "who like a swan moving over the water was yet not drenched in it, though living in the world was yet above it." According to Krishna all knowledge expired with him. The closing scene of his life was marked by the same grandeur as the opening one. In his dying moments he was assured by Krishna that he was not guilty of a single transgression throughout his life. His last words to Yudhishthira and his brothers were: "You should strive for attaining the truth. Truth constitutes the highest power. You should always live with Bráhmanas of righteous behaviour, devoted to penances, ever abstaining from cruelty, and having their senses under control." (Mahábhárata Anusana Parva, Chapter 167, verses 50 and 51.) His conviction was that one should "always look cheerful and contented, engaged in mental recitation of the sacred mantras, silent and devoted to a life of renunciation. Beholding the repeated formation and dissolution of his own body, and the senses that result from and resolve into their elemental essences, and observing also the repeated advent and departure of creatures, one should learn to cast an equal eye upon all. He who is frugal in respect of his fare and keeps his senses under control, achieves tranquillity of self by his own exertions." (Mahábhárata Santi Parva, Chapter 278, verses 15 and 16.)

Karna and Vidura.

Among the minor heroes of Vyasa's great epic the lives of Vidura and Karna also furnish the same lessons of truth and duty. Vidura's discourses on polity are throughout marked by the prominence given to truth and righteousness. "There is no peace," says he, "without acquisition of knowledge, performance of asceti-

cism, control of the senses, and abandonment of avarice. Let one be careful of his character. Wealth comes and goes: one deprived of wealth is deprived of nothing, deprived of character one is surely lost. He who wishes for success, should observe righteousness. Success is as intimately connected with honest performance of duty as the nectar with heaven. Sacrifice, study, gift, asceticism, truth, forgiveness, mercy and contentment constitute the eightfold path of righteousness. The first four may be performed from motives of pride, but the last four exist only in the truly great." (Mahábhárata Udyoga Parva, Chapter 34 abstracted.)

Karana's liberality has passed into a proverb. When engaged in his morning devotions there was nothing which he would refuse to one who asked for it, and it is said that Surya, the sun god, knowing his liberality and having learnt of the intention of Indra, the king of gods, to go and ask for his earrings and coat of mail which had made him invincible in battle, came to him and warned him against his granting Indra's request. But Karana was unmoved and said: "For persons like me it is not fit to save life by an unworthy act. Death itself is not fraught with such terrors to me as untruth. There is nothing which I cannot give away in charity," and true to his vow he gave his earrings and coat of mail to Indra, though at the cost of being subsequently defeated in battle. Therefore in native society the early morning is styled the time of Karna (Karna Samaya), and to mention a miser's or niggardly person's name is considered inauspicious.

Result of Hinduism of the past.

It is needless to multiply instances. The few I have cited will show that it was the religious character of the ancient Hindus, which made them the great nation they were. "Religion," says Comte, "in itself expresses the perfect unity which is the distinctive mark of man's existence, both as an individual and in society, where all the constituent parts of his nature are made habitually to converge towards one common purpose," and every reader of the S'astras will agree with me in thinking that the religion of ancient India, which produced men like those above described, was such a religion. These men acted from a much higher motive than that of temporal or spiritual reward or punishment. Of excellent conduct, observant of duties, of cheerful souls and possessed of learning and knowledge of self, such men achieved success both here and hereafter. All acts that were regarded as good on earth, and were practised by the righteous, constituted the path from which they never deviated. The essence of Dharma was summed up by Vyása "to lie in never doing to others what is painful to one's own self, and all virtue to consist in doing good and all vice in doing evil to others." "Thousands of occasions of joy, and hundreds of occasions of sorrow, present themselves d y to the ignorant, but not to the wise. With uplifted arms I

cry, but no one hears me. From Dharma (righteousness) come wealth and pleasure, why should not righteousness be followed? For the sake neither of pleasure, nor from fear nor cupidity, should one forsake Dharma. Dharma is eternal; pleasure and pain are not eternal. The soul is eternal, but its abode, the body, is not eternal." (Mahábhárata Swargárohana Parva, Chapter V, verses 57 to 60.)

The Maha Nirvana Tantra also sums up the characteristics of the follower of the ancient religion of Brahma as follows:—"He is a speaker of truth, having his senses under control, devoted to the good of others, free from evil passions, possessed of good thoughts, free from malice and hypocrisy, compassionate, of a purified dispositon, dutiful to parents, ever listening to Brahma, ever thinking of Brahma, ever bent upon realizing Brahma. His senses under control, his intellect firm, always seeking Brahma, never speaking a falsehood, nor entertaining an evil thought, the follower of Brahma should avoid all intercourse with another's wife. Always saying *Tat Sat* at the commencement of everything, he should say at the time of eating and drinking, 'let it be dedicated to Brahma.'" (III-99-103.)

Could such a system have for its logical result either the present rigid distinctions of caste or modern superstitions or fetish worship or vice, or anything unholy and impure that is now prevalent in India? With renunciation and service for their mottoes, the Hindus of the past can scarcely be held responsible for the modern degeneration of their successors.

Religious ideal for Modern India.

Fichte wished his hearers to be "men whose chosen friend was truth, who adhered to her in life and in death, who received her when she was cast out by all the world, who took her openly under their protection, when she was calumniated, who for her joyfully bore the cunningly concealed enmity of the great, the dull sneer of the coxcomb and the compassionating shrug of the fool." (Fichte's Vocation of the Scholar, page 194.) But the religion of ancient India led to that result among its followers as I have tried to show. It is not implied that in ancient or mediæval India there was no evil. On the contrary, some of the worst passions of human nature were as dominant in those days as they are now. Rávana of the Ramáyana and Duryodhana of the Mahábhárata may be said to be typicial instances of self-conceit and selfishness. Dasratha's character shows how even the wisest can be led away by the wiles of a woman. Dhritrashthra represents folly, delusion and avarice. But evil was recognized to be evil and measures for its eradication were taken more promptly than they are now. Even the worst characters of those times feared the good and the virtuous more than they do now, and the rich and the haughty did not deride the ascetic and the pious so much as they do now. They were certainly devoted to self-indulgence, lived more simply and had a clearer conception of duty than we do or have now, and it could not be otherwise in a

people whose general tendency was towards a life of self-denial, truth and the most catholic charity. To the modern aspirant for wealth or power, with his life of hurry and excitement, the old Hindu way of living may appear to be dreamy and impractical. But is our present life much better? A life of ease and comfort resulting from the application of science to everyday life has, it is feared, diverted us from our true purpose, and not only is modern society not more perfect, nor is it approaching nearer perfection than ancient society, but its institutions also provide much less for the harmonious development of man's powers and the satisfaction of all his wants than did the institutions founded by the rishis of ancient India. These men were all priests of Truth. They were morally the best men of their age, and were impelled to action and possessed by the divine idea within them. Otherwise Valmiki, Vyása or Sankara could not have produced the immortal literary works they did, nor could Janaka, Rama or Yudhishthira have left the impression they have done upon the history of India. "If firm and intrepid will," says Fichte, "if clear and all-comprehending vision, if a spirit of order and nobility speak to us in their conduct, then in their works do we see God face to face and need no other proof—*God is*, for they are and He in them." (Nature of Sch[illegible] Lect. 9, p. 295.) And that the lives of the persons I have m[illegible]ioned were not otherwise, every reader of the Hindu S'astras will concede without hesitation. Their great secret was the entire subordination of *self* to the good of others. *Vairágya* was their forte. As Carlyle has said, "The fraction of life can be increased in value not so much by increasing your numerator as by lessening your denominator. Nay, unless my algebra deceive me, unity, itself divided by zero, will give infinity. Make thy claim of wages a zero then; thou hast the world under thy feet. Well did the wisest of our time write: 'It is only with renunciation that life, properly speaking, can be said to begin.'" (Sartor Resartus, pages 152-15 .) "Everything great and good upon which our present existence rests, from which it has proceeded, exists only because noble and powerful men have resigned all the enjoyments of life for the sake of ideas. So long as joy in the deed is mingled with desires concerning the outward product of the deed, even the possessor of the higher morality is not yet perfect in purity and clearness, and thus in the divine economy, the outward failure of his deed is the means of forcing him in upon himself, and of raising him to the yet higher standpoint of true religion—that is, to the comprehension of what really is that he loves and strives after." "All our earthly life is the necessary development of the perfectly good and blessed divine life, and the final and crowning stage of the development of the individual consciousness is therefore that in which the finite spirit, by thought or reason, apprehends the organic plan of existence, knows with clearness the intimate nature of the relations which unite him and all other finite spirits in one great community of free intelligences

with a common aim and purpose, and thus subjectively realizes the supreme synthesis of thought." (Adamson's Fichte, pages 212 and 213.) All this was most amply illustrated in the lives and characters of the best Indians of the past, and ought to be illustrated in the lives and characters of those Indians of the present who aspire to interpret and follow their religion in its true spirit, and try to render back to their country what it has done for them.

सत्यमेव व्रतं यस्य दया दीनेषु सर्वदा ।
कामक्रोधौ वशे यस्य तेन लोकत्रयं जितम् ॥

He whose vow is truth, who is always compassionate to the poor, whose passion and anger are under control, he has conquered the three worlds.

सत्यं वाचि दृशि प्रसाद परता सर्वाशयाश्वासिनी ।
पाणौ दान विमुक्तिरात्म जनने क्लेशान्त चिन्ता मतौ ॥
संसक्ता हृदय दयैव दयिता काये परार्थोद्यमो ।
यस्यैकः पुरुषः सजीवति भवे भ्राम्यन्ति जीवाः परे ॥

He who is truthful in speech, who by kind looks brings peace to all, whose hands are free in making gifts, who always thinks of the means of overcoming the evils of birth, whose heart overflows with compassion, and whose body is devoted to the service of others, is alone a man ; he alone lives. All other creatures wander about in the Sansara.

साजिह्वा या हरिं स्तौति तच्चित्तं यत्तदर्पणम् ।
तावेव केवलं श्राघ्यौ यौ तत्पूजा करौ करौ ॥

That only is (worthy of the name of) a tongue which praises God, that only (of a) mind which is devoted to Him; those only (of the) praiseworthy (name of) hands which are devoted to His service.

May all Indians realize this ideal, is my earnest prayer.

III.—PHILOSOPHY.

सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म तज्जलानिति शान्त उपासीत

"Brahma is verily all this. It emanates from Brahma. It abides in Brahma. It resolves into Brahma Let him therefore worship Brahma with a peaceful mind."

I.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF ADWAITA (NON-DUALITY): ITS SOURCES, AIMS AND OBJECTS.

The goal of Indian aspirations.

To find unity in diversity, to know the nature of things, to solve the great question of man's life upon earth and his destiny hereafter, and to explain how the world he sees around him, originated, these and similar questions have occupied the thinking portion of mankind in all ages and countries, and ever and again arise to trouble most of us at some period or other of our lives. From henotheism to polytheism, monotheism, and adwaitism, the progress of thought has always been from the concrete to the abstract, and the solution of these questions has always largely depended upon the view of life man takes; while climate and social surroundings, which influence his character, also greatly determine the success he is likely to attain in their solution. In India, with its mild climate and bountiful natural resources, life has never been the struggle it is in western countries, nor has success or worldly comfort been regarded as possessing the importance attached to it in Europe. Here the Hindu, with his few wants and peaceful character, has always regarded contemplation of the great mysteries of life as superior to making a figure in the world. To him earthly life is not the all-important reality that it is to the people of the west. He looks upon it more as a sojourn in an inn, or as the meeting of passengers upon a boat, and as a thing attended with the three kinds of bodily, mental and supernatural (*adhyátmika, adhibhawtiká* and *adhidaivika*) pain, and he seeks to avoid it by turning inwards, and finds that that is the only way in which it can be avoided. Optimisim has never been his creed. On the contary, as Bhishma says in the Mahábhárata, the more he sees of the world the more reason he finds to have a distaste for its objects. No wonder if his search for a solution of the above questions has met with better success than that of more go-ahead nations. It has certainly employed the largest portion of his time and the best intellects of his country. Here religion and

philosophy have never been separate, but have always been closely allied, and the highest religion has been the highest and the truest philosophy. Religion does not here confine itself to morality, nor is philosophy a mere intellectual gymnastic. Both have the same object in view, *viz.*, to raise man from the finite to the infinite, to make him realize his true nature. Here religion is not only a bridge between the finite and the infinite, but as if it were the other end of the bridge; nor is philosophy only a matter for scholastic discussion for the few, but a subject of vital importance for the many. Therefore from the Rishis of the Vedas and the Upanishads to the followers of both the six orthodox and the many unorthodox schools of Indian philosophy, the same questions have engaged the attention of thinkers in all ages, each professing to have said the last word on the subject, but each ultimately finding the insufficiency of human intellect to finally solve the problem. The goal of all is however the same, not a life in heaven, for heaven itself represented no permanent bliss for these thinkers, but a complete release from the bonds of the *Sansára*, complete freedom from liability to transmigration, the common lot of all. "As here on earth whatever has been acquired by action perishes, so perishes, in the next world, whatever is acquired by acts of religious merit." (Chhándogya Upanishad, VIII, 1-6.) Therefore "let the Brahmana, after he has examined the worlds gained by merit, renounce them by the reflection that there is nothing that is not created because it is the effect of action. For the purpose of knowing that which is not created, he goes, sacred wood in hand, to a teacher who knows the Vedas and is solely devoted to Brahm." (Mundáka Upanishad, 1-2-12.) Nothing less than absolute release satisfied the sages of the east, for they thought that the wise find delight only in what is beyond all, and not in any intermediate condition. It is only in the attainment of the end that they considered all happiness to lie, all else was to them misery. Even the practice of virtue was not sufficient, for virtue leads to a heaven whence one has to return after the fruits of his good works have been exhausted. While therefore the practice of righteousness was applauded for the man of the world, complete indifference to pleasure and pain, complete relinquishment of *dharma* and *adharma* (religious merit and demerit), and complete destruction of all sense of egoism, were declared to be the means of final release.

The six schools of Indian philosophy.

It is impossible in the present state of Indian chronology to fix the precise date at which each of the six schools of philosophy—the Nyáya, the Vaisheshika, the Sánkhya, the Yoga, the Purva and the Uttar Mimansás—came into existence. That they are of a very ancient origin admits of little doubt. Some of them are mentioned in works like the Mahábhárata, while they are all discussed and their doctrines refuted in the Vedánta Sútras.

(a) The Sankhya.

The general opinion however, seems to be that the Sánkhya was the first in order of time. Its founder, Kapila, is spoken of in the Bhagwad Gita as an incarnation of the Supreme Being, and it is mentioned with approval both in the Mahábhárata and the Gita. It is the first attempt to give a rational answer to the question of the origin of the world and man's destiny in it. It has largely influenced all subsequent thought in India, and in some respects in Germany also. Its aim is to relieve mankind from the three kinds of naturo-intrinsic, naturo-extrinsic and supernatural (*adhyatmika*, *ádhibhautika*, and *ádhidaivika*) pain. This can only be accomplished by a discrimination of the manifested, the unmanifested and the knowing spirit, and not by the revealed (Vedic sacrifice), which is attended with impurity and decay and causes pain to living creatures. The creative force of the universe is *pradháña* (the chief), also called the *prakriti* (nature) and *avyakta* (the unmanifest). From it everything, except the *purusha* or the spirit, is evolved. It is the one rootless root of the Universe (objective as well as subjective), endowed with the three gunas of Sattwa, Rajas and Tamas, characterized by goodness, activity and restraint, and evolving through these, every kind of existence, except the Purusha (spirit), mere dead matter equipped with certain potentialities due to the *gunas*. From it are evolved, in order the Mahat or Buddhi (the great), *ahankára* (egoism), the subtler elements of sound, smell, taste, colour, and touch; the gross elements—earth, water, fire, air and space, the five senses of perception, and the five organs of action and the mind or *manas*. The *purusha* is free from the three attributes, possessed of discriminative faculties, non-objective, singular, intelligent and non-productive, a mere witness and spectator, but being linked with nature till his final release, he believes himself to be an agent and an enjoyer of the fruit of action. In reality it is the *prakriti* which binds herself by herself, though the *purusha* appears to be bound. When, however, the latter realizes that he is different from the *prakriti* and its various modifications, that he is one thing and the *prakriti* another, when he comes to know "that I am not, naught is mine, nor do I exist," then his emancipation is complete. *Prakriti* then ceases to act and thenceforward there is no motive for its evolution. The fundamental doctrine of this school is its denial of the idea of a supreme deity (Iswara) and its positing a plurality of souls. It argues the production of every existence from *prakriti*, (1) because specific objects are finite and must have a cause, and different things have common properties and must be different species of the same genus, (2) because things are in a state of progression and show active energy of evolution which must have been derived from a primary source, (3) because, from the fact of the world being an effect, it must have a cause, (4) and because, from the fact that there is undividedness and unity in the whole universe, it must

have a common origin. (Sánkhya Kárikâ 15.) Buddhi is the chief agent of the Purusha and brings about both all his worldly enjoyment as well as his final release from the emanations of the *prakriti*.

The system, however, stops short at tracing the origin of things to nature and finds no universal soul or *átman* behind. It does not therefore satisfy man's aspiration for an intelligent first cause. Matter, according to it, evolves itself for the use of another, the Purusha, but not under the command of a designer. But it does not explain why matter should evolve for the release of the spirit. It is true that all systems of philosophy and all great men of the past who have tried for release, could have no other but an intelligent principle, free from pleasure, pain, and delusion, as their goal; but why such a principle should be at all associated with the Buddhi and its emanations, the Sankhya does not attempt to explain, probably because it thought that it was not for man to solve the problem.

(*h*) The Yoga.

The next school of philosophy is the Yoga, which, like the Sankhya, is also spoken of with much approval in the Gita and the Mahábhárata, and many of whose directions have always been practised by all philosophers and aspirants after release. It is the Sankhya system, with the addition of an *Iswara* or God, who is a particular soul untouched by Klesha (distraction), Karma (action), Vepáka (its fruit), and Vásná or A'sayá (its resulting impression). He is eternally Omniscient, the Instructor of all, Unlimited by time. He is indicated by the syllable Om, by meditation upon which are removed the impediments to the attainment of Yoga and the inner self is realized. It is the mind (chitta), with its various modifications, which stands in the way of such realization. If the modifications of the mind are suppressed by *samádhi* or unconscious meditation, the Purusha abides in his own nature and is thenceforth all bliss. This suppression of the modifications of the thinking principle is necessary for destroying the fivefold *avidyá*, which is the cause of the Sansára and its joys and sorrows. This *avidyá* consists in mistaking the eternal for the non-eternal, the pure for the impure, the pleasurable for the painful, and the non-ego for the ego. Its offshoots are *asmitá*, the sense of I or mine, Rága (attachment), Dwesha (aversion) and Abhinevesha, love of life. These distractions, if they are fine, ought to be suppressed by gaining mastery over the thinking principle, and if gross, by meditation and study, ascetism and resignation to the will of God. With distractions in their full force, Karma is sure to follow with its results in the shape of the rank and class in which one is born, the length of his life and the nature of his experiences in it. The result of good Karma will of course be birth in a family of a high rank and long life with pleasurable experiences. But to the enlightened even pleasure is pain on account of its enjoyment creating a desire for more, anxiety for retaining objects of pleasure and the impression which every enjoyment leaves upon the mind to be revived in its

proper time, and thus leading to misery in the end. The Yogi is herefore to ward off all misery before it comes, for when it has come, it cannot be warded off except by suffering. The cause of misery is the falsely uniting of the seer, the spirit, with the *buddhi*, the senses, their objects and all that we see around us. The spirit is *drashtá* (seer), and all that he cognizes is the drishya (seen). Though pure, the spirit appears to cognize through the *buddhi*. This cognition is beginningl ess but not endless. It is the cause of the Purusha's experience in the Sansara, but it is also the cause of his release from it. Both *Bhoga* and *Moksha* (experience and emancipation) are dependent upon this union of the Purusha and the Chitta. The break of this junction through discrimination is the Kaivalya, the final absolution of the seer (*drishta*). When it is accomplished, the Purusha thinks that he has known all that was to be known, has freed himself from all bonds, has attained to all that he aimed at, has nothing further to attain and has done the whole of his duty, that his mind is at perfect rest, that all *gunas* have dropped off like stones falling from a mountain top, and that he is what he is.

The system thus shows man the way to attain to his highest end, and though it has been abused by some of its followers hankering after occult powers (*siddhis*) in the shape of control over matter, space and time, all of which are strongly deprecated by its first inculcator, Pátanjali, yet if properly followed it is the best and the loftiest mental, moral and spiritual training for humanity, even though it does not explain the reason for the union of the Purusha and the Chitta, and like the Sánkhya takes it for granted.

(c) The Nyaya.

The Nyáya, which comes next, begins with the statement that eternal bliss in the form of complete cessation of pain, is possible only after a knowledge of truth, and the latter ought to be investigated through the sixteen categories. These are Pramána (means of knowledge), Prameya (the thing to be proved), Samshaya (doubt), Prayojana (motive), Drishtánta (instance), Siddhánta (determined truth), Avayava (premises), Tarka (reasoning), Nirnaya (conclusion), Váda (argumentation), Jalpa (sophistry), Vitanda (cavilling), Hetvá bhása (fallacy), Chhala (quibbles), Játi (false analogies) and Nigrahasthána (unfitness for reasoning). The means of investigation are perception, inference, analogy and testimony; and through these, misery, birth, activity, fault and false notion are removed, commencing from the last, and final emancipation follows. All *dharma* and *adharma* (merit and demerit) are caused by activity. These in their turn lead to pain and sorrow, with their attendant evils of birth and rebirth. Emancipation is the cessation of pain, for honey mixed with poison is no less poison. This school believes in a personal creator and a plurality of souls, and holds that through the favour of God each soul works its own way to release.

(*d*) The Vaisheshika.

The Vaisheshika school of Kanáda is a supplement of the Nyáya, and its cardinal principle is that all material substances are aggregates of atoms which are eternal in themselves, but not eternal as aggregates. These atoms are organized, organs and organic. These are set in motion by a personal creator. It holds that the destruction of misery which is inherent in the soul, is only possible after proper reflection proceeding from knowledge. The latter depends upon the six categories or objects, *viz*: substance, quality, action, community, particularity, generality, and inherence. These are to be considered according to their similarities and dissimilarities. According to it souls proceed from birth to birth, reaping in pleasure and pain the fruit of merit and demerit, ever produced as seed from plant and plant from seed. Bound in sensuous experience the soul waits its release, till the understanding is purified by knowledge and it attains final release and is merged into the absolute. The human soul is a substance, the substratum of the attribute of intelligence. The great soul Iswara is also a substance, the substratum of attributes, such as omnipotence, omniscience and the like. Knowledge is produced from the union of the mind and the soul, the former being in constant communication with objects through the senses. The instruments of knowledge are sensation, inference, analogy and testimony. The ethics reared on these foundations consist of entire devotion to God, and the *summum bonum* is achieved when the series of miseries inherent in the soul is annihilated once and for all. (Introduction to Mándukya Upanishad by Mani Lal Dwivedi, page IV.)

(*e*) Purva Mimanss.

The Purva Mimánsa is one of the two orthodox schools of philosophy which follow the Vedas. Its author was Jaimini and it consists of a body of aphorisms divided into 12 Chapters. It deals with varieties of duties, the order of their performance, the qualifications for such performance, indirect precept, inferable changes, efficiency and co-ordinate effect. It is a school of ceremonial and interpretation and places the *summum bonum* in literally carrying out all Vedic injunctions. It has no value to a modern reader as it deals more with the technicalities of Vedic ritual than philosophy. According to Sankara it is atheistic and God is not deducible from it.

The Uttara Mimansa.

The last school of thought is the *Uttara Mimánsa*, which has largely influenced all subsequent religious and philosophic movements in India, and which is universally believed to be a means of complete emancipation from the Sansára, this ever recurring round of transmigratory existence We shall therefore need no apology for discussing its chief principles at some length,

The religion of the *rishis* of the Samhita portion of the Vedas was not merely henotheism or polytheism. On the contrary we find them singing of *Prajápati* or Hiranyagarbha "as the one born Lord of all this, as He who established the earth and the sky, who gives breath, who gives strength, whose command all the bright gods acknowledge, not to know whom is death, whose lustre makes immortal, whose power these snowy mountains and the sea with all the rivers indicate, whose arms are the two regions, through whom the sky yields rain and the earth is firm, through whom the sun is held in its place, through whom the heaven is established, who creates moisture in the mid-air, and who alone is above all gods." (Rig Veda X, 129.) They did not stop at monotheism, the logical result of the above, but went further and asserted the existence of "One Self which was beyond all, which existed before all, and whose origin even the gods did not know," for we read: "There was not non-existence (Asat) nor existence (Sat), there was no realm of air, nor sky beyond it, what covered in and where and what gave shelter? was water there, unfathomed depth of water? Death was not there, nor was there aught immortal, no sign was there, the day and the night's divider. That one thing breathless breathed by its own nature, apart from it there was nothing whatsoever. Darkness was there at first, concealed in darkness all this was indiscriminate chaos. All that existed then was void and formless. By the great power of thought that unit was born. Who verily knows and who can declare whence it was born and whence came this creation. The gods themselves came later into being. Who knows then whence it first came into being He from whom this creation came, whether he formed it or did not form it, the most high seer in the highest heaven, he verily knows it or perhaps even he does not know it." (Rig Veda X, 129.) The rishis, therefore, first worshipped Brahm as manifested in the Universe, and ultimately the Brahma without attributes as declared in the Upanishads.

The Vedanta in the Vedas.

The unity of the infinite in man and the infinite in nature was, however, not fully declared in the Samhita portion of the Veda, but in the Upanishads. The Bráhmana portion of the Veda did not also go much further than the mantra portion, for there also we do not find the absolute identity of the two so fully established as in the *Áranyaka* or the Upanishad portion. In the Taitreya Bráhmana of the Black Yajur Veda we read: "At first this universe was nothing. There was neither sky nor earth nor air. Being non-existent it resolved, 'let me be.'" In the other Bráhmanas we read: "Prajapati alone was formerly this universe." In the *Satpatha* Bráhmana it is said: "In the beginning this universe was indeed non-existent. But men say what was that non-existent. The rishis say that in the beginning there was no existence. Who are these rishis? The rishis are breaths." (VI, 1, 1, 1ff.) This is appa-

rently less earnest than the hymn of the mantra portion quoted above, and we have therefore to go to the Upanishads for the root as well as the development of that great tree of Adwaitism which has afforded shelter to so many an Indian sage, from the most ancient to the present times.

The Upanishads.

The Samhita or the mantra portion of the Veda chiefly concerns itself with prayer and praise; the Bráhmanas deal with rites and rituals. But at the end of each Bráhmana is an *Áranyaka*, or a forest portion which is to be studied in the forest, after one has left his house and retired from active life. Attached to or sometime included in these *Áranyakas* are certain treatises called the Upanishads The word *Upanishad* is a compound of the root *sad* with the prefixes *up* and *ni* and signifies, not a mere session or assemblage of pupils gathered round their master, but according to Sankara "that knowledge which tears asunder the veil of ignorance and makes one realize and approach Brahman." It also means "esoteric knowledge or esoteric doctrine," as we find in the Taittireya Upanishad, Chapter I, 3. "We shall now explain the Upanishad of the Samhita," meaning its esoteric meaning. In the Mahábhárata the word *Upanishad* is used for secret or essence (rahasya), for when Vyása speaks of "truth being the Upanishad of the Veda, subjugation of the senses the Upanishad of truth, and charity the Upanishad of the control of the senses," (Santi Parva, 251-12), he means that the essence of the Vedas lies in the practice of truthfulness and that without the latter, a knowledge of the Vedas is of no use. Primarily, the word *Upanishad* therefore means secret knowledge and, secondarily, the books containing that knowledge.

The number of authoritative Upanishads.

The Upanishads are many in number. From the ten or twelve principal ones we have now as many as 52,108,235, and according to some Hindu writers who assign an Upanishad to each Sákhá of the Veda, as many as 1,180. The fact seems to be that, as in other branches of literature, the Hindu writers were not wanting in multiplying the Upanishads, till we come to have not only many which betray much poverty of thought or are verbatim copies of the more ancient or even later treatises like the Bhagvad Gita, or the Panchdasi, but embody sectarian views or were written to please the fancy of the writers themselves or their patrons. Otherwise, we should not have had an *Allahopanishad* presenting a strange mixture of Sanskrit and Arabic words in a rather ludicrous manner. The safest way, therefore, to find out which of these treatises is ancient and which of comparatively modern date, is to take those that show originality of thought and have been commented upon or referred to by Sankara, their earliest commentator extant, or which furnish internal evidence of their being authoritative, leaving the study of the rest to the curious or the follower of sectarian views. The authoritative Upanishads are the Isa, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mun-

daka, Mándukya, Aitreya, Taittireya, Chandogya, Brihad Áranyaka and Swetaswatara, and one or two others like the Kanshitaki and the Maitreyi. Of these the Isávásya Upanishad is the fortieth or the last chapter of the Samhita of the White Yajur Veda, and is named after its opening words "*Isávásyam.*" It is also called the Vajsanehi Upanishad. The Kena, also named after its opening words, is called the *Tálavakára* Upanishad and belongs to a Sákhá or branch of the Sáma Veda. The Katha belongs to a Sákhá of the White Yajur Veda, whose name is not known. The Prasna and the Mundaka appertain to the Pippaláda and the Saunaka Sákhás of the Atharva Veda, to which also belongs the Mándukya Upanishad. The Aitreya Upanishad belongs to the Aitreya Bráhmana, which in its turn belongs to the Sákal Sákhá of the Rig Veda. The Kanshitaki Upanishad, which belongs to the Bráhmana of the same name, also appertains to this Veda. The Taittireya Upanishad belongs to the Taittireya Sákhá of the Black Yajur Veda. The Chandogya Upanished belongs to the Bráhmana of the same name of the Sáma Veda, and the Bráhmana in its turn belongs to its Kanthami or the Ranayani Sákhá, but to which it is uncertain. The Brihad Áranyaka Upanishad belongs to the White Yajur Veda, while the Swetáswatara belongs to the Black Yajur Veda. The reason why each of the Vedas had its own Upanishad was either that the esoteric portion of each of its Sákhás was so closely connected with its exoteric portion, as to require a knowledge of the latter for a knowledge of the former, or because the followers of each Sákhá were anxious to have their own Upanishad and were too isolated to know that another Sákhá of the same Veda or another Veda had a similar body of esoteric doctrines also. And yet the identity of thought in all the Upanishads is truly remarkable, especially in the final results arrived at.

The authorship of the Upanishads.

The Upanishads are dialogues between teachers and pupils, or discussion between sages at kings' courts or in the forest. In some cases the gods are declared as imparting knowledge of Brahman to men. In other cases the rishis describe their own experiences of truth. But seldom do we find any clue to the authorship of an Upanishad, either in the latter itself or in other contemporary or later works. Neither the style nor the doctrine helps us in this respect. Some of the Upanishads, like the Brihad Áranyaka, give long lists of teachers through whom the knowledge of Brahman descended from teacher to pupil. Others merely give a few names, for instance, from Bráhma the knowledge descended to Atharwa, from Atharwa to Angiras, from Angiras to Bharadwája and from Bharadwája to Angi, and from him to Saunaka. The question does not puzzle the Indian student who looks upon the whole of what is said in the Upanishads as revealed truth. To him the Upanishads are not merely guesses at truth, but truth itself. More properly speaking they are records in human language (and

therefore more or less imperfect) of what transcends human thought and human speech. "As the branch of a tree is sometimes resorted to for pointing out the lunar digit on the first day of the light half of the month, so the Vedas are used for indicating the Supreme Self. What that object which is to be proved in its nature is, is unknown either to the Vedas, which are without life, or to those who merely read them, and yet those Bráhmanas who *are truly* acquainted with the Vedas, succeed in obtaining a knowledge of the object knowable by the Vedas through the Vedas." (Mahábhárata Udyoga Parva, Chap. 42, verses 50-53.) The less esoteric portion of the Upanishads embodies the thoughts and aspirations of rishis who were searchers after, but had not yet attained to truth, but their last word is the highest utterance of truth given to man. The Upanishads themselves claim to be of divine origin, for we find the Brihad A'ranyaka speaking of the Vedas and the *Upanishads* as "the breathing of the Great Being" (Chapter II, Bráhmana 4, verse 10), while Sankara and his predecessor, Vyasa, declare "Brahman to be the cause of the S'astra." (Sutra 2, Chapter 1, pada 1 of the Brahma Sutras.) The Supreme Being is, moreover, declared to absorb the Vedas at the end of a Kalpa (cycle of creation), and to reveal them to Brahma and others at the commencement of the next Kalpa, and that though for ordinary mortals the course of practical existence is cut off at the end of each Kalpa, it is not so, according to Sankara, for certain beings who, by their superior knowledge and power, assume the same form and power in different cycles and are distinguished by the possession of the same light. For such beings dissolution and creation of the world are like sleep and awakening from sleep, and therefore the same things with the same names appear to them in each Kalpa. (Commentaries on Brahma Sutras I, III, 30.) But whether this argument be accepted or not, there can be no doubt that the ultimate truths taught in the Upanishads are eternal and all science or philosphy, ancient or modern, though it may explain, cannot add to them. Vyása, the author of the Mahábhárata, and the compiler of the Vedas, is not the author of the Upanishads, though he may have arranged them in their present shape. All therefore that can be said as to their authorship is that they represent the teachings of a long line of teachers, handed down verbally from teacher to pupil, and that even the rishis between whom the dialogues mentioned in them were held, were not the authors but the enunciators of the doctrines embodied in them.

Their date, authority and subject matter.

For the same reason it is also impossible to define the date of any of the above Upanishads. The theory which assigned 800 to 1000 B. C. to the Mantra, and 600 B. C. to the Bráhmana and the A'ranyaka portion of the Vedas has now been controverted and Mr. G. B. Tilak, author of the Orion, ascribes 4000 B. C. to the Mantra portion, which would certainly carry the

Bráhmana and the A'ranyaka portion much earlier than 600 B. C. It may be that some of the larger Upanishads, like the Chandogya and the Brihad A'ranyaka, were collected in their present form at much later dates, and the mention of the Sankhya and the Yoga doctrines in others, such as the Swetaswatara, may place them at even more recent periods; but the main doctrines of the Upanishads have been prevalent in India from very ancient times. Beyond this it is unsafe to go, in the face of the uncertainty of everything connected with Hindu chronology, and leaving this question for persons of wider research to solve, we shall pass on to discuss the other matters connected with these treatises.

Even in ancient India persons seem not to have been wanting who denied the authority of the Upanishads, for we find a Sutra of Jaimini, the author of the Purva Mimánsá, to the effect that "as the purport of the Veda is action, those passages whose purport is not action are purportless" (Jaimini Sutras 1, 2, 1), meaning thereby that the Upanishads which purport to give information about an existing entity like Brahman, are either purportless or are subordinate to those texts of the Veda which deal with sacrificial action. The reply of Vyása and his commentator Sankara, in the Brahma Sutras, was that the Veda has a meaning in so far only as it conduces to the highest end of man, *viz.*, freedom from the Sansara and unity with Brahman, and that such passages of it as give information about existing entities like Brahman, and point out the means for its attainment, instead of being purportless, serve the highest end of man. This opinion, which is supported by the Mahábhárata, every modern reader of the Upanishads shall very likely share in, for while to him the sacrificial portion of the Veda may have only an antiquarian or historical interest, the philosophical portion has a much deeper and more vital one, in pointing out to him the road travelled by persons who were most earnest seekers after truth and who have left for him their experiences of the road. Hidden within much allegory and fanciful description and play upon words or crude or primitive ideas of physics, &c., and in spite of all faults of metre and grammar, and peculiarity of language, the Upanishads record the views of men who were deeply in earnest in finding out a solution to some of the most cardinal problems of existence, and who have solved them in a manner which has left little for future generations to add or alter.

The goal of the *rishis*, whatever be the interval of time and space at which they were uttering or discussing the truths embodied in the Upanishads, was one and one only, *viz.*, how to attain unity both in nature and in man, and in spite of many digressions and subordinate or inferior meditations included under the name of *aparâ vidyá*, they never lost sight of their ultimate aim, *viz.*, to demonstrate the presence of the infinite in the finite, and of the self in man being no other but the highest self. *Tat twam asi* (Thou

art that), their first great saying (Mahávákya), embodies the result of their investigation. They also declared: I am Brahman (अहंब्रह्मास्मि). This *átman* (self) is Brahman (अयं आत्मा ब्रह्म). Brahman is thought (प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म). Truth, Intelligence, and Infinity are Brahman (सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तंब्रह्म). There are in some of the Upanishads long disquisitions upon the worship of Brahman as the person in the eye, or in the sun, or as abiding in the lotus of the heart. In others, meditation upon the mystic syllable Om is inculcated. In others again, Om is said to be the *udgitha* amidst much fanciful writing and play upon words. There is also a certain want of system in some of these treatises and many a passage now and then baffles the ingenuity of the commentators to explain in a reasonable manner. But as to their ultimate object there cannot be the slightest doubt. This was to start from a system of Aparâ (lower) Vidya (knowledge), in which Brahman was declared to be the Omniscient, Omnipotent and All-Pervading Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer of the universe, as the Giver of the fruit of action, as the Internal ruler of all, and to attain to the absolute or Para Brahman, which was declared to be without any attributes whatever, transcending speech and mind, and described as "*neti*" "*neti*," "not this" "not this," and comprehended and realized only in silence. From many of their passages arises the deepest emotion and the mind is always refreshed and elevated by their perusal. They are the final authority for all disputed doctrines of the Vedánta philosophy, and are appealed to by philosophers who hold such divergent views as Sankara, the apostle of absolute Adwaitism, Rámánuja, the teacher of Adwaitism with a qualification, and Madhava, the apostle of Dwaitism (duality) Each of these, as well as the followers of the Sánkhya and the Yoga systems of Indian philosophy, finds texts in them to support his views, and in some cases he can do so without straining the meaning. But it is absolute unity which alone finds the most support from these treatises.

The Bhagvad Gita.

After the Upanishads comes the Bhagvad Gitá, or the Lay of the Lord. It is a dialogue between Arjuna, one of the heroes of the Mahábhárata, and Krishna, who had incarnated upon earth to restore righteousness. It forms Chapter 25 to Chapter 42 of the Bhishma Parva of the great epic and fits in so naturally with the narrative that it cannot be said to be a later interpolation and must, like the main story of the great war, be assigned to the 14th or the 15th Century B. C. Krishna could not have possibly spoken it in the form it is now available to its readers, any more than the other dialogues in the Mahábhárata were held in verse, but that it embodies his teachings in full and was compiled by the person who compiled the story of the great war, is undoubted. It is described to be the "milk of all the Upanishads" and "the essence of all the S'astras." In the compass of 18 Chapters, comprising 700 verses, it sets forth the path of action (the Karma yoga), the path of

devotion (the Bhakti yoga), and the path of knowledge (the Jnán yoga), all leading towards one goal, in a manner which is as pre-eminently useful to the man of the world engaged in the busiest affairs of life, as to the recluse in the forest. "Do thy duty without regard for its fruit. Do every thing for Me, the highest Lord! fix thy heart upon Me, concentrate thy thoughts upon Me, work for My sake, resign thyself to Me, and thou shalt verily attain Me." He who is unshaken by gusts of passion, like the ocean which never transgresses its limits, even though it receives many a river within it, he who finds happiness within his own self (átmá) and moves in the world free from all sense of "I" and "mine," attains Moksha. Know Me to be beyond the perishable and the imperishable (matter), the Uttama Purusha, the Paramátmá. Just as air lives in space and does not effect it, so do all beings reside in Me and do not touch Me. Know Me to be the Kshetrajna, the knower residing in all Kshetra (bodies.) This world is pervaded by Me and yet I am distinct from it." These and similar truths are inculcated in the Gitá. The book is not only the bible of the learned and the thoughtful in India, where it exercises much influence on their daily lives, but is held in deep veneration by the masses also. It does not, as has been supposed, inculcate a dissolution of all earthly ties, nor sanctions a disregard for all relations of society or family life. On the contrary, it holds duty (Dharma) to be superior to everything in the world, and teaches that the only road to *Moksha* is performance of duty for the sake of the Lord, and without regard to its fruit. Its teachings are not new or unique, for all throughout the Mahábhárata we find the same truths inculcated in various shapes. All that it does is to bring those truths to a focus, on an occasion which was as unique as it was terrible. To vindicate the cause of Dharma and restore peace instead of internecine war, was the mission of Krishna, and bitter though the struggle was to Arjuna to fight his own kinsmen in battle, yet duty must be done, the usurper of a righteous inheritance punished, and this was what Krishna exhorted Arjuna to do.

Instead of inculcating fatalism the Gitá sets the ideal of duty in the only light in which it has always been regarded by the best of thinkers all over the world, and this is the reason why not only in India but in other countries also, it has been regarded with the veneration due to the best books written by man.

The whole of the Moksha portion of the Sánti Parva of the Mahábhárata is nothing but an exemplification of its doctrines. The epic period of the Hindus shows Hindu Society at its best, even though it ceased to be the simple society it was in Vedic times, and even though the Bráhmanas had begun to assert their supremacy and make it the yoke of the community which it subsequently came to be. Brahma-Vidyá, the knowledge of Brahma, was in those days not the monopoly of any caste or class, but Bráhmanas, Kshátriyas, Vaisyas, and even Sudras, taught and received it in the freest man-

ner. Janaka, the great Rájarshi (Royal sage), Yayáti, Nahusha, Bhishma, Yudhishthira and Krishna, and other Kshatriyas discoursed upon the duties of kings and the means of obtaining emancipation to large assemblies of Bráhmanas and others like those who were Bráhmanas by birth, but a Vaisya like Tuládhara, a seller of "all kinds of juices, scents, leaves of trees, barks, fruits and roots," also taught Bráhamana Jajali (righteousness) in section 262 of the Moksha Dharma of the Mahábhárata. So did a fowler, a seller of venison and buffalo meat to another Bráhmana, and the fowler is throughout called the "pious fowler eminent in righteousness." (Mahábhárata Vana Parva, section 227.) In fact, the rishi Pará Sara tells Janaka that "Bráhmanas learned in the Vedas regard a virtuous Sudra as equal to Bráhmana himself, and that he looks upon such a Sudra as the effulgent Vishnu of the universe, the foremost one in all the world." (Sánti Parva, Chapter 287, verse 28.) The Gitá or the Mahábhárata, which reflected the spirit of the age, cannot therefore be hostile to progress, nor sanction much of what now goes under the name of Hinduism.

The Brahma Sutras.

The teachings of the Upanishads, the Gitá or the Mahábhárata, though both the latter mark a distinct advance upon the former in point of systematic discussion, do not however represent a complete system of philosophy and it was reserved for Vyása to present this in his Brahma or Vedánta Sutras. The latter seek to reduce the teaching of the Upanishads to a consistent and systematic whole, explain away apparent contradictions, and refute all objections that have been urged against the system. This is done in 556 aphorisms, ascribed to the same Vyása who compiled the Vedas and wrote the Mahábhárata. This can scarcely be the case, for the Sutras themselves speak of Bádráyana (Vyás) and his pupil, Jaimini, besides other earlier teachers. There is, however, no doubt that they belong to a very early period of Hindu literature, and the internal evidence they furnish also points to a very ancient origin, though it may very well be doubted whether they belong to the rationalistic period of the Hindu literature, which is said by some thinkers to range from 1000 to 242 B. C. Professor Max Muller assigns the formation of the six systems of Indian Philosophy to the period from Buddha, 5th century, to Asoka, 3rd century, B. C., though he admits, particularly in the cases of the Vedánta, the Sánkhya and the Yoga, a long previous development, reaching back through the Upanishads and the Bráhmanas to the very hymns of the Rig Veda. (Six Systems of Indian Philosophy, page 119.) The first portion of this opinion is apparently not correct, for the mention of the words "Brahma Sutra padai" in Gitá (XIII-4) is thought by many to indicate that the Sutras were extant when the Gitá was written in its present shape, which was certainly long before Buddha and Asoka. These Sutras are also called the Uttara Mimánsá and the S'áriraka, and are divided into four chapters, each in its turn comprising four

sections, and each section a number of sub-sections. Their four chapters are called the *Samanwaya* (connecting), *Avirodha* (reconciling), *Sádhana* (means) and *Phala* (fruit). The first four Sutras, *viz.*, "Then therefore an enquiry into Brahman," "Bráhmana is that from which the origin, subsistence and dissolution of the world proceed," "The omniscience of Brahman follows from its being the cause of the Scripture," "But that Brahman is to be known because it is connected with the Vedánta texts as their purport," embody the fundamental doctrines of the Vedánta, and the rest of the Sutras are more or less in the nature of the establishment of the system after refuting the objections of its opponents. A large portion of the first Chapter is, for instance, occupied in establishing that certain passages of the Upanishads which contain either clear or obscure indications of Brahman, refer only to the highest self. The whole of the 2nd Chapter is occupied in refuting the Sánkhya, the Vaisheshika, the Nyáya, the Vijnánvádin's, the Arhata's and other theories of creation. The greatest effort is however directed against the Sánkhya system, which appears closely to correspond to the Vedánta. The nature of the *Thou* is next discussed and it is proved that the *thou* (the individual self) is eternal and immortal, and its birth and death can only be spoken of in so far as it comes into and goes out of a body, that it is an actor or an enjoyer of the result of action in so far as it is associated with the intellect (Buddhi), and that in reality it is not a part nor an emanation of the highest self but the highest self (Brahma) itself. Its passage out of and into the body is pointed out in the 3rd Chapter, which also discusses its conditions in the states of waking, dream and deep sleep. Here the nature of the highest Brahman *That* is also discussed and it is proved to be without attributes, though it appears to be limited or manifold on account of its connection with *upadhis* or limiting adjuncts. It is then pointed out that the individual soul can attain to absolute Brahman only by knowledge, and to a lower or qualified (Saguna) Brahman by the worship or meditation as enjoined in the Upanishads. It is also shown that knowledge of Brahman is independent of all ceremonial action, but that the practice of the latter prepares the way. In the last Chapter means for the attainment of emancipation are pointed out, the various stages through which the worshippers of the lower Brahman pass are discussed, and the happy condition of the *vidvan* (the knower of Brahman) is described.

Much of the discussion contained in the Sutras or their commentaries can be of little interest to any other but a philosophic reader. Indeed, a large portion of it is of a most scholastic character. The Sutras, taken by themselves, are now and then unintelligible, being sometimes single words or sentences, or bits of sentences, with either the subject or the predicate left out. They represent aids to memory communicated by teacher to pupil, and must always have been accompanied with verbal explanation. Otherwise they

could have been of no use to a student of the Vedánta. But while in ancient India, where verbal instruction was the rule, written commentaries on the Sutras could be dispensed with, they could not be so in later times, and a number of commentators have therefore commented upon them, each to establish the views held by him or the school he represents. The oldest of these commentators was Baudháyaná, who is known as the *Vartikakar*, and who is mentioned as such by Sankara. The *karikas* of Gandapadáchárya, who was most probably the same person who commented upon the Sánkhya Karika, and of Dravidachárya, who was his contemporary, are the earliest *adwaita* commentaries on the Upanishads and the *Sutras* now extant. The former has been published, but the latter, though referred to by Sankara, has not yet been published. Sankara refers to it at the end of the fourth Sutra of the 1st Chapter, first pada. The verses he quotes are intended to support the view that when there has arisen in a man's mind a knowledge that "I am Brahman," the apparent world, with all its distinctions, ceases to have any meaning for him. I tried to get Dravidácharya's Vartika from the library of the present Sri Sankaráchárya of Dwarka, where it is said to exist in manuscript, but was told that a complete manuscript was not available. Therefore the earliest complete commentary on the Sutras is Sankara's. After him came a whole host of commentators of both his own school of absolute monoism and of Ramanuj, Madhava and others, who uphold monoism with a qualification, or dualism.

Sankara.

A short notice of Sankara will therefore not be out of place here. He was born in the village of Kaladi in Malabar, of Bráhmana parents. Subsequent traditions, the result of hero worship, mention various extraordinary phenomena as having attended his birth, of his being an incarnation of the god Siva, who had come upon earth to restore the religion of the Vedas, and of Brahmá, Vishnu, Vayu, Saraswati, &c., having also incarnated in the shape of his opponents for the better establishment of truth. Passing these, it is certain that the child made great progress in learning at a very early age. His father died before his investiture with the thread, a ceremony which was performed by his mother. At the age of seven, having learnt from his village teacher all that he could teach, Sankara returned to his mother, lived with her for 2 years and then became a Sanyásin at the age of nine. He now went to Govindáchárya, who lived at Amarkanta on the Narbudda, and after studying under him went to Badrikasrama in the Himalyas, and there, before he was fifteen years of age, compiled his sixteen commentaries. These are 12 on the 12 Upanishads named above (13) Bhagwad Gitá, (14) Brahma Sutras, (15) Sahsranama adhyaya of the Mahábhárata, containing the thousand names of Vishnu, and (16) the Sanata-Sujáta Gitá, a dialogue between King Dhritrastra of the Mahábhárata and the sage Sanata-Sujáta. He

then returned to the plains, held long discussions with the followers of the various schools of philosophy and religion then prevailing in India, and defeated men like Kumarila Bhatta, Mandana Misra, Prabhakara and others between the age of 16 and 26. Of these Kumarila Bhatta and Prabhakara were the commentators of the Purva Mimansa, the former anxious to re-establish it as an orthodox and the latter as an atheistic system, and Mandana Misra the great champion of ceremonial Hinduism. He then restored Hindu temples which had been destroyed by the Buddhists, established four *Mathas*, or seats of learning—the Jyotish in Badrika-asrama, the Govardhana in Orissa, the Sringeri in Southern India and the Sarda in Dwarka. At these he installed his disciples Padama, Totaka, Hastámalaka and Sureswara. He then retired to the north and died at the age of 32. This is Sankara's life, shorn of all the miraculous and the traditional elements with which the Sankara Digvijaya, a record of his achievements, abounds. His exact date is a subject of much controversy, for while European scholars say that he lived between 788 and 820 A. D., some Hindu writers state that he was a contemporary of Vikramaditya, the founder of the Samvat era, which makes his date to be about 500 A. D. Other traditions make Sankara to have lived between 650 and 740 A. D. On the contrary a paper given to me by the present Sri Sankaracharya of Dwarka states that Sankara was born on the 5th Yudhishthira Saka 2631. His investiture with the thread took place on the 6th Chaitra Sukla Saka 2636. He became a Sanyásin on the 11th Kartick Sukla S. 2639, went to Govindacharya on the 2nd Jaith S. 2640, composed his commentaries up to the 15th Jaist Krishna S. 2646, held discussions with the advocates of various schools of religion and philosophy, and celebrated his *digvijaya* between the 15th Margshirsha 2647 and 3rd Chaitra Sukla 2660, and died on the 15th Kartick Sukla 2663. The original of this document is in the office of the Gaikwar of Baroda, and was written on the 5th Magh Sudi Saka 1848. The Saka era commenced in 78 A. D., and the Yudhishthira Saka flourished in India for 3,050 years, after which the Samvat era (B. C. 57) came into vogue. This makes Sankara to have been born about 476 B. C., or some 80 years after Buddha, a conclusion with which modern scholars may perhaps not agree in the absence of further evidence.

There is, however, no doubt of the greatness and the permanence of Sankara's work as the great expounder of the Adwaita philosophy of the Upanishads and the first who reduced it to a system. He was essentially a man of the age, one of those great teachers who appear in the world at rare intervals of time, to leave their mark upon its history and religion. India was at the time either degraded by the ritualism of the orthodox Bráhmanas or the orgies of the Tantric worshippers or the impractical ideals of Buddhism. All life seems to have been crushed out of it, and it required a teacher who could prove the relative value of ceremonial dogma and ritual, and show that the attainment of the ideal

of the Upanishads was the only road both to individual happiness as well as national well-being. His mission was to establish the philosophy taught in the best and the purest sources of Hindu thought, against impractical idealism on the one hand and dogmatism on the other. That he did so in the face of great difficulty, is patent to every reader of his works, and that he was also successful in doing so, is clear from the lasting impression he has left upon Hindu thought. In gracefulness of language, logically close reasoning and subtlety of argument, Sankara stands foremost of all Indian commentators, and while 75 out of every 100 Hindu thinkers are said to adhere to him, 15 only adhere to Ramanuja, 5 to Vallabha, and 5 to Madhava, the advocates of qualified *adwaitism* or *dwaitism*. Not only by followers of his own school, but by opponents also, Sankara is largely studied, and all subsequent expounders of the adwaita philosophy have closely followed him in their expositions. If his philosophy does not exercise the universal influence it ought to, it is because the intellect of the country has largely deteriorated by having passed through so many revolutions. His message was one of truth, and it is entitled to be received with the reverence due to truth. It is a mistake to suppose that the monoism of Sankara was no better than Buddhism, or that it perverted the teaching of the Vedas and taught abandonment of good works and indifference towards this world and the next for every one irrespective of the stage of development he had reached. On the contrary in the normal condition of life, worship and prayer, as well as efficacy of good works, were recognized by Sankara as fully as by the teachers of the Upanishads. "Different modes of devotion," says he, "lead to different results, some to exaltation, some to gradual emancipation, some to success in works, these modes are distinct on account of the distinction of the different qualities and limiting conditions. (Vedánta Sutras, I. I-11.)

With Sankara's commentaries, the Upanishads, the Bhagwad Gitá and Brahma Sutras are known as the *Prosthana treyor*, the three mainstays of the Adwaita Vedánta. His most correct expounder was Anand Giri, whose gloss is also published with his commentaries. Whole hosts of commentators have commented upon the Upanishads, the Gita and the Brahmá Sutras, but they all want the depth and originality of Sankara. Sankara's commentaries upon the Brahmá Sutras have been commented upon by Vachaspati Misra in a gloss called the Bhamati, which in its turn has been commented upon by Amalánanda Sarswati in the Kalpataru, and the latter by Appadikshitta in the Parimala. But all these works are of a very scholastic character and soon tire out the patience of other than a professional reader. On the Gita also there is no lack of commentaries in Sanskrit, but the most read of these, after Sankara's, are Madhusudana's and Sankaranand's. The latest commentary is the Samanvaya Bhashya of Pandit Gour Gobind Rai of Calcutta, which seeks

faithfully to represent the actual views of Sri Krishna and find his exact place among the religious leaders of the world. On the Upanishads the glosses of *Vidyaranya* and Sankaranda are the best after those of Sankara. Peculiar facilities are also now afforded to a student of the Vedánta philosophy by the excellent translations of all these three works published in the Sacred Books of the East, while for the Gita its translations are not only found in English but in other European languages also, thus showing that the book is exercising some influence upon western readers also.

The Yoga Vashishtha.

After the Upanishads, the Gita, and the Brahmá Sutras, come two important works on the Vedánta philosophy known as the Yoga Vashishtha and the Panchdasi. The former is a voluminous work of 32,000 verses ascribed to Valmiki, the author of the Ramayana, and records the instruction given by Vashishtha to Rama, who at a very early age had withdrawn himself from society. The book is divided into six books called the *Vairagya* (non-attachment), Mumukshu (aspirant after release), Utapatti (creation), Sthiti (preservation), Upasama (peace), and Nirvána (emancipation or extinction). Its author, who was a subjective idealist, differs from the *Vigyanvadins* of India in that he recognizes a real and an ever-present entity behind mind (Manas or Chitta) which, according to him, is the phenomenal world. He is in many respects an original thinker, and the language of his work, which is highly poetical, shows that though he was not Valmiki, the author of the Ramayana, yet he was one of the later *rishis* of India, perhaps later than even Sankara, for the great commentator never mentions him or his work in his commentaries. That he flourished before 1300 A. D. is clear from the fact that Vidyaranya Swami, the author of the Panchdasi, who lived in the 14th century, frequently mentions and quotes from the Yoga Vashishtha in both the Panchdasi and the Jivan Mukti Vivika.

The work, however, exercises much influence upon Hindu thought, and is largely read both by Sanyâsins and laymen, especially in Northern India. Its cardinal principle is that it is the mind (Chitta) which is the cause of this diversified world, just as the seed is of the plant. Time, space and causality are forms of, and not apart from the mind. The mind is identical with *vasna*, or mental impression, and is caused by the sense of egoism and consciousness thereof. The substratum of this sense of egoism is, however, the Paramatma, or the highest self, and the field of its manifestation is Máyá, which resides in it. It is our belief in the reality of the world that is the cause of trouble. Such a belief is destroyed by reflection on the nature of the Self. Such reflection will show that Brahman, the Supreme Self, is neither a cause nor an effect, that

the world is thus no effect of Brahman, and yet because it appears to be so, it is nothing but illusion due to the action of the mind. When once this truth is realized and the mind is so controlled that it ceases to be mind, the world with all its joys and sorrows ceases to give trouble. With the sublation of the phenomenal, disappears all consciousness of the objects existing in it, as well as all sense of the "I and mine" therein, and with the disappearance of all sense of the "I and mine," what remains is the absolute imperishable Brahman, which transcends both speech and thought. So long as the word "World" has a meaning and a reality to our minds, it is a world in existence. When however the word "World" ceases to have any meaning, then the world and Brahman become synonymous. Then there is no world, all is silence, Brahman the ever-permanent *chit*. Nothing can be affirmed or denied regarding the existence of the world, except that whatever it is, it is no other than the manifestation of the Supreme Chitta. This realization is accomplished, not by external renunciation, but by introspection resulting in a complete subjugation of the mind and realizing either that I am all this or that neither is there any such thing as "I" or "all this." The author does not, however, answer the question as to how the *Chit* came to be this diversified world, except by saying that at the end of a *kalpa*, when all creatures are destroyed, what is left is *sat*, and that at the beginning of the next *kalpa* it wills to create and creates the mind. How far this is an advance on the Máyá theory enunciated by Sankara is a question.

The Panchdasi.

The last complete work on the philosophy of the Adwaita is the Panchdasi, whose author was the celebrated Vidyáranya Swami, who was a minister to a King of the Karnatick, called by him *Bukk* Bhupal. He lived in the thirteenth century, and is considered by some Indian Pandits to be identical with Sáyánachárya, the commentator of the Rig Veda. By others he is supposed to be identical with Mádhávacharya, Sáyána's brother. Others again make Sáyána, Mádháva and Vidyáranya to be one person with three names corresponding to his three stages of life as a Minister, a Vanaprastha and a Sanyâsin. For depth of thought and clearness of expression Vidyáranya stands unequalled, and is in some respects even superior to Sankara. The Panchdasi is the most complete work of its kind on the Vedánta. In the compass of 15 Chapters, called the 5 Vivakas (discriminations), the five Dipas (lamps) and the five Anandas (joys), it sets forth the principles of this philosophy in a very clear manner. Vidyáranya's other works also partake of the same lucidity of style, and the Pandits are right in calling him the *Sarvajna Mádháva*—the omniscient Mádháva.

These are the principal authorities on the Adwaita philosophy.

Works like the Chitsukhi of Chitsukhácharya or the Adwaita Sidhi of Madhasudan Sarswati are for very advanced and scholastic thinkers and serve no practical purpose. On the other hard works like the Atmabodha, the Vedánta Sára and the Vevakachuramani are for beginners, and do not set forth the doctrine in any but the concisest manner. The vernaculars have also a literature of their own on this subject. In addition to Sanskrit poets, the indigenous bards and singers of India have also left us some of the most beautiful and touching songs on the vanity of the world and the futility of its pleasures and enjoyments. Religious reformers like Nanak, Kabir, and poets like Sur Dás, Tulsi Dás and Sunder Dás, who were either great devotees or great Vedántins, still exercise much influence over Hindu thought in a large portion of India. It is therefore not difficult to see why the people of this country, in spite of all idol worship and superstition, still cherish at heart the Vedántic ideal of Adwaitism in a manner seldom met with in the corresponding class of any other people upon earth. What the leading principles of the philosophy are, and how far it can furnish a guide to life, we shall now briefly indicate.

The aim of the Vedanta, destruction of Avidya.

The fundamental principle of the Vedánta is *eka meva adwitiyam, one verily without a second*, or *unity verily without duality*. How then did the world come into existence and what is the cause of all individuation is the question? The Vedánta asserts that it is our *anadi avidya*, or innate error, which is the cause of all multiplicity, of all evolution of name and form, of all specific cognition and of all that we do in every-day life. By it man has been beguiled away from his native home, the *Sat chidananda* into this jungle of Sansara (transmigratory existence), where he roams, holding the body, the sense organs, the mind, the intellect and the principle of egoism to be "I" or "mine," identifying himself with the pleasures and pains of others, like wife, children, friends, &c., thinking happiness or misery to lie in the objective and not the subjective, engaging in what conduces to physical well-being and avoiding the contrary. And just as all specific cognition, and all belief in the reality of the world are due to this *anadi avidya*, so are creation, preservation and destruction of the world also super-imposed by it upon Brahman, which is without any relation of cause and effect. It is because of this Avidya that Brahman is considered to be the omnipotent and omniscient ruler of the universe, the giver of the fruit of action or the object of worship, meditation or prayer. In reality Brahman alone *is*, nothing else *is*, all that appears to be is due to the action of Avidya. "There is here no duality, he goes from death to death, who sees here even the semblance of duality" (Kathopinishad, II, 4-11), is the emphatic declaration

of the Upanishads. How or when this Avidya arose, the Vedánti does not profess to explain. He takes it to be a fact of experience and tries to remove it by true knowledge or *Samyagdarshana*. It is to him beginningless but not endless *anadi s'anta*. You cannot define it either as *sat* (being), for it is sublated by knowledge, nor as *asat* (non-being), for it appears to exist, *i.e.*, is patent to all; neither as one of the instruments of knowledge, nor the absence of them, and therefore it is indescribable or *anirvachiniya*. You may call it, in the case of Brahman, the *Sakti*, or power or nature of the Lord, or in the case of the individual, the cause of his individuation, the *raison d'etre* of his existence as an individual, but you cannot explain how it originated. To the Vedántin the question is not how the world was created, but how he has come to be the individualized being he is, and finding that he came to be so under the influence of Avidya, his care is to remove it. The Vedánta is thus more a system of removal of our belief in the reality of duality than one of the establishment of unity. It is a system of what is technically called the *adhyáropa apváda*, whereby the *nishprapancha*, or that which is beyond the phenomenal, becomes associated with or evolves as phenomenal (*prapanchyate*), and when the false idea whereby the *nishprapancha* came to be taken as *prapancha* is removed, the true or the real is left as it was. All limiting adjuncts, whether in the cosmos or in the individual, are the products of nescience, just as pots, jars, &c., are the cause of the limitation of universal space. In reality the space limited by pots and jars is not different from universal space, though it appears to be so. In the same way there is no difference between the individual and the Supreme Selfs, though they appear to be different on account of their respective limiting adjuncts, the one as the Omniscient and Omnipotent ruler of the universe, and the other as a creature with little knowledge, bound up with worldly ties and subject to worldly relations and worldly joys and sorrows. Remove the adjuncts which are the products of nescience and the relation of the individual and the Supreme Self no longer exists, all is then Brahman. "Where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, cognizes nothing else, that is the infinite (Bhumá)." (Chandogya Upanishad, VII-24.) The aim of the Vedánta, therefore, is to destroy the innate error which has brought about this separation of the individual from the Supreme Soul. "What proof have you," asks Vashishtha, "of the existence of the body and its senses? Matter is mere illusion, and as it is with other bodies, so it is with our bodies also. This is as that, and that is as this. In this way the unreal is taken for the real, and the real for the unreal. As the uses that are made of the earth, its roads and houses in a dream prove to be false and vanish into emptiness upon waking, so do words like '*my, thy, his,*'

employed in our ordinary waking condition, lose all meaning when all sense of personality is sublated by true knowledge. All our struggles and efforts in life are airy, nothing but the bustle and commotion of fighting men in a dream, and vanishing into nothing in their waking state. If you ask whence comes this phenomenon of dreaming, and whence proceed all its different shapes and varieties, in reply nothing further can be said regarding its origin than that it is the reproduction of past impressions (vásná). If you ask why does a dream appear to us (as real), the answer is there is no other cause for it but our own past impressions. So it is with the world." (Yoga Vashishtha Nirvana Prakarna, II, Chapter 62, verses 27 to 32.)

The Avidya a theory how far supported by Hindu S'astras.

How far this theory of Avidya being the cause of individuation appeals to experience and reason, and how far it finds support in the Upanishads and other recognized religious authorities of the Hindus, remains now to be seen. In the Upanishads it is said "two birds always united, of the same name, dwell upon one and the same tree. One of them enjoys the sweet fruit of the fig tree, the other looks round as a witness. Dwelling in the same tree with the Supreme Soul, the deluded soul, immersed in the relations of the world, grieves on account of want of power, but when it sees the other, the long-worshipped ruler, as different from all worldly relations, and his glory, its grief ceases. (Mundaka Up. III-I, 1 and 2.) In the Chandogya Upanishad the parable of the man who is deluded away from his native home in the Gandharas, and left blindfolded in a lonely jungle by a band of robbers till some one points out to him the way to his native home, which he reaches and is thenceforth happy (VI-14), points to the fact that the *rishis* considered man's ordinary life upon earth to be due to his having left his true nature. In the Mahábhárata and the Puranas also we find "desire born of error to be the cause of transmigratory existence" and that "when the Jiwa, or the individual soul, considers himself different from what he truly is, that is, when he regards himself as fat or lean, fair or dark, a Brahman or a Sudra, then he fails to know the Supreme Soul, himself and Prakriti with which he is united. (Santi Parva, Chapter 309, verse 9.) "This tree of illusion," says Vashishtha, "spreads forth its branches of error, grows and dies, dies and grows, cut it down and it springs up ever and anon, so there is no end of it. Though we think it to be past and gone, it is ever present before us, though hollow and unsubstantial it appears to be thick and substantial. Ever fading, ever acquiring new verdure, the more it is lopped off, the more luxuriant it grows. It is a poisonous tree, whose touch benumubs the senses in a moment, but cut it down to the root by knowledge and it does

not grow thenceforward. All distinction of the lower and the upper regions of stars and planets, of light and darkness, of solids and fluids, of the Vedas and the S'astras, trouble only the ignorant and the deluded, but not the wise, who see but one spirit everywhere in the great, the mean, the highest and the lowest. It is nescience which dwells upon external forms, but knowledge looks to what is beneath the form and takes the latter to be but a vesture of the spirit." (Yoga Vashishtha Nirvana Parakarana, Chapter VIII, abstracted.) The Avidya theory, so far as individuation is concerned, therefore forms an integral part of Hindu thought.

How far appeals to experience.

It is also patent in ordinary life, in the contraries in human nature, in our struggle between reason and passion and the higher and the lower natures, our constant dissatisfaction with the present, our tendency ever upwards, our search after an ideal where all knowledge and all goodness find their limit, and our ever trying to break away the bonds of appetite and desire. Man is at once both fettered and free, blind and seeing. He knows that sensual pleasure is a fleeting thing and yet he runs after it and gives it a fictitious reality borrowed from his own true self. In the Mahábhárata we find one of the characters exclaiming "I know *dharma* (duty) and yet am disinclined to perform it. I know what I ought not to do and yet do not avoid it. By some god residing in my heart I do as I am impelled to." But the god is here no other than man's own *avidya*, for it is that which possesses itself of his whole nature, gives a false universality to the fleeting and the transient, and ever urges him on towards its attainment, always to be dissatisfied, always to wish for more and always to be disappointed. It is not in the limited or the conditioned that happiness truly lies, so we read in the Upanishads, but in the unlimited absolute (Bhumá), which we are also told, abides not in externals but in its own glory, and it is at once the privilege and the glory of man that he alone has within him that by which he can rise above this *avidya* and, instead of being unhappy and miserable as an individual soul, realize his unity with the Supreme Soul. In the Mahábhárata human life is compared to a wilderness covered with a dense jungle and teeming with roaring beasts of prey. Man runs hither and thither hoping to find shelter but finds it nowhere. He is pursued by beasts of prey and meets a woman of a terrific appearance stretching forth her arms, and rushes into them to find himself even more miserable. He sees a deep pit full of thorns and falls into it and is entangled and hangs head downward. Near the mouth of the pit is a huge elephant of a terrific appearance, with six faces and twelve feet ready to tear him to pieces, and within it a huge snake opening wide its mouth to swallow him. Within the creepers is a comb of honey with a number of bees buzzing round it. Drops of honey now and then fall into our miserable wayfarer's mouth and so sweet he finds it to be

that, though surrounded by so many calamities, he ever desires for more, never wishing to leave the pit even though he sees two large rats continually gnawing at the roots of the tree he is hanging by. The wilderness is the world. The inaccessible forest within it is the allotted sphere of one's life. Its beasts of prey are the diseases which prey upon man, and the woman of terrible appearance is old age to which he is subject. The huge pit is the body, the snake within it is time, the universal destroyer, while the cluster of creepers in which he is entangled is his desire of life. The elephant at the pit is the year, and its six faces are the six seasons and its twelve feet the twelve months. The rats and snakes that are eating at the roots of the tree are days and nights, and the trees in the creepers are his desires, and the drops of honey the gratification of those desires to which he is strongly addicted. Such is man's course of life. Beset with diverse kinds of errors, entangled within the nest of one's own mind, the foolish and the wicked wander repeatedly upon earth, while the wise, aided by their own intelligence, cross the forest and attain to Brahma. (Mahábhárata Stri Parva, Chaps. V, VI and VII, abstracted.)

The means of realization.

This can only be accomplished by full and complete realization of the truth of the great saying of the Upanishads, and in order to prepare the way for it, the struggle between the higher and the lower natures must be fought out and the lower gradually made the organ for the expression of the higher. The first requisite for it is unselfish performance of duty for the sake of duty, without regard to the fruit. This gradually leads to the subordination of the lower to the higher self, first of the family circle, then of the society one moves in, then of the country he lives in, and finally of humanity at large. The aim of the Vedánta is to bring about such a reconciliation of man's higher and lower natures as to fit him ultimately for the full knowledge of what he is and what the world he sees around him is. This knowledge is not to be acquired by books alone, nor by study, nor is the possession of a keen intellect nor argument necessary for its acquisition. Mental tranquillity, contentment, discrimination and the company of the good can alone give it. It is therefore said: "He who has not ceased from evil ways, whose senses are not under control, whose intellect is not concentrated, and whose mind is not calm, cannot acquire it, even by knowledge." (Kathopinshad, I-II-24.) So, prepared with self-devotion for the good of mankind, the aspirant after release comes involuntarily, as if it were, to possess the four requisites (Sádhanas) of the Vedánta. These are: (1) Viveka (discrimination of the permanent from the fleeting); (2) Vairágya (distaste for objects of both this and the next world); (3) (*a*) *Sama* (control of the mind), (*b*) *Dama* (control of the senses, (*c*) *Uprati* (disregard for rites and ceremonials), (*d*) *Titaksha* (patience under suffering), (*e*) *Samádhan* (concentration),

and (*f*) *S'radhá* (faith); and (4) *Mumukshtwa* (desire of release). Such a person must be, as he generally is, rare among mankind, but great is the reward of those who tread this difficult and thorny path. To them the truth of the great saying *tat twamasi* is present in its fullest significance. For they find that by renouncing their Ahankara (egoism) they attain to their own self. It is not they who live, but it is the *átmá* which lives in them. It is not they who work, but it is the átmá which works through them. To them nature is not the antithesis of mind, but it is the *chit* which manifests itself in nature. Having merged their own self into the self of all, they find that it is Brahman which is manifested in nature. The *tát* (that) for them is therefore no longer any isolated creator or even omniscient ruler of the world, but the átmá or the self within them. And when the nature of the *tat* is realized, that of the *twam* or the *thou* cannot be otherwise. The aspirant after release, who has merged his individuality into the self of all, feels himself to be no longer an isolated individual engrossed with individual appetites and desires. He realizes himself as the self of all and all sense of "I," "mine" or "thou" has for him become extinct. In him religion and morality find their highest expression. The infinite and the finite exist for him, at once, in their distinction and unity. Truly therefore did the rishi Uddálaka tell his son Swetaketu that "all this has its self in this self, which is truth, it is the universal self and that art thou." (Chandogya Up., VI-11-3.) It is not any figurative relation of the *tat* and *twam* that such a person realizes. It is a realization of absolute identity, for the Vedánta expressly states that, "there is fear for him who makes in Brahman any kind of differnce however small." (Taitreya Upanishad, II-7.) He sees himself always everywhere as the light of all things, and the life of all living beings, his own divine essence pervading all nature and shining through all her various manifestations. All belief of himself being one and another another has for him ceased to exist. He knows himself as the átmá of all, unbounded by time and space. His first stage was his desire for the acquisition of a knowledge of the self and enlightenment of his understanding by a study of the S'astras and seeking the company of the wise and the good. This was S'ubhecha (right desire). The second was that of reasoning, discussion and consideration of what he had read or learnt. This was Vicharna (reflection). The third was that of reflection accompanied with attenuation of desire (Tanu Mansa). The fourth was of silent meditation, and attainment of the true goal (Sattá patti). The fifth of consciousness of bliss, accompanied, however, with non-attachment towards the objects of the world (Asansakti). The sixth the same, with clearer realization of the Átmá (Padarth bhavini). The seventh was the last stage of knowledge, which is beyond language to describe or thought to comprehend, where the mind ceases to function itself, and where, with all doubts and cares

merged in the pure felicity of the self, the Yogi is unmoved by aught appertaining to the world. (Turyátita.)

The Vedánta, moreover, in differentiating Brahman from the conditions of waking, dream and deep sleep, by establishing the identity of consciousness in all three conditions on the one hand, and birth, death and passage in and out of the world on the other, affirms that the self is *nitya* (permanent), *avináshi* (indestructible), *kutastha* (everlasting) and *asang* (free), and that its passage in and out of a body only means the birth and death of the latter. It therefore holds that it is only by the full realization of the nature of self as such that the destruction of our *anádi avidyá* is possible. It is only when the wish has become the fruition, that the religious consciousness truly manifests itself and then the individual becomes Brahman, the Universal.

The law of Karma.

In the ordinary condition of life, however, such an ideal is seldom attainable and therefore here the law of Karma has full play. This law is, "As you sow, so you reap," and it forms, like the *avidyá* theory an integral part of Hindu thought. "Some enter the womb again after death for assuming a new body, others become inanimate objects according to their work, according to their knowledge." (Kathopanishad, Balli 5, verse 7.) All happiness and misery in life, age, health, position, even a residence in heaven or hell and return therefrom, are dependent upon one's aggregate of Karma. Even the Lord himself does not give the fruit of action independently of it, and therefore the Hindu does not charge Him with inequality of dispensation, nor with cruelty or injustice. He fully believes in the law of compensation and thinks that what he gets is only the fruit of his own actions in the past. The Vedánta, however, declares that this law of Karma can be got rid of by knowledge, which destroys so much of the past Karma as has not borne fruit and prevents new one from fructifying. "The fire of knowledge burns up all Karma," so says the Gítá. All this reconciles the people of this country to many of the evils of life and gives them a calmness of mind and fortitude of disposition in misfortune which are seldom seen in people of other countries under similar circumstances. It gives them a resignation which, even though it now and then acts prejudicially to their worldly interests, is on the whole beneficial, for the belief that no Karma is ever lost, often acts as a preventative of bad actions and stimulates unselfish performance of good ones. "Every day," says Professor Huxley, "experience familiarizes us with the facts which are grouped under the name of heredity. Every one of us bears upon him obvious marks of his parentage, perhaps of remoter relationships. More particularly, the sum of tendencies to act in a certain way, which we call 'character,' is often to be traced through a long series of progenitors and collaterals. So we may justly say that this 'character'—this moral and intellectual essence of a man—does veritably pass over

from one fleshly tabernacle to another, and does really transmigrate from generation to generation. In the new-born infant the character of the stock lies latent, and the Ego is litle more than a bundle of potentialities. But, very early, these become actualities ; from childhood to age, they manifest themselves in dullness or brightness, weakness or strength, viciousness or uprightness ; and with each feature modified by confluence with another, if by nothing else, the character passes on to its incarnation in new bodies.

"The Indian philosophers called character, as thus defined, 'Karma.' It is this Karma which passed from life to life and linked them in the chain of transmigrations ; and they held that it is modified in each life, not merely by confluence of parentage, but by its own acts. They were, in fact, strong believers in the theory, so much disputed just at present, of the hereditary transmission of acquired characters. That the manifestation of the tendencies of a character may be greatly facilitated, or impeded, by conditions, of which self-discipline, or the absence of it, are among the most important, is indubitable ; but that the character itself is modified in this way is by no means so certain ; it is not so sure that the transmitted character of an evil-lover is worse, or that of a righteous man better, than that which he received. Indian philosophy, however, did not admit of any doubt on this subject ; the belief in the influence of conditions, notably of self-discipline, on the Karma was not merely a necessary postulate of its theory of retribution, but it presented the only way of escape from the endless round of transmigrations." (Huxley's Evolution and Ethics, pages 61-63.)

The law of Karma is thus recognized by even a scientist like Professor Huxley, though his last doubt does not seem to be correct, for not only is the manifestation of the tendencies of a character facilitated or impeded by self-discipline, or the absence of it, but even the transmitted character of an evil-doer can be changed for the better by a pure life. "The current of our desires," says Vashishtha, "is flowing between the two channels of good and evil. It is only by our own exertion that we can turn it towards good. If the mind is directed towards right, it takes its course towards right. The belief that man is guided by destiny and only acts as he is led to is a delusion. It is one's own exertion which secures to him what he aims at."

Various views of the individual self (Jwatina).

As regards the absolute unity of the individual with the Supreme Self, there has been much divergence of thought among Indian thinkers, though the view of Sankara given above, that the individuation of the self is due to its ignorance or *avidyá*, finds much support from the general tenour of the Upanishads. Some Indian philosophers maintain that as sparks issuing from fire are not different from it, because they partake of its nature and are yet not non-different because they are perceived separately, even so is the individual soul neither different nor non-different

from Brahman. It is not the one, as it partakes of the nature of intelligence, and it is also not the other as it appears to be different, and as there is difference of souls in ordinary life. This is called the *Bhedá bhedaváda*, or the theory of difference and non-difference.

Another school of thinkers holds that the individual soul is different from Brahman because of its contact with limiting adjuncts. It can therefore be only spoken of as identical with Brahman with reference to its future condition, when after having purified itself with knowledge, it passes out of the body and becomes one with Brahman. This is called the *Satyá bhedaváda*, or the theory of non-difference in the true condition. The third theory is that of absolute non-difference, the *Atyantá bhedaváda*, which declares all difference to be illusory. The fourth theory, which is held by Rámánuja and his followers, is that of *vishishtha adwaita*, or non-duality with a difference. This theory holds that, though the individual soul has sprung from Brahman, yet even after release it enjoys a separate personal existence and is never merged into it. The followers of Mádhava and Vallabha, who hold the theory of duality, declare that the soul never obtains unity with Brahman, nor is ever merged into it. The conclusion, as stated by Vigyanbhikeshu after a full consideration of all the opposite views of different schools, however is that the declaration of the Upanishads, that there is no other seer, hearer, or cognizer but He, refers, not to the condition of every-day life, but to the *Parmárthika sattá* (the true condition), where all that exists is resolved into *Sat*—a conclusion which may be accepted as expressing the true spirit of the Upanishad philosophy. "The fiction of the creation of Jiva (the individual soul) from Brahman," says Vashishtha, "is a fiction resorted to for the purpose of elucidating the nature of the Jiva as not different from Brahman. In this manner is the Jiva considered to be a part of Brahman, though it is in reality identical with the latter." (Yoga Vashishtha Nirvána Prakaran, II, Chap. 188, verse I.)

How the absolute becomes the relative.

The next question is, how can Brahman, which is declared by the Upanishads to be without attributes, without parts and as "not this," "not this," be the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer of the world? How can an entity like this be a cause or how can anything be its effect? To reconcile these apparently contradictory positions has been the great aim of all Indian Vedántins. We have seen that the followers of the Sánkhya who admit the authority of the Vedas, hold that the universe is brought about by the modifications of the *Prakriti*, without the guiding hand of God. They did not acknowledge a Lord or an Iswara, but an Absolute Being who is a bystander and a witness. Prakriti (Nature) alone is the cause of the world. But, as pointed out by Váchaspati Misra, the author of the *Sánkhya Tatwa Kaumdi*, "whether this evolution be for the sake of nature herself, or for the sake of another, it is the rational principle (*chitana*)

which acts. Nature cannot act without reason and therefore the reason must direct nature. Embodied souls (Kshetragya), though rational, cannot direct nature as they are ignorant of its character, therefore there is an omniscient being, the director of nature, who is God or Iswara." (Sánkhya Karika, 56.) This is a position which could have safely been held, but for the declaration of absolute unity by the Upanishads. The question therefore exercised the earlier Vedántins as much as it has done later-day thinkers. The existence of matter cannot be denied with any show of reason. "The non-existence of external things cannot be maintained on account of our consciousness of them. Our consciousness of objects in the waking condition is, moreover, not like our consciousness of objects in dreams, for while the former are objects of immediate consciousness, the latter are objects of remembrance. If you do not admit the existence of external objects, the existence of mental impressions will not be possible. The external world therefore exists." This is the position of the author of the Vedánta Sutras. (Chapter II-II-Sutras 28 to 32.) He, however, declares Brahman to be not only like the potter of the jar, the operative cause of the world, (Nimitta kárana), but like the clay being the material cause of the jar, also its material cause. (Upádána karana.) Brahman is the material cause inasmuch as the Upanishads declare it to be so when they say that "it made itself"; meaning thereby the self which was in existence previously to the creation of the world modified itself into something special. It is the operative cause as there is no other operative cause outside it, and the Upanishads declare that previous to creation there was Brahman one only without a second. Brahman is, moreover, an intelligent cause, and the fact of its effect being of a non-intelligent nature is not in its way. But all this, according to the author of the Brahma Sutras, is to be accepted upon the authority of the Scripture (Upanishads) and reason should not be applied to a subject which is outside its sphere. The existence of distinction or duality is explained by him as in (for) ordinary experience, while in reality there is non-difference of cause and effect. Then the effect is non-different from the cause, being a mere name arising from speech. In reality it is *sat* alone which exists. To explain the distinction away was therefore the care of Sankara and all his successors. He accepts the position of Vyása and says: "We see that waves, foam, bubbles and other modifications of the sea, though they are not different from sea water, exist sometimes in a state of mutual separation, sometimes in the state of conjunction, etc. From the fact of their being non-different from the sea water it does not follow that they pass over into each other; and again, although they do not pass over into each other, they are not different from the sea. So it is in the case under discussion also. The enjoyers and objects of enjoyment do not pass over into each other and yet they are not different from the highest Brahman. And although the enjoyer is not in reality an effect of Brahman, since

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the unmodified creator himself, so far as he has entered into the effect is called the enjoyer, still after Brahman has entered into its effect, it passes into a state of distinction in consequence of the effect being a limiting adjunct." (Thibaut's Brahma Sutras, Vol. 1, page 319.) In reality, however, according to Sankara, when final authority, having intimated the unity of Brahman, has sublated the entire course of the world, there is no need for assuming a Brahman comprising in itself various elements. All manifoldness is due to Avidya. "Belonging, as if it were, to the self of the Omniscient Lord, there are names and forms, the figments of nescience, not to be defined either as being (Brahman) nor as different from it, the germ of the entire expanse of the phenomenal world, called in Sruti and Smriti the illusion (Máyá), power (Sakti) or nature (Prakriti) of the Omniscient Lord. Different from them is the Omniscient Lord himself.... Thus the Lord depends upon the limiting adjuncts of name and form, the products of nescience, just as universal ether depends as limited ether (such as the ether of a jar) upon the limiting adjuncts in the shape of jars, pots, &c. Hence the Lord's being a Lord, his omniscience, his omnipotence, &c., all depend on the limitation due to the adjuncts whose self (cause) is nescience, while in reality none of these qualities belong to the self whose true nature is by right knowledge cleared of all adjuncts whatever." (Brahma Sutras, Thibaut's Translation, Vol. 1, page 329.)

This is Sankara's *vivartaváda*, according to which Brahman appears as the manifold world without undergoing any change in its real nature, just as a rope appears to be, and is mistaken for a snake without changing its real nature. This theory has its followers among all Indian Vedántins of Sankara's school. It has, however, been subjected to some severe criticism by Vigyán Bhikshu, the author of the Sankhya Pravachan Bháshya, in his commentary on the Yoga Sutras. Says he: "Máyá is declared in the Puranas to be Prakriti, which cannot be defined either as *being* or as *non-being* in the *parmárthika* (true) state. The Vedánta does not hold the world to be totally non-existent or totally destructible, for the Sutras declare that the non-existence of external things cannot be maintained on account of our consciousness of them. The Sutras also declare that on account of that which is posterior, *i.e.*, the effect, being that which is, *viz.*, the cause, and on account of the differenee of nature, the ideas of the waking state are not like those of dream. The world is, according to the Sruti, both *sat* and *asat* (being and non-being), because it assumes various forms in the past and future. The illustration of dream, &c., in the Scriptures only declares its evanescent nature and unreality in the true condition, not its total non-existence. Objects of a dream even are not totally non-existent, as they are objects cognized by the seer in that condition. The view of the Neo-vedántins, that the world is an illusion, like a dream, is therefore wrong." (Commentary on Yoga Sutras, pages 131 and 132.) Vidyáranya on

the other hand, says : "Máyá is Prakriti and the Supreme Lord is the Lord of the Máyá. This world is pervaded by a portion of his essence. This Máyá is unsubstantial and indescribable and yet it appears to be substantial. It is that which makes the world appear as existing as well as non-existing. To us it has no existence apart from Chitta (Brahm) its substratum. Máyá is therefore not an independent entity but depends upon Brahm; and yet because it makes the unattached appear as attached, it looks like an independent entity. The world cannot be explained and yet appears, because it is a creation of Máyá. Even the wisest are faced with ignorance whenever they try to explain the origin of the world. How, for instance, does a drop of vital fluid create (become changed into) a body with its organs? How does that body become sentient and intelligent? If you say it is due to the nature of the seed, how do you know it? If you say that wherever there is seed, there is a body, we do not see it in the case of a barrer woman. In the end ignorance is your only refuge. Therefore the wise consider this world to be as wonderful as a juggler'n trick. What can be more wonderful than that the vital seed should evolve into a conscious being with hands, forehead, feet and organs, and gradually grow to be a child, a youth, an old man, see, eat, smell, hear, go and come. And not only is it so in the case of a human body, but taking a tree also, how can such a tiny seed as that of a Banyan tree produce the large tree before you? We have therefore to accept the fact that all that we see is the result of Máyá. In truth, there is no release or bondage, nor any one who is bound or released. Both the individual self (Jiva) and the Creator of the Universe (Iswara) are calves begotten by the Kámdhenu (cow) of Máyá. Both may enyoy the milk of duality to their hearts' content, but it is non-duality (Adwaita) alone which is true. If you cite the case of even those who take the world to be illusory, acting in it like other beings, we reply that though such persons do move and act in the world, yet they know its real nature and do not, like the ignorant, believe themselves to be bound by it. Those who think knowledge of the true nature of things to be a disease consuming one's vitals are very wise indeed! What is there which they will not utter. Bharata and others, spoken of as knowers of Brahma in the Puránas, did not give up eating and other duties of life, only they cut off all sense of attachment to them." (Panchdasi Chitta Dipa Parkarana, abstracted.)

So much for the *vivartaváda* of Sankara and his followers. The other theories prevalent on this subject are: (1) The *drishti srithtváda*, which holds that the world of experience is coeval with perception. (2) The *Bimba pratibimbaváda*, which holds that the world which appears as a reflection of Brahman, like the reflection of an object in a mirror, does in reality abide not outside but inside the person who perceives it, as if it were outside of himself. The absolute is the *bimba*, or the object, the

phenomenal is its reflection, and the world with its variety of forms is like an ocean reflecting the sun in a variety of forms and colours, according to its waves. (3) The *avachedyavachedaka váda*, which lays down that all limitation is due to the conditions of time, space and causality, which are however imaginary, being mere forms of the mind like those in a dream, and that to realize the absolute it is necessary to merge the mind into the absolute. The last is the *ajátaváda*, which holds that the whole of the phenomenal world was never produced but is *anirvachaniya* (indescribable). It is evanescent, like objects in a dream. In reality nothing has been caused, nor is there bondage or release.

These are the various theories current among Indian Vedántins to explain duality from unity. The followers of Ramanuja, however, hold the theory of a real *parináma*, or evolution, and declare that though Brahman is one, yet it contains within itself elements of plurality, in virtue of which it truly manifests itself as a diversified world. The followers of Vallabha and Madhva believe in creation and not evolution. The old difficulty can, however, scarcely be said to have been solved, either by Sankara's *vivartaváda* or by the other Vedántin's *bimba* or *dristi sristi*, or even Ramanuja's *parinamaváda*, because from the very conditions of the human intellect, which is bound up with time, space and causality, we must for ever remain ignorant of how and why the unchangeable absolute becomes changed into the relative and the conditioned.

The result of the enquiry.

We must therefore, as pointed out by Vidyáranya, either accept our ignorance as a fact and try to remove it by *Samyagdarshana* (true knowledge), which is the way of the Vedánta, and realize, by complete introspection (Samádhi), the unity of things as taught in the Upanishads, and not carry argument into spheres where it should not be carried, or lapse into a comfortless materialism which leaves no place for moral responsibility or immortality or God, The Vedánta is not atheistic merely because it does not believe in any thing limited by time, space and causality, be it a personal God, or a power of nature however exalted. On the contrary, it seeks to realize that which is beyond all, the essence of all, the substratim of all, and the one without a second which transcends all attributes. If it defines *it* as "*neti, neti*," "not this, not this," or describes it in the neuter gender, it does so because to describe it as *this* or *that* will be to bring it within the phenomenal. On the other hand, to ascribe to it either the masculine or the feminine gender would be ascribing to it the relation of sex, which does not belong to it. It therefore wisely declares Brahman "to be beyond both the known as well as the unknown," (Kenopanishad, II, 3), "from whence all speech with the mind turns away, unable to reach it." (Taitreya Upanishad, II, 4.) And yet its Brahman is not a nonentity, for it declares in unmistakeable lan-

guage that it can be and is realized as "*asti*" is (ens). Such a realization is not to be accomplished by discussion but by *samádhi*, or contemplation: "*santo ayam atma*" is the final declaration of the Vedánta. "When all the five senses, together with the mind, are at rest and the Buddhi, or the intellect, does not move, that is declared to be the supreme state."(Kath: VI, 10.) "When all the fetters of the heart are broken and all doubts are destroyed, then the mortal becomes immortal. When all desires that abide in the heart have ceased, then does the mortal attain to the immortal in this very life." (Ibid 14 and 15.) "As rivers flowing into the sea disappear leaving all name and form behind, even so the knower of Brahman, freed from name and form, attains to that Supreme Purusha which transcends all." (Mundaka Upanishad, III-II-8.) So declare the Upanishads. "That supreme goal," says Vashishtha, "is reached only by silence. Having attained it the empire of the world is worth a straw." This is the declaration of the Vedánta. Its release is not the attainment of any thing new or unusual, nor is it, as has been supposed, total extinction, but the release from bondage and the manifestation of the true nature of the self which had become obscured under the influence of illusion. It is not total extinction, for it is sought by the Upanishads to be sharply distinguished from the state of deep sleep where one loses all consciousness. In the released state the soul does not have specific cognition, not on account of Avidya, but because then there is no second which it could be conscious of. Its condition then is one of complete non-division from Brahman and not *like that* of Brahman. It is then free, calm, devoid of all manifoldness or duality, verily Brahman itself. In short, Brahman is the only reality, the world is an unreality, and the *jiva* is no other than Brahman. This is the final declaration of the Vedánta.

II.—EFFECT OF VEDANTA ON PRACTICAL LIFE.

The effect of the Vedanta upon every-day life.

Is the Vedánta merely a philosophy for the cloister or a mere intellectual gymnastic, or is it a guide to practical life, is a question which ought naturally to interest every seeker after truth. According to Professor Huxley its *summum bonum* is "a state of impassive quasi-somnambulism which, but for its acknowledged holiness, might run the risk of being confounded with idiocy," and it leads "to the abandonment of property, social ties, family affections, and common companionship, until all that remains of a man is the impassive extenuated mendicant monk, self-hypnotized into cataleptic trances, which the deluded mystic takes for fore-tastes of final union with Brahm." (Evolution and Ethics, page 65.) The history of Indian thought and Indian action, as well as the lives of the

best Indian heroes and sages which I have described above, furnishes, however, the most decided refutation to these charges. All Indians of note, who have left their mark upon their country's civilization, were as great in action as in their realization of the truths of the philosophy of the Upanishads. They were no mere dreamers of unity, but showed by their work in life that the theoretical and the practical were but expressions of different aspects of the same process. "To the conception of righteousness, goodness, holiness, which dwells in the mind of the good, or the pious man, he seeks to give outward actuality or realization, and so to make the mere physical relation of things and the function of animal life instinct with the life of the spirit, to make the outward world the expression of the inner world of thought." (Caird's Spinoza, page 256.) This is Spinoza's conception of the aim and object of philosophy, and it is very much like the Vedánta, and it may be said without fear of contradiction that the best rulers, teachers, legislators, generals, warriors and authors, both in ancient and mediæval India, have always furnished as true an illustration of Spinoza's ideal as is possible for man. Their lives were not different from the lives of the wisest and the best of all ages and countries.

Jivan Mukti and Videh Mukti, emancipation in life and after death.

The Hindu S'astras have never reserved *moksha*, or release, for the hermit in the forest or the quasi-somnambulist in the cloister, nor have they ever inculcated abandonment of all duty in life as the condition precedent to its attainment. The emancipated (Jivan Mukta), however, realizes not only his unity with Brahm, but also his unity with his fellow-creatures. He does them no harm, not from mere feelings of pity or charity, but from a much higher view, because he looks upon everyone as his own self. Before the attainment of knowledge he did his duty unselfishly because it prepared the way for the acquisition of knowledge. After such acquisition he does his work in life to preserve the bonds of society and to lead others to the goal he has himself attained. Having trodden the path there is no longer any injunction or prohibition for him, but even he acts according to the dictates of virtue, because to do so is to lead humanity onwards. Living in the world and yet above its joys and sorrows, like the lotus leaf which lives in water and is yet untouched by it, doing his appointed work in life, not for the sake of reward or fruit here or hereafter, but because it is a duty to be done, living neither in the past nor in the future but in the eternal *Now*, the true Vedántin passes his life till the *Karma* which gave him his present incarnation is exhausted by fruition. This has always been the goal of Indian aspirations. "To the wise," says Vashishtha, "there is no object in abandoning action, nor in performing it. He does what is required of him for the moment. So long as life has to run its appointed course, let one do what is required of him. What is there in inaction? With

a mind always tranquil and purified, everything which one does is ever free from error. In this world many a person freed from attachment lives either as a householder, or as a royal sage ruling a kingdom, or as a teacher expounding the Vedas, or as an ascetic in the forest. To cross the ocean of life, residence in a forest or austere penances are not necessary. He whose mind is free, crosses it." (Yoga Vashishtha Nirvana Prakarna, Chapter 199, abstractned.) In another place he says : " He is said to act his part well in the world who does his duty without any ado or anxiety, maintains his serenity of temper and purity of heart without any taint of egotism or envy, continues in the same tone and tenour of mind, and retains the clearness of his understanding at all times without feeling joy or sorrow at anything. He performs his duties in the best manner possible, who knows what is to be done at the proper time, and sits unconcerned with it at other times." (Ibid, Chapter 115, abstracted.)

There is thus no other difference between a Vedántin and any other person, except that while the former acts for the good of society without motive of reward, the latter acts selfishly and with such motive. In the case of the former, all longing for pleasure and aversion, as well as all desires, having been set at rest, he is tranquil in mind, looks upon all with an equal eye, abides in his own self, and engages in action like other beings.

Truth and error have always run the same course in all ages and countries, and from the rishis of the Upanishads to the sages of modern times, the burden of the song has ever been to sacrifice present enjoyment for future good. Man has always been in search of the philosopher's stone, but has never found it. The true philosopher's stone is, however, in his own possession. "Know, O holy man," says Vashishtha, " it is the relinquishing of errors which is the true philosopher's stone. Try to get that in possession and set yourself above the reach of misery. It is the relinquishment of attachment to objects of sense which gives the purest bliss. It is the abandonment of desire for the things of this world which is true sovereignty."

It was therefore that Sri Chaitanya said to Sribas, who had lost his only son, " No servant of Sri Krishna can have sorrow. Besides, let me remind you of one thing, neither you nor I have come here to enjoy. It is misery all around us. We live to remove the misery of others as far as that is possible. Surely we have no time to think of our own." And modern India cannot do better than lay these wise words of one of the greatest Indians to heart. Vedánta does not, however, only tell us to regard the world as a place of misery, or intellectually to realize unity amidst diversity, but also to merge our own joys and sorrows in those of others.

" Self-reverence, self-knowledge and self-control,
These three alone lead life to Sovereign power.
Yet not for power ; that of itself

Would come uncalled for ; but to live by rule,
Acting the rule we live by without fear,
And because right is right to follow right,
Were wisdom in the scorn of sequence.

This is Tennyson's gospel of practical life. With the realization of the átmá (self) within us as the Lord, and making every thing subjective and objective within and without subordinate to it, all misery will disappear. But in order to realize it we must *feel* our unity, not only with all mankind, but also with all nature, animate and inanimate, as a practical and a living fact. "Each for himself" is man's ordinary condition of life, but till it is *each for others above himself*, as it was with the sages of ancient India, man can never be happy. To recognize some ideal standard superior to our mere animal nature, and to try to approach it, to see things as they are and discern clearly the boundary between right and wrong, to make all around us, not only in our own household, but also in our city, our country, nay, humanity in general, happy by good deeds, good words and good thoughts, to bear the trials and troubles of life in an even temper, is that practical Vedánta which leads the way to both Jivan Mukti and Videh Mukti (emancipation both in life and after death). "One who thus knows," says the Upanishad, "who has subdued his senses, who is calm, free from desires, enduring and composed in mind, beholds the átmá in the átmá alone, beholds the whole átmá. Sin does not conquer ;him, he conquers sin sin does not consume him, he consumes sin. He is free from sin, free from doubt, he is pure, he is the true Bráhmana, this is the true world of Brahm. This soul is great, unborn, consumer of food (abiding in all things), the giver of wealth, whoever thus knows it obtains wealth. This great unborn, undecaying, undying, immortal, fearless soul is Brahm. Brahm is verily fearless. He who thus knows becomes verily the fearless Brahman." Brihad Áranyaka Upanishad, Chapter IV—Bráhmana IV, verses 23 to 25.)

ज्ञानं तत्वविचारेण निष्कामेणापि कर्म्मणा ।
जायते क्षीणतमसां विदुषां निर्म्मलात्मनाम् ॥

(Knowledge is acquired by the wise, whose darkness has been destroyed, and whose minds have been purified by reflection upon truth and unselfish performance of duty.)

May modern India realize this ideal, is the most earnest and sincerest prayer of one who loves it deeply with the love of a motherland, the birthplace of sages and heroes whose lives have always been unerring guides to erring humanity.

IV.—LIFE AFTER DEATH.

जीवापेतं वावकिलेदंम्रियते नजीवोम्रियते ॥

Verily, this body dies when bereft of the soul; the soul dies not. (*Chandogya Upanishad.*)

स्थूलानि सूक्ष्माणि बहूनिचैव रूपाणि देही स्वगुणैर्वृणोति ।
क्रियागुणैरात्म गुणैश्चैतेषाम् संयोगहेतुरपरोपिदृष्टः ॥

The Jiva soul assumes many forms, gross or subtle, according to its attributes. By the qualities of its actions, as well as from the attributes of its body, it appears, though it is without any difference, to be the cause of the union of those forms. (*Swetaswatar Upanishad.*)

We have seen that the S'astras declare the soul to be undecaying and immortal, and that birth and death can be predicated only of the body and not of the soul. Belief in the immortality of the soul and of life after death, is as universal among the Hindus as that of the infallibility of the law of Karma, or that our life upon earth is a source of misery. So self-evident is the immortality of the soul held to be by the Hindu S'astras, that they never attempt to prove it, but only point out the roads travelled by the spirit after it leaves the body, the various orders of being through which it passes, according to its knowledge and work, and the means of attaining to a better condition of existence hereafter. The Vedas, the Upanishads, the Smritis, the Epics, and the Puranas never question the soul's surviving the body, and concern themselves with only showing how it lives, either in heaven or in hell, till its Karma, which has commenced to bear fruit, is exhausted, or reincarnates upon earth till its Karma and the seed of desire are consumed by knowledge. The effect of these teachings upon the lives and characters of the Hindus has, like that of their belief in the law of Karma, been to reconcile them to the troubles of life, to meet hardship with a resignation seldom found among other nations, and to inflict upon themselves much voluntary suffering, as well as to make many a sacrifice on the assurance that present trouble is sure to result in permanent future good. All sacrifices, charities, fasts, penances and pilgrimages, for which the people of this country are famous, are most cheerfully undergone in the belief that no good action is ever lost. All ceremonies in honour of the departed, as well as all gifts that are made at such ceremonies, are made or performed under the conviction that whatever is given in this world shall most assuredly be given to the person for whom it is given, in the next. Modern as well as ancient literature of India is full of these sentiments, and those who regard their present life upon earth as the *summum bonum*, are everywhere denounced as fools or idiots, or as the slayers of their own souls. A brief account of the teachings of the S'astras in these respects will therefore be of some interest to the reader.

Future life according to (*a*) the Vedas.

The Purusha Sukta, from which we have made some extracts in another place, sings of Purusha as the "lord of immortality, transcending *the anna*, or the perishable." In another place it is said: "As the cucumber is released from its stem, so may I be released from death and be not deprived of immortality." (Rig Veda, VII, 59,12.) The heaven of the rishis of the Vedic period was, however, not, as has been supposed, some region in or beyond the Himalayas, but the "well-beloved mansion of Vishnu, where men devoted to the gods are happy." (Rig Veda I, 14,154-5.) They believed in the transmigration of souls, for we read in a hymn to Agni: "Do not burn him nor consume him, Agni. Let not his body or skin be scattered, O Jatvedas. When thou hast matured him, then send him on his way unto the fathers. When thou hast made him ready, then do thou give him unto the fathers. When he attains the life that awaits him, he shall become a controller of the deities. Let the sun receive thy eye, and the wind thy spirit, go as thy merit is to earth or to heaven. Go, if such be thy lot, unto the waters; go, make thy home in plants with all the members of thy body. Thy portion (the soul) is unborn, let it be kindled by *tapas* (thought), let it be kindled by thy glowing splendour. With thy auspicious forms. O Jatvedas, bear him to the regions of the good. O Agni, send him back to the fathers. Him who goes to thee as sacrifice with our oblations. Wearing new life let him increase his offspring, let him rejoin a body, O Jatvedas." (Rig Veda, Book X, 16.)

(*b*) The Upanishads.

In the Isavásyopnishad, the worshipper prays at the time of death: "May my vital air obtain the immortal vital air (Prana), then let this body be consumed to ashes. O my mind, remember, remember thy acts; remember, O my mind, remember thy acts. Guide us, O Agni, by the road of bliss, for the enjoyment of the fruit of our actions, thou who knowest all our actions. Destroy our crooked sins, that we may offer thee our best salutations." (Isavásyopnishad, verses 17 and 18.) In the Upanishads the immortality of the individual self (Jiva), its passage in and out of the body, the various stages through which it passes after death, and the various heavens and hells it inhabits, are described at greater length than in the Sanhita portion. They declare, "When the Jiva (spirit) forsakes this (body), it dies, but the Jiva dies not." (Chandogyopnishad, VI-11-3.) In the Kathopnishad Nachiketas asks Yama to instruct him into the *atmavidayá*, saying, "Some say the soul exists after death, others say it does not exist. This I like to know instructed by thee." And Yama, after declaring how even the gods had failed to solve the mystery of life, tells Nachiketas "that the soul is immortal, all-pervading, the ruler of the past, present and the future, all light, here, there, everywhere," and continues, "When the soul which dwells in the body departs and becomes

separated from it, what else is left there? This is that. No mortal whatsoever lives by *Prana*, the vital air which goes forward, or by the *Apana*, the vital air which goes downwards, nor by any of the senses. They live by something else in which both are founded. Now I shall declare to thee that immortal secret Brahm, also what the soul becomes after death. Some enter the womb again after death to assume a body, others become inanimate objects, according to their work, according to their knowledge." (Kathopnishad, V-4, 5, 6 and 7.) In another place it is said: "Now as a heavy laden cart moves along groaning, thus does this corporeal self, mounted by the intelligent self, move along groaning when a man is thus going to expire. And when the body grows weak through old age, or through illness, then the Purusha, after separating himself from his members, as an Amra (mango), or Udumbara (fig), or Pippala fruit, is separated from its stalk, hastens back as he came to the place, from which he started to new life. And as policemen, magistrates, equerries, and governors wait for a king who is coming back, with food and drink, saying, 'He comes back, he approaches,' thus do all the elements wait on him who knows this, saying, 'That Brahman comes, that Brahman approaches.' And as policemen, magistrates, equerries, and governors gather round a king who is departing, thus do all the senses (pranas) gather round the self, at the time of death, when man is thus going to expire. Now when that self, having sunk into weakness, sinks, at it were, into unconsciousness, then gather those senses (pranas) around him, and he taking with him those elements of light, descends into the heart. When that person in the eye turns away, then he ceases to know any forms. 'He has become one,' they say, 'he does not see.' 'He has become one,' they say, 'he does not smell.' 'He has become one,' they say, 'he does not taste.' 'He has become one,' they say, 'he does not speak.' 'He has become one,' they say, 'he does not hear.' 'He has become one,' they say, 'he does not think.' 'He has become one,' they say, 'he does not touch.' 'He he has become one,' they say, 'he does not know.' The point of his heart becomes lighted up, and by that light the self departs, either through the eye, or through the skull, or through other places of the body. And when he thus departs, the chief prana (life) departs after him, and when life thus departs, all the other vital spirits (pranas) depart after it. He is conscious, and being conscious he follows and departs. Then both his knowledge and his work take hold of him, as well as his memory of the past. And as a caterpillar, after leaving the end of a blade of grass, and after having made another approach to another blade, draws itself together towards it, thus does this self, after having thrown off this body, and dispelled all ignorance, and after making another approach to another body, draw himself together towards it. And as a goldsmith, taking a piece of gold, turns it into another newer and more beautiful shape, so does the self, after having thrown off this body and dispelled all ignorance, make unto

himself another newer and more beautiful shape, whether it be like the Fathers, or like the Gandharvas, or like Prajapati, or like Brahman, or like any other being. That self is indeed Brahman, consisting of knowledge, mind, life, sight, hearing, earth, water, wind, ether, light and no light, desire and no desire, anger and no anger, right and wrong, and all things. Now as a man is like this or like that, according as he acts and according as he behaves, so will he be:—A man of good acts will become good, a man of bad acts, bad. He becomes pure by pure deeds, bad by bad deeds. And here they say that man is made up of desires. And as is his desire, so is his will; as is his will, so is his deed; and whatever deed he does, that will he reap. And here there is a verse:—'To whatever object a man's mind is attached, to that he goes together with his deed; and having obtained the end (the last result) of whatever he does here on earth, he returns again from that world (which is a temporary reward of his deed) to this world of action.'" (Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad, IV-III-35 to 38, and IV-I-6.)

The passage of the soul after death.

The Upanishads lay down three roads by which the soul travels after death: (1) the path of the gods (the Devayána) for the ascetic and the wise, (2) the path of the fathers (the Pitriyána) for the good and the charitable householder, and the third path is repeated birth and death (Jayaseva Mriyaseva) for those who are neither. "They who know this fivefold fire, and who live in the forest and are devoted to a life of faith and austerity, proceed to light, from light to day, from the day to the light fortnight, from the light fortnight to the months in which the sun is in the northern solstice, from the months to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to the lightning, from the lightning a superhuman being takes them to Brahman. This is the path of the gods. Those, on the other hand, who live in villages, and are devoted to making sacrificial gifts at the altar and erecting works of public utility, proceed to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the waning moon, from the waning moon to the six months when the sun is in the southern solstice, thence to the year, thence to the regions of the fathers, thence to the ether, thence to the moon. This moon is the king. Here they are loved by the gods. Yes, the gods love them. Having lived there till the merit of their good works is exhausted, they return by the same path, from the moon to the ether, from the ether to the air. Having become the air, he becomes smoke, from smoke vapour, from vapour cloud, then rains, and is produced as rice and corn, herbs and trees, sesamum and beans, and thence it is most difficult to get out, for whosoever may be the persons who eat the food and beget offspring, he henceforth becomes like unto them. Those whose conduct has been good, will attain to a good birth, either

that of a Brahman or a Kshatriya or a Vaisya. Those whose conduct has been bad will quickly attain to an evil birth, either that of a dog or a hog or a Chandala. By neither of these two ways these small creatures are continually going and returning, of whom it may be said 'Live and die,' this is the third place. Therefore that world, the heaven, never becomes full. Hence let a man take care of himself. Upon this there is the verse: "The person who steals gold, who drinks wine, who occupies his preceptor's bed, who kills a Bráhmana, all these four fall, and as a fifth, the person who associates with them." (Chandogya Upanishad, V-IX, 1 to 9.)

The Kaushatiki Upanishad declares the moon to be the dooe of the heavenly world. If one is not satisfied with life there, hr is sent on to higher regions, otherwise he is sent back to reincarnate on earth. If on such return he meets a sage who imparts to him knowledge whereby he fears heaven as much as hell, then after death he goes by the path of the gods to the world of Agni (fire), thence to that of Vayu (air), thence to that of Varuna, thence to that of Indra, thence to that of Prajapati, and thence to that of Hiranyagarbha. There he meets the lake Arά, the river Vijara, the tree Ilya from which soma always flows, the city Salugya, the place Aparajita, the door-keepers Indra and Prajapati, the hall of Brahma built by (Vibhu), the throne of Vichakshana, the couch of endless splendour, the beloved Manasi, the Apsaras, the Srutis, the Ambháyanis (buddhi) and the river Ambáyas leading to a knowledge of Brahma. There Apsaras, with heavenly garlands, perfumes, and fruits, meet and adorn him, and he moves towards Brahman, freed from good and evil deeds. He tells Brahman, "I am like a season and the child of seasons sprung from the womb of endless space, from the light. The light which is the origin of the year, the past, and the present, which is all living things and all elements, is the self. Thou art the self, what thou art, that am I." (Kaushatiki Upanishad, I, 1 to 6.)

The explanation of the allegory can be gathered from the Upanishad itself. If the dying man feels satisfied with the transient felicity of heaven, he has to return to the world after the fruit of his works has been partially exhausted, otherwise he gradually attains to final emancipation. The lake Arά represents man's desires and passions which intercept his way to emancipation. If he is successful in crossing these and conquers time (moments istihah), which also bars his passage, he is met with the further temptation in the shape of attachment to life, which is the river Vijara, the river of perpetual youth. The power of his devotion, moreover, brings him face to face with the temptation of having his life greatly prolonged, but if he is wise he withstands it. The Ilya tree from which soma flows, and the city of Salugya with its splendours, typify

enjoyments of heavenly felicity; the hall of Vibhu, which is nothing more than his own *ahankâra* (egotism), is the chain which binds him even there. The throne of Vichakshana, the mind, the couch of the all-powerful Prana in which the soul resides, the Manasi, the beloved intellect, and Chakshushi, the eye which is weaving the world, the Vedas which lead to the Sansara, with its fairy like attractions, also bar his passage to Brahman. But if he wisely gets over these, and perseveres in his devotion, he attains to Brahman. The Apsaras, with their many articles of enjoyments which typify the fruit of devotion in the shape of further heavenly enjoyments, have also to be withstood before he can shake off his good and evil deeds, and become identfied with Brahman. If he is able to accomplish all this, then he is one with Brahman, which is past, present and future, the true, transcending the senses and the vital airs, and is thenceforth free (mukta).

The knower of Brahman does not reincarnate except in certain cases.

In going from one body to another, the soul is, according to the Upanishads, accompanied with its Sukshma Sarira (the subtle body). But such going and coming are for the person whose desires have not been extinguished. For one whose desires have been extingnished there is no going and coming. "But the vital airs of him who has no desire, who does not desire, who is beyond desire, whose desires have been satisfied and whose desire is the soul itself, do not depart the body. Being even Brahman, he obtains Brahman." (Brihad A'ranyaka Upanishad, Chapter 4, Brahmana 4, verse 6.) Such a person is not troubled by the thought of either good or evil. He has conquered both, neither good nor evil touches him. No specific cognition remains for him, for he has become the soul of all. There is thenceforward no duality for him. "As rivers flowing into the sea, lose their name and form when they reach the sea, so, liberated from name and form, proceeds the wise to the divine Purusha who is greater than the great. Then the fifteen parts of his body enter their respective elements, and all the organs merge into their presiding deities, the actions and the individual soul made up of knowledge become one in the Being which is beyond all, the Imperishable." (Mududak Opanishad, III-I-7 and 8.) No remainder of works is left in the case of such a person. The name and the form as well as the parts (Kala) of which he was composed are broken, and people speak of the *person* (*Purusha*) only. He becomes without parts and immortal. For those to whom a certain office has, however, been assigned in the order of things, there is subsistence of the body so long as the office lasts. "For gradually exhausting the aggregate of works, the consequences of which have once begun, so as to enable them to discharge their offices, passing according to their free will from one body into another, as if from one house into another, in order to accomplish the duties of their

offices; preserving all the time the memory of their identity; they create for themselves, through their power over the material of the body and the sense organs, new bodies, and occupy them either all at once or in succession. Nor can it be said that when passing into new bodies, they remember only the fact of their former existence not their individuality; for it is known that they preserve the sense of their individuality also." (Vedanta Sutras III-III-32.)

The Smritis.

There is no description of hell in the Upanishads, except that the souls of the bad and the sinful reincarnate in lower orders of creation, even as hogs or dogs. It is the Smritis, the Itihasas and the Puranas which describe heaven and hell in their most materialized forms and detail the various orders of being through which the soul passes after death.

Says Manu "All acts are done by the mind, the speech and the body, and their results, good or bad, are sure to follow. According to his acts, man attains to three states—the high, the middle, and the low. He meets the result of actions committed by the mind, by the mind, of those committed by the body, by the body, and of those committed by the speech, by the speech. By transgressions committed by the body he attains to the condition of inanimate creatures, by those committed by the speech to that of birds and quadrupeds, and by those committed by the mind to the status of a Chandala.

I will briefly declare in due order what transmigrations in the whole world a man obtains through each of the three qualities. These qualities have been defined before, as darkness, activity and goodness. The wise consider acts of darkness to be those of which one feels ashamed, both when doing them and thereafter. Acts of activity are those by which a man hopes to gain profit or fame in the world, but of which he does not feel ashamed, nor which, if unaccomplished, cause any remorse. Acts of goodness are those which engender a desire of knowledge, which cause no sense of shame, and whose performance affords satisfaction to the soul.

Those endowed with goodness reach the state of gods, those endowed with activity the state of men, and those endowed with darkness sink to the condition of beasts; this is the threefold course of transmigration. But know this threefold course of transmigration that depends on the three qualities to be again threefold, low, middling, and high, according to the particular nature of the acts and of the knowledge of each person.

Immovable beings, insects, both small and large, fishes, snakes, tortoises, cattle, and wild animals are the lowest condition to which the quality of darkness leads.

Elephants, horses, Sudras, and despicable barbarians, lions, tigers, and boars are the middling states caused by the quality of darkness.

Charanas (wandering minstrels), Suparnas (bird deities), hypo-

crites, Rákshasás and Pisachas (goblins) belong to the highest rank of conditions among those produced by darkness.

Ghallas, Mallas, Natas, men who subsist by despicable occupations and those addicted to gambling and drinking form the lowest order of conditions caused by activity.

Kings and Kshatriyas, domestic priests of kings, those who delight in the warfare of disputants, constitute the middling rank of the states caused by activity.

Gandharvas, Guhyakas, and servants of the gods, Apsaras, belong to the highest rank of conditions produced by activity.

Hermits, ascetics, Bráhmanas, the crowds of the Vaimánika deities (spirits moving in mid-air on their Vimánas, or chariots), the gods of the lunar mansions, and the Daityas form the first and lowest rank of the existences caused by goodness.

Sacrifice, sages, gods, the Vedas, the heavenly lights, the years, the manes, and the Sádhyas constitute the second order of existences caused by goodness.

The sages declare Brahma, the Creator of the Universe, the True, the Great, and the Undiscernible to constitute the highest order of things produced by goodness.

Thus the result of the threefold action, the whole system of transmigrations which consists of three classes, each with three subdivisions, and which includes all created things, has been explained. (Chapter XII.)

(*d*) The Epics.

The Epics follow the Smritis and the Upanishads in their teaching about the immortality of the soul and its assuming various bodies according to its Karma. "This soul is never born, nor does it die, nor having once been, it shall ever cease to be. It is unborn, permanent, everlasting, ancient. It is not killed when the body is killed." (Bhagvad Gitá II, 20.) "It is the immemorial tradition that the soul is eternal and everlasting, but the corporeal frame of all creatures is subject to destruction here below. When therefore life is extinguished, the body only is destroyed, but the spirit, bound by its actions, travels elsewhere. The spirit does not die, there is only a change of habitation. They are mistaken who foolishly say that creatures die. The spirit only betakes itself to another body, and this change of habitation is called death." (Mahábhárata Vana Parva, Chapter 209, verses 13, 24 and 26.)

It is its accumulated load of Karma that determines the future incarnations of the ego. If its actions have been good it attains to the status of the gods. By a combination of good and evil actions it attains to the status of man. By evil actions alone it reincarnates in lower creatures. In this way it passes through thousands of births and wanders about in various regions fettered by its Karma. Suffering diverse kinds of misery on account of its Karma in the past, it engages in new actions in order to ward off such misery, but only to increase the load and suffer further

trouble like a sick man partaking of unwholesome food. But though unhappy, it does not think itself to be so, nor does it make effort to break off its bonds. On the contrary, in each new incarnation, it makes them harder and revolves upon the wheel of the Sansara addicted to vice and never reaches the end of its misfortunes. If, however, it succeeds in purifying its actions and washes off its sins by the practice of virtue, it attains to heaven and is born in higher orders of creation. (Mahábhárata Vana Parva, Chapter 209, abstracted.) The days, the nights, the sun and the moon, the regions of the earth, water, fire, air and space are all witnesses to its actions. Accompanied with its subtle body it goes to the regions of Yama (king of death), where it enjoys the felicity of heaven or suffers the tortures of hell, according to its Karma.

Heaven and hell of the Epics and the Puranas.

The heaven of the Epics, like that of the Vedas, is the region of the blessed, but its description, as given in the Mahábhárata, seems to show that it was imagined to be a place up in or beyond the Himalayas. But even there it was not unalloyed bliss, and many a sage refused to go there, dreading future fall. Says a messenger of the gods to Rishi Mudgala: "O great sage, thou art of simple understanding, since, having secured that celestial bliss which brings great honour, thou art still deliberating like an unwise person. O Muni, that region which is known as heaven, is there above us. Those regions tower high, and are furnished with excellent paths, and are, O sage, always ranged by celestial cars. Atheists, and untruthful persons, those who have not practised austerities and those that have not performed great sacrifices, cannot go there. Only men of virtuous souls, and subdued spirits, those who have their senses and understandings under control, are free from malice, and are devoted to the practice of charity, or those who are heroes, and men bearing marks of battle, who have, with subdued senses and faculties, performed the most meritorious actions, attain those regions. O Bráhmana, these regions are capable of being attained to only by virtuous acts, and are inhabited only by pious men. There, O Maudgalya, are established separately myriads of beautiful, shining, and resplendent worlds, full of every desirable object, owned by those celestial beings,—the gods, the Sadhyas, the Vaiswas, the great sages, the Yamas, the Dhamas, the Gandharvas and the Apsaras. And there is that Monarch of Mountains, the golden Meru—extending over a space of thirty-three thousand Yojanas. And there, O Mudgala, are the Sacred Gardens of the celestials, with Nandana at their head, for the sport of persons of meritorious acts. And neither hunger nor thirst, nor lassitude, nor fear, nor anything that is disgusting or inauspicious is there. And all the odours of that place are delightful and all the breezes delicious. And all the sounds there are captivating, O sage, to the ear and the heart. And neither grief, nor decrepitude, nor labour, nor repentance is there. That world,

O Muni, which is obtained by one's own acts, is of this nature. Persons repair to it by virtue of their meritorious deeds. And the persons of those who dwell there look resplendent, O Maudgalya, solely by virtue of their own acts, not from the merits of their fathers or mothers. And there is neither sweat, nor stench, nor excreta, nor urine. And there excellent garlands of divine fragrance never fade. And, O Bráhmana, they ride on cars like the one I have brought. And, O mighty sage, devoid of every grief, fatigue and ignorance and malice, men who have attained heaven, dwell in those regions happily. And, O bull among Munis, higher and higher over such regions, there are others endowed with even higher celestial virtues. Of these, the beautiful and resplendent regions of Brahma are the foremost. Thither, O Bráhmana, repair Rishis who have been sanctified by meritorious acts. And there dwell certain beings, named Ribhus, who are the gods of the gods themselves. Their regions are supremely blessed, and are adored even by the deities. They shine by their own light, and bestow every object of desire. They suffer no pangs of love for women, nor possess worldly wealth, and are free from guile. The Ribhus do not subsist on oblations, nor even on Ambrosia. And they are endued with such celestial forms that they are not perceivable by the senses. And these eternal gods of the celestials do not desire happiness for happiness's sake, nor do they change at the revolution of a Kalpa. Where, indeed, is there decrepitude or dissolution, when for them there is neither ecstasy, nor joy, nor happiness? They have neither happiness nor misery, why should they then have anger or aversion, O Muni? O Maudgalya, their supreme state is coveted even by the gods. And that crowning emancipation, hard to attain, can never be acquired by people subject to desire. The number of those deities is thirty-three. To their regions repair wise men, after having observed excellent vows, or bestowed gifts according to the ordinance of the Vedas. Thou also hast easily acquired that success by thy charities. Thy effulgence is displayed by the virtue of thy austerities, do thou also enjoy that condition obtained by thy meritorious acts. Such, O Bráhmana, is the bliss of heaven containing various worlds! Thus have I described unto thee the blessings of the celestial regions. Do thou now also hear from me some of the disadvantages thereof. In the celestial regions a person, while enjoying the fruit of the acts he has already performed, cannot engage in any others, and he must enjoy the consequences of his former acts till they are completely exhausted. After that he is subject to fall. This, in my opinion, forms the chief disadvantage of heaven. The fall of a person who has been immersed in pleasure must, O Mudgala, be pronounced to be a great drawback of heaven . And the discontent and regret which follow one's stay in an inferior station, after he has enjoyed more auspicious and brighter regions, must be hard to bear! Those about to fall are moreover stupified, and agitated by emotions. And when

their garlands fade, fear invades their hearts. These mighty drawbacks, O Maudgalya, extend even to the regions of Brahma himself. In the celestial regions, the virtues of men who have performed righteous acts, are countless. And, O Muni, there is however this consolation for the fallen that, by reason of their merits, they take birth among men and attain to high positions and pass a life of happiness. If, however, one cannot acquire knowledge here, he goes to an inferior birth. The fruits of acts done in this world are reaped in the next. This world, O Bráhmana, has been declared to be one of acts; the other as one of the enjoyment of their fruit." (Mahábhárata Vana Parva 260, verses 1 to 35.)

The Hell of the Mahábhárata is a place enveloped in thick darkness, and covered with hair and moss forming its grassy vesture. Polluted with the stench of sinners, and with mire of flesh and blood, it abounds with gad-flies and stinging bees and gnats, and is endangered by the inroads of grisly bears. Rotting corpses lie here and there. Overspread with bones and hair, it is full of worms and insects. It is skirted all along with a blazing fire, and is infested with crows and other birds and vultures, all having beaks of iron, as well as with evil spirits with long mouths pointed like needles. And it abounds with inaccessible fastnesses like the Vindhya Mountains. Human corpses lie scattered over it, besmeared with fat and blood, with arms and thighs cut off, or with entrails torn out and legs severed. Along that path so full of the stench of corpses and other dangers, is a river full of boiling water, and therefore difficult to cross, and a forest of trees whose leaves are like sharp swords and razors. There are plains full of fine white sand burning hot, and rocks and stones made of iron, and many jars of iron all around, with boiling oil in them. Many a Kuta-câmalika is there, with sharp thorns, and therefore exceedingly painful to the touch." (Mahábhárata Swargarohnika Parva, Section II.)

In the Epics the path of the gods is declared to be the Uttarayána (the northern), and that of the Fathers the Dakshinayana (the southern). Says the Gitá: "Fire, light, day, the bright fortnight, the six months of the northern solstice, departing at these, the knowers of Brahman reach Brahman. Smoke, night, the dark fortnight, the six months of the southern solstice going by these to the lunar light, the Yogi returns. These bright and dark paths of the world are verily eternal, going by one of them, one has not to return, going by the other he has to return." (VIII—24 to 26.) The light, etc., are explained by the commentators to be the deities presiding over each of these elements, and the northern path is for those who are worshippers of Brahman with attributes, and the southern for those who perform sacrifices to gods and other works of public utility.

All the heroes and sages of the Epic period sought to die when

the sun was in the northern solstice, and Bhishma, the Kaurava leader, did not give up the ghost for 58 days till it was *Uttarayana*. He remained lying on his bed of arrows, and when the time came, restrained his vital airs in the manner prescribed by the Yoga S'astra. His breaths pierced through the crown of the head and escaped, shooting like a meteor through the sky. (Mahábhárata Anusasana Parva, Chapter 168.) Suka, the son of Vyása, also gave up his body in the same manner. Desirous of attaining to that condition of existence whence there is no return, he resolved to have recourse to Yoga, and after casting off his body, to enter through the Sun, the ever-effulgent Brahman. Said he: "When the spirit enters that effulgent Brahman, it no longer suffers like Soma waxing and waning, nor returns to the earth to again mount up to heaven. The Sun warms all the world by his piercing rays. His disc never undergoes any diminution. Remaining unchanged he drinks the energy of all creatures. There I shall live in my invincible inner soul freed from all fear, having cast off this body in the solar region." He betook himself to Yoga, first cast off all that was of Rajas and Tamas (passion and delusion) in him, and then all that was of goodness (Satva) in him, and then restrained his life breaths till he became the soul of all things. His spirit then travelled through the air and when Vyása, his father, called out to him, the only answer he could receive was an echo from the hills. (Santi Parva, Chapters 334 and 335.) Krishna gave up his body by the same process. When the hour for his departure had come, he restrained all his life breaths and betook himself to high Yoga. A fierce hunter of the name of Jará happening to pass in search of deer, and mistaking Keşava, who was stretched on the earth in Yoga, for a deer, pierced him on the heel with a shaft and quickly came to that spot for capturing his prey. Jará however found a man dressed in yellow robes, rapt in Yoga, and endued with many arms. Regarding himself an offender, and filled with fear, he touched the feet of Kesava. But Krishna comforted him and then ascended upwards, filling the entire welkin with splendour. When he reached heaven, Vásavas, the twin Acwins, the Rudras, the Adityas, the Vasus and the Viswedevas, the Munis, the Siddhas and many of the foremost Gandharvas, with the Apsaras, advanced to receive him. The illustrious Narayana of fierce energy, the Creator and Destroyer of all,—that preceptor of Yoga—filling Heaven with his splendour, reached his own inconceivable region, and met the deities and (celestial) Rishis and Charanas, and the foremost ones among the Gandharvas, as well as many beautiful Apsaras, Siddhas and Saddhyas. All of them, bending in humility, worshipped him. The deities all saluted him, and many foremost Munis and Rishis worshipped him as the Lord of all. The Gandharvas waited upon him, singing his praises, and Indra also joyfully praised him." (Mahábhárata Mawsala Parva, Section IV.)

Most wonderful is the account of a vision created by

Vyása on the banks of the Ganges, after the conclusion of the great war and departure of Drhitashtra from Hastinapur. The rishi bathed in the Ganges and summoned all the heroes who had been killed in battle. Headed by Bhishma and Drona, the dead numbering many thousands emerged from the waters of the sacred stream, each wearing the dress he wore on the battlefield and carrying the standard he carried there. They wore celestial garments, were free from anger, animosity, pride and jealousy. Son met father and mother, wife husband, brothers brothers, with most happy hearts and cheerful countenances. "It looked like a high carnival of happy men and women. This wonderful phenomenon looked like a picture painted on canvass. After passing the night with their relations and friends on earth, the dead disappeared into the waters of the river and reascended to heaven." (Asramavásika Parva, Chapters 12 and 13.)

The explanation of the phenomenon, as given in the Mahábhárata, is that no Karma is ever lost without its fruit being enjoyed, and that bodies and features are both born of acts. The elements, on account of their conjunction with the spirit, are also eternal. The spirit, though united with acts and their consequent pleasure and pain, is like the mirror which is unaffected with the object reflected in it, unaffected by the latter. The life breaths (Pranas) and the senses (indriyas) (in their subtle form) accompany all creatures to the next world. It is a mistake to suppose that creatures assume diverse forms. This mistake is due to the notion of regarding the body as identical with the self. Creatures appear from the unmanifest and disappear into the unmanifest. (Ibid, Chapter 35.) How far this explains the possibility of the identical body of the deceased being visible to those on earth, is left for the reader to judge.

(c) The various Views of Indian Philosophy.

The more philosophic doctrine of the great Epic on the question of life after death is, however, more likely to commend itself to modern readers. According to it, man's senses are heaven and hell: well controlled they lead to heaven, uncontrolled they lead to hell. The world's esteem cannot be enjoyed at the same time as heavenly prosperity. For those desirous of attaining the latter, truth, uprightness, modesty, self-control and knowledge of the Vedas are necessary. Though poor in earthly goods, such persons lay by for themselves rich treasures in the life to come. It was also declared by Rishi Sanata-Sujata that there was no death, and when asked by King Dhritrashtra as to why asceticism was performed in order to avoid death, he replied; "Death is avoided by particular acts; the other opinion is—there is no death, thou hast asked me which of these is true. Listen to me, O king, as I discourse to thee on this, so that thy doubts may be removed. Know, O Kshatriya, that both of these opinions are true. The learn-

ed are of opinion that death results from ignorance. I say that ignorance is death, and the absence of ignorance (knowledge) is therefore immortality. It was from ignorance that the *Asuras* became subject to defeat and death, and from the absence of ignorance the gods attained to the condition of Brahma. Death does not devour creatures like a tiger; its shape itself is unascertainable. Besides this form of death some imagine *Yama* to be death. This, however, is due to the weakness of their own minds. Knowledge of Brahma is immortality. That (imaginary) god (Yama) holds his sway in the region of the *Pitris*, being the source of bliss to the virtuous and woe to the sinful. It is by his command that death in the form of wrath, ignorance, and covetousness, arises among man. Swayed by pride men always walk in unrighteous paths. None amongst them succeeds in attaining to his real nature. Their understandings clouded and themselves swayed by passions, they cast off their bodies and repeatedly fall into hell. They always follow their senses. This is why ignorance receives the name of death. Those who desire the fruit of work, when the time comes for enjoying it, proceed to heaven, casting off their bodies. Hence they cannot avoid death. Embodied creatures, from their inability to attain to the knowledge of Brahma, and from their connection with wordly enjoyments, are compelled to sojourn in a round of re-births, up, down, and around. The natural inclination of man towards pursuits that are unreal, is alone the cause of the senses being led into error. The soul that is constantly affected by the pursuit of objects that are unreal, remembering only that upon which it is always employed, worships only earthly enjoyments that surround it. Desire of enjoyment first kills men. Lust and wealth soon follow. These three, *viz.*, the desire of enjoyments, lust and wealth, lead foolish men to death. They, however, that have conquered their inner selfs succeed by self-restraint in escaping death. He who has conquered his inner self and does not allow himself to be led away by soaring desire, kills it, regarding it as of no value, by the aid of true knowledge. Ignorance, assuming the shape of *Yama*, cannot devour the sage who kills his desires in this manner. He who follows his desires is destroyed along with his desires. He, however, who overcomes desire, most certainly drives away all kinds of woe. Desire is, indeed, ignorance and darkness and hell in respect of all creatures, for swayed by it they lose their senses. As drunken persons in walking along a street reel towards ruts and holes, so men under the influence of desire, misled by unreal joys, run towards destruction. What can death do to a person whose soul has not been confounded or misled by desire? For him death has no terrors like a tiger made of straw. Therefore, O Kshatriya, if the presence

of desire, which is ignorance, is to be got rid of, no wish, not even the highest one, is to be entertained or pursued. That soul which is in thy body,—associated as it is with wrath and covetousness and filled with ignorance,—that is death! Knowing that death arises in this way, he that relies on knowledge entertains no fear of death. Indeed, as the body is destroyed when brought under the influence of death, so death itself is destroyed when it comes under the influence of knowledge." (Mahábhárata Udyoga Parva, Chapter 41.)

The six systems of philosophy also teach the same. Says the Sankhya Karika : " Subtle bodies and such as spring from father and mother, together with the great elements, are three sorts of specific objects. Of these the subtle bodies are everlasting, and those produced of parents are perishable. The mergent subtle body, formed primævally, unconfined, permanent, composed of Buddhi and the rest down to the primary elements, migrates, is without enjoyment, and is invested with dispositions. As a painting stands not without a ground, nor a shadow without a stake, so neither does the Linga (Buddhi, &c.,) subsist supportless, without a specific (body). Formed for the sake of the spirit, the Subtle Body plays its parts like a dramatic actor, on account of the connection of means and consequences, and by union with the predominant power of Nature. By virtue (is obtained) ascent to higher planes ; by vice, descent to the lower ; from wisdom (results) beatitude; and bondage from the reverse. From dispassion results absorption into Prakriti ; from passionate attachment, transmigration ; from power, non-impediment (of desires) ; and from the reverse, the contrary. Verily no spirit is bound, nor emancipated, nor does it migrate. It is Nature alone, which has many receptacles, that is bound, or is released, or migrates. By the attainment of perfect wisdom, virtue and the rest become incapable of leading to rebirth ; yet the spirit remains awhile invested with body, as a potter's wheel continues to revolve by the impulse previously imparted to it. When the separation of the enlightened spirit from his corporeal frame at length takes place, and Nature ceases to act in respect to it, then is final and absolute emancipation accomplished. (Sankhya Karika, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 62, 67 and 68.)

The doctrine of the Nyaya School is that the self is eternal and shall exist after death. It believes in the transmigration of souls, and declares heaven itself to be an impediment to final emancipation, which can only be secured by cessation of Ahankara (egoism), eradication of desire and knowledge of truth. The Yoga follows the Sankhya, and the Vedánta the Upanisheds, while the Purva Mimánsa does not deal with the subject, but concerns itself chiefly with Pramanas, or means of knowledge.

Does the soul retain the memory of its past lives?

The question whether it is possible for the soul to preserve the memory of its former incarnations, is answered by the S'astras by saying that with the rise of true knowledge and dispersion of ignorance, the past, the present and the future appear before the spiritual vision of the sage and all his past lives are as fully known to him as his present. "Both I and thou," says Krishna in the Gitá, "have passed through many births, but I know them all, thou dost not know them." (Bhagvad Gitá, IV-5.) In the Aitreya Upanishads, also, Rishi Vamdeo declared: "While dwelling in the womb I discovered all the births of these Devas. A hundred iron strongholds kept me, but I broke them quickly down like a falcon." "And having this knowledge he stepped forth after the dissolution of the body and, having obtained all his desires in that heavenly world, became immortal" (V, V, 14-15). The question was also put by Rama to Vashishtha as to how Vyása, the father of Suka, who lived in another Kalpa, could be the same Vyása who was present in Dasratha's assembly, where Vashishtha was lecturing, and the latter replied that he had known ten Vyásas and had himself incarnated many times, and that a Jivan Mukta may, like other beings, be born a hundred times and yet retain the recollection of all his incarnations. The vision of Lila was, accordingly, related by Vashishtha to show that it is our *vasna* (desire or past impression) that determines our incarnations, and that with the rise of knowledge of the self all our past births are known. The story goes that a Brahman, named Vashishtha, intensely desired to be a king, and in the next incarnation was born as King Padma, and Arundhati, his wife, who was deeply attached to him, as his queen Lila. The queen was so intensely devoted to her husband that she prayed to the goddess Sarswati that after death her husband's soul should not leave the precincts of her inner apartments and that the goddess may show herself when required. The boons were granted, and when the king died, Lila in her grief called Sarswati, who told her where her husband's spirit had incarnated. The goddess then took Lila to the place where Padma was born as a king. There she saw him seated on a throne surrounded by all the pomp of royalty. Presently another king attacked his dominions and a fierce war ensued. The queen also saw another Lila of the same shape, size, figure, and beauty as herself, sitting by the side of the king, and felt greatly perplexed as to how the second lady could have the same features and be an exact counterpart of herself. She appealed to Sarswati to clear the mystery, saying that if the real could only exist in time and space, why did she see two Lilas. Sarswati replied that *vasna* (desire) was the cause of the vision and that with the removal of the *vasna*, all her past and present shall clear the mystery. At death man forgets his nature and thinks himself to be the being he is about to become and identifies himself with what he is born as. But when he knows the real character of the visible

(drishya), his vision is restored and time and space do not stand in his way. It was therefore nothing but the queen's own mind which reflected the past and the present and the future, and the various orders of beings she had passed through. Lila then applied herself to Yoga and as her spiritual vision was restored, she remembered all the 103 incarnations she had passed through. She was first born as the bride of a Vedyadhara, then as a she eagle on account of her loose character, then as a female hunter, then as a plant, then as a handsome prince in the Saurashtra country, which she ruled for a hundred years, then as a weasel, then as a bird, a bee, a fish, a Chandala, a hunter, a fairy, a tortoise, a goose, a crane, and many other beings, till she was born as a Brahman woman and became the wife of Vashishtha, and then attained her present condition. All that she did in each incarnation became clear to her, and she found that all her life upon earth was a protracted dream, unreal like the dreams of her daily sleep, and that it was the error of believing each of her incarnations to be real that was the cause of all her rounds of birth and rebirth. (Yoga Vashishtha Uttapatti Prakarna.) The story of King Lavana of the northern Pandava country is as wonderful. He was seated in his court when, under the influence of a magic spell, he found himself riding a swift horse in a lonely jungle. The horse left him and the king wandered about hungry and thirsty till he met a Chandala girl who was carrying some food for her father to eat. He implored the girl to give him some food, which she did on condition of his marrying her and living with her as a Chandala. The king in his distress agreed to it, married the woman, lived with her as a Chandala for 60 years and had a numerous progeny. He ate the flesh of wild beasts, wore barks and rags, carried logs of wood and passed his days in the jungles exposed to all the vicissitudes of the seasons. A famine then overtook the land and he migrated to another country, where, yielding to the importunity of one of his starving children to give him something to eat, he threw himself into the fire and awoke from his reverie. To test the correctness of his vision, Lavana undertook a journey to the places where he had lived in his dream, and found his aged Chandala mother-in-law weeping for the loss of her royal son-in-law. The places and the persons he met with corresponded with those he had seen in his drean, and the latter's account of his adventures was also a counterpart of what he recollected of his own vision. The explanation of his wonderful phenomenon, as given by Vashishtha, is that the mind sees before it what it fancies, that things are real or unreal according as the mind takes them to be, that the remembrance by Lavana of his having lived as a Chandala in his dream was the internal cause of presenting to him the picture of the Chandala abode as an external reality. The idea which was in the mind of the king was, however, also present in the minds of the Chandala people, and as the "same sentiments and figures of speech occur in different poets, of distant

ages and countries, so do the same thoughts and ideas also arise simultaneously in the minds of different people. The thoughts which arose in the minds of the Chandalas corresponded with those in the mind of the king and *vice versâ*, and one idea embraced many others, and the idea produced the material object." (Uttapatti Prakarana.)

It is, therefore, the vividness of our Karmic impression which determines our incarnations, as well as our good or evil character. All our tendencies, whether harmful or otherwise, mild or fierce, righteous or unrighteous, truthful or untruthful, are the result of the attribute which we have cherished in the past, under the influence of our innate error. The Jiva, in the course of its rounds of births, lives like the silk-worm in the cell woven by it, but when, like the snake casting off its slough, it shakes off its desire and attachments, the past and the future are all present before its spiritual vision.

(*f*) The Puranas.

The ideas of the immortality of the soul, and of all heavenly felicity being transitory, as well as of the recluse and the sage going after death by the northern and the good and the charitable householders by the southern path, are as common in the Puranas as in the Epics. The Puranic accounts of the passage of the soul, and the regions through which it passes, and the births it has to undergo, are, however, more elaborate and apparently more fanciful than those of the Epics. According to the Vishnu Purana, above the earth are the spheres of Bhuvah, Swah, Maha, Jana, Tapas, and Satya. Of these the last three are permanent, the others are perishable. The path of the gods is to the north of the solar sphere of Nagavithi and to the south of the Seven Rishis. There Siddhas of subdued senses reside till the end of a kalpa (cycle). The region of Vishnu is between the Dhruva (Polar Star) and the Seven Rishis, and there dwell those whose sins have been thoroughly purified and who are above virtue and vice. The Supreme Vishnu is only real, everything else is unreal. There is nothing which is without beginning or end, or which can be called real, except Vishnu. He who knows Him to be eternal, immutable, unchanging, and strives to attain to Him, escapes the Sansara. The highest wisdom consists in knowing Him to be the soul of all. There is no cessation of misery even in heaven. The attainment of the Divine Being is considered by the wise to be the only remedy for the three kinds of evils which beset mankind.

The hells of the Vishnu Purana are even more terrible than those of the Mahábhárata. "Men are bound, when they die, by the servants of the king of death with chords and beaten with sticks, and have then to encounter the fierce aspect of Yama and the horrors of their terrible route. In the different hells there are various intolerable tortures with burning sand, fire, machines, and weapons; some are severed with saws, some roasted in forges, some are chopped with axes, some buried in the ground, some are mounted on stakes, some cast to wild beasts to be devoured, some are gnawed

by the vultures, some torn by tigers, some are boiled in oil, some rolled in caustic slime, some are precipitated from great heights, some are tossed upwards by engines. The number of punishments inflicted in hell, which are the consequences of sins, is infinite." (Vishnu Purana, Section V, Chapter V, verses 44 to 49.)

After undergoing the sufferings of hell the spirit reincarnates upon earth in various orders of inanimate beings, aquatic animals, birds, quadrupeds, men, pious men, gods and liberated spirits. Each of these stages is superior to the one preceding it, and the spirit has to pass through them till it attains emancipation. Severe penalties are meted out for greater, and lighter ones for lighter transgressions. The practice of righteousness and devotion to Vishnu, however, purify the most hardened sinner. By meditating upon Vishnu he is released from all worldly afflictions. "What is the use," says the Vishnu Purana, "of going to heaven whence one has to come back to earth, and how different is devotion to Hari, which leads to final emancipation! The person who meditates day and night upon Vishnu is released from all sins, and does not go to hell after death. What gives delight to the mind is heaven, what gives pain is hell. Therefore vice is hell, and virtue is heaven." (Vishnu Purana, Book II, Section VI.) And it declares that the king of death forbids his messengers from bringing to him those who are devoted to Vishnu, for he is the lord of all but not of Vishnu.

The most popular account of life after death is, however, given in the Garuda Purana, which is recited at most Hindu funerals. In the darkest colours it describes the passage of the soul of the sinful after death. When about to die man obtains divine vision and sees all as one. His vital air then leaves his body and the messengers of the king of death draw the Purusha, who is of the size of a thumb, out of the body. Of terrific appearance, armed with nooses and clubs, they drag him along the road to the regions of Yama, uttering dire threats of the terrible hells in store for him. After suffering the pangs of hunger and thirst, troubled by ferocious beasts, beaten by his captors, and exposed to many other dangers on the road, now reeling towards a pit, now rising, the poor soul is taken into two or three *Muhurtas* in the presence of the king of death. After having a sight of the king of terrors, he is brought back to earth to have a body according to his *vasna* (desire). Hungry and thirsty he eats the cakes and drinks the water offered to him by his descendants, but is not satisfied. A body is then formed for him in ten days from portions of the funeral cakes offered to him, and after living on the cakes offered on the 11th and the 12th days of his funerals, he is again taken by the messengers of Yama to the presence of the king by a road 6,000 Yoganas in length, full of the greatest

dangers with nothing to take shelter in, exposed to the severes heat and cold and infested by wild beasts. There remembering his past deeds, the miserable soul looks round for a protector, but finds none, and grieves for having acted sinfully. On the various stages of the road he has to subsist upon the monthly cakes offered to him by his descendants and after six months comes to a river with a boat, but unless he has some good to show, he is not allowed to cross it by the boat, but is thrown into the river and dragged out like a fish and carried to the city of the king of death, which he reaches in one year. That city has four gates, three for the good—the charitable, the wise and the brave in life—and one (the southern) for the sinful. The king of death sits in his court surrounded by the rishis the sages, the wise and the good. Untruth, injustice or sin is not there. All is truth and justice. The king's minister, Chitragupta, has a separate court where he and his assistants keep exact account of all that man does in life, in thought, word and deed. The account is now read and the sinful soul is condemned to suffer the direst calamities of hell till the end of a Kalpa, when it reincarnates upon earth and after passing through various orders of being, animate and inanimate, is ultimately born as man. In the mother's womb it prays to God for release from its fleshy prison, vowing to serve Him alone in life, but deluded by the vanities of the world, it soon forgets its vow and is immersed into the Sansara and dies and undergoes the same round of misery and birth. The good and the pious do not, however, meet so painful an end. They are carried to the court of the king of death in resplendent cars, are accommodated there in their proper places and after enjoying all the felicities of heaven, reincarnate upon earth in good and pious families. A human incarnation is most difficult to attain, and if even, on attaining to it, man does not strive to know his God, he is lost for ever. The wise, concludes the Garuda, keep the body for the sake of practising Dharma. They practice Dharma for the sake of knowing their átmá, and they know their átmá for the sake of engaging in meditation upon Vishnu, whereby they are released from the trammels of birth and death.

(g) Modern ideas.

All these are also more or less the notions of modern Hindus on the subject of life after death. "When by the command of the king of death, his messengers shall bind and carry thee away, then neither father, nor mother, nor master, nor friend, nor son, shall share thy misfortime. When tortured by them, thou shalt call out for help, none but Rama shall be thy helper. When thou shalt visit hell, and meet a river full of fearful creatures and terrific eddies, unfathomable in depth, with its invisible banks, and no boat to take thee across, then father, mother or friend will there be none to lend thee his arm, and the long arm of Rama, the unselfish friend of all, shall, O Tulsi, be thy only support." "Where the distance of the road cannot be counted, there the name of Hari shall be the only provi-

sion of thy journey. When walking in darkness, the name of Hari shall only light thy footsteps. Where thou shalt have no companion, Hari shall be thy only companion. Where thou shalt be scorched by fierce heat from above, the name of Hari shall only afford thee shade. When thou shalt be dying of burning thirst, the name of Hari shall, O Nanak, be thy only nectar to drink."

The sinful, according to the ideas of modern Hindus, have to pass through as many as 8,400,000 of births, and great is the dread of incarnating in lower orders of creations. Incarnation is determined by what a man was intensely attached to at the time of his death. But he who is intensely attached to God and meditates upon Him at the time of death is released from all transmigratory existence. A human incarnation is declared to be most difficult of attainment, but the body is always enjoined to be subjected and kept down. Says Kabir: "When burnt, it is left as a heap of ashes, if left lying it is infested by worms; like an unbaked pitcher, which dissolves in water, is this frail body, why art thou running mad? Hast thou forgotten the time when thou layest in thy mother's womb, for ten months, head downwards? Like the bee collecting honey, thou hast collected wealth, but when thou shalt die, every one shall be saying, 'Take him away, Take him away.' Thy beloved wife shall only accompany thee up to the door of the house, and thy friends and relations up to the crematorium, and thenceforward thy spirit shall have to journey along alone. Says Kabir, hear, O man, thou shalt fall into a deep pit, thy life breath gone. Thou hast imprisoned thyself in this unreal Máyá like a bird in a pond of lotus flowers." The soul has always been held to be immortal. "None is ever born, none ever dies. This body is unreal, but the Rama (spirit within) is true. All worldly wealth is unreal like a dream, why art thou beguiled? Nothing shall go with thee, why art thou attached to it? Give up praise and blame, remember God, says Nanak. God pervades all."

The teachings of the Epics and the Puranas on the subject of funeral gifts are even more implicitly followed now than in former days, and with the advance of civilization and importation of articles of luxury, many costly additions have been made to things to be given away at funerals and a complete outfit of every article of dress, food, and household furniture is now considered to be necessary for the comfort of the spirit in the next world!

Conclusion.

To conclude, no nation upon earth concerns itself so intimately with the problem of future life as the Hindus, nor is any nation's daily life so largely influenced by it as theirs. Complete subjugation of desire for and attachment to worldly objects, a pure life of righteousness and freedom from injury to others in thought, word and deed, realization of the imminence of death, which can carry us off at any moment amidst the busiest pursuits of life, even before a small portion of our desires has been satisfied, are declared to be the only means of

happiness here and hereafter. Man has within him that by which he can conquer death, *viz.*, Brahma (Truth). This is as much the teaching of the S'astras, ancient and modern, as the cherished belief of all Hindus both now as well as in the past. "What, O Brahman, is wealth, or kinsmen or relations, or wife, to thee when thou shalt have to die? Seek thy self which is concealed in thy heart. Where are thy sires and grandsires? Do not forget two things, if thou wishest for happiness—the presence of death and God."

वासांसि जीर्णानि यथा विहाय ।
नवानि गृह्णान्ति नरो पराणि ॥
तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णान्य ।
न्यानि संयाति नवानि देही ॥

"As a man having quitted garments that are worn out, takes others that are new, so the embodied soul, having quitted worn out bodies, enters into others which are new." (Bhagvad Gitá.) This is the conclusion of the S'astras on the subject of life after death.

ओं तत् सत

APPENDIX.

(*Vide page* 38.)

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE, LUCKNOW.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

Permit me to offer you my sincerest thanks for the great honor you have done me in electing me as the chairman of this august assembly. As I call to mind the many distinguished gentlemen who have so worthily presided over the deliberations of this conference which aims at devising methods of reform for the whole of the Indian community, I feel that your choice might have been bestowed more advantageously upon a worthier head. As, however, you have been pleased to bestow the honor upon me, I gratefully accept it, craving your indulgence if I fail to justify your expectations.

We are met here to discharge one of the most solemn duties which each of us owes to his motherland. Who is there, be he the most pronounced radical or the most pronounced conservative, who does not wish his country to prosper, all her sons and daughters morally elevated, possessing strong and well-developed bodies, properly cultivated minds, well-trained intellects, and in every way the best men and women of their age. The goal of all Indian reformers in the past has been to bring Indian society to such a condition, and the goal of modern Indian reformers can also be no other. The reformer in the past had, however, to work under conditions somewhat different from those under which the reformer in the present has to work. Society had not then so widely gone astray from its ancient ideals as it has done now, nor had later corruption taken such deep root in it as it has done in these times, nor were the forces the reformer had to contend with so strong and so numerous as they are now. The rishis of ancient India declared all individual and national progress to lie in adherence to truth, and duty, and the ten indications of Dharma, according to Manu, were fortitude, compassion, control of the mind and the organs of sense, purity, intelligence, study of the S'astras, rectitude of behaviour and absence of anger. But the rishis appealed to a society not so corrupt or lifeless as ours. Being the best, and the most morally elevated men of their age, they knew that the elevation of the race consisted in a harmonious development and satisfaction of all its wants. The task of the modern reformer in India is therefore one of peculiar difficulty and taxes his resources to the ut-

most. He should not only know thoroughly and clearly the wants and tendencies of his society and be capable of taking a broad survey of all its institutions, but also the evils under which it labours. Courage of conviction, firmness of purpose and a determined resolution to do the right, looking neither to the right nor to the left, are demanded of him in a greater degree than they were from his predecessors.

He cannot, moreover, afford to lose sight of the fact that the evolutionary science of modern Europe makes the development of the intellectual capacity subordinate to the development of the religious character, and declares the future of nations to lie in assigning to reason a lower place than religion. Said Mr. Lecky, speaking of the causes of the prosperity of nations as indicated by history: "Its foundation is laid in pure domestic life, in commercial integrity, in a high standard of moral worth, and of public spirit, in simple habits, in courage, uprightness, and a certain soundness and moderation of judgment which springs quite as much from character as from intellect. If you would form a wise judgment of the future of a nation, observe carefully whether these qualities are increasing or decaying. Observe carefully what qualities count for most in public life. Is character becoming of greater or less importance? Are the men who obtain the highest posts in the nation men of whom, in private life, irrespective of party, competent judges speak with genuine respect? Are they of sincere convictions, consistent lives and indisputable integrity? It is by observing this current that you can best cast the horoscope of a nation." (Lecky's Political Value of History.) The conclusion of the rishis of ancient India was no other, and the Indian reformer has therefore to keep this ideal as steadily in view as the reformer in Europe.

A revival of Hinduism is noticeable almost everywhere in India, and many think such a revival to be somewhat hostile to the work of social reform. But no Hindu revival, if it is to be at all genuine, can have any other object in view than the removal of all such barriers as impede the progress of the Hindus in the march of civilization—an object which the social reformer has also in view. What applies to individuals also applies to societies and no society which aims at a revival of Hinduism without making the necessary reforms in the social conditions of the Hindus, can hope to succeed or earn the sympathy of any right-minded Indian. All that a society, whether it be for social or religious reform, can do, and ought to do, is to find out how far the nation has gone astray from its best and truest ideals, and what portion of its present institutions favors, and what retards its attainment of those ideals; to have the latter retained and the former reformed and modified. This and no other is, I believe, the programme of this conference, as well as of all other bodies that derive their initiative from it. They are not revolutionary but reforming bodies, working on the lines of the

least resistance, and never losing sight of the fact that their goal is the harmonious development of the Indian society in order to make it as perfect as possible.

Opposition there has always been, and shall always be, to the work of reform. Buddha, Sankara, Nanaka, Chaitanya, and others who set themselves about reforming Indian society of their times, had to do so in the teeth of the bitterest opposition from the advocates of its then existing systems. In some cases it was active hostility, in others passive indifference. But if the cause was right, success came in the end. Perseverance was all that was required. So it ought to be with us also. Our difficulties in the work of social reform are our best helpmates and if we but persevere in our efforts, we shall find our difficulties growing less, and ourselves making greater impression upon the community. "Perseverance," says the Mahábhárata, "is the root of prosperity, gain, and all that is beneficial. The person who pursues an object steadily without giving it up in vexation, is truly great, and enjoys everlasting happiness."

I am not one of those who believe our cause is losing; on the contrary the large and sympathetic audience around me is the best proof of the increasing interest taken in our proceedings throughout the country. It is the social conference which has given the initiative to the many caste reform associations, like the Kayastha, the Bhargava, the Vaisya, the Rajputa and others, which are now working in these parts of the country in the direction of social reform. In fact, the contagion has spread to the class which was hitherto considered to be altogether hostile to all reform—the Brahmánas, and it is a sign of the times that they too are having sectional conferences of their own for the same purpose as the other castes. I need only refer to the Gaur, the Sanadhya, the Chaturvedi, and the Kashmiri conferences of that community. All these reform bodies are working on the lines of this conference, discussing the subjects discussed by it and passing almost the same resolutions. Their success is proportionate to the degree of their effort in the work of reform, and the time during which each of them has been in existence. I shall, with your leave, speak of the work done by the Vaisya during the eight years it has been in existence. Its first sitting in Meerut was attended by only 36 members of the Vaisya community. Its seventh sitting in Delhi was attended by more than 350 delegates from out-stations, and about 2,000 visitors from Delhi. Its last sitting in Bareilly was attended by delegates and visitors not only from the North-Western Provinces but also from the Punjab, Rajputana, and other parts of India. It has now more than a hundred branch associations subordinate to it, all working on the lines laid down by it. It counts among its members not only men of the new, but of the old school also. Many of them are leaders of the community in their respective centres, and so great is the interest taken in its proceedings that last year, when in Delhi the question of the

lowest marriageable age for girls came up for discussion, the excitement among the Vaisya community of that place was very great. The question became the topic of the day all over the town, and the resolution was passed after the most vehement discussion and amidst the greatest excitement. Similarly in 1896, in Ajmere, when the question of the settlement of caste disputes by private arbitration was being discussed, some sympathetic outsiders appealed to the Conference to procure the amicable settlement of a local dispute about a religious procession, which had been going on among the Vaisyas of Ajmere for some years past, and had cost them enormous sums of money. The matter was enquired into, and some of the members of the Conference undertook to act as arbitrators. The lecturers of the Conference and its papers are doing good work in disseminating its aims and objects in the community, and it is some satisfaction to find the more progressive among us often inviting our lecturers to lecture on social reform on occasions of marriages, and providing these as entertainment for their guests instead of the nautch girls of old. The ages of marriage both for boys and girls prescribed by it have the sanction of the best S'astris of these parts and are being adopted by the community. The scale of expenditure prepared under its direction is also finding favor among the community, and it is not uncommon to find people settling beforehand that marriages shall be conducted according to its rules. The old system of indiscriminately throwing away large sums of money on occasions of marriage is now gradually giving place to its employment in a more useful manner, and one of our prominent members last year set the good example of giving a part of the money he was going to spend on the occasion of his son's marriage, as a donation to the Hindu College of Benares, and another as a fund for the establishment of a female school in Delhi. Even in the latter place, which is remarkable for its love of show and pomp, a branch of the Conference has been successful in materially reducing the expenditure on some of the marriage ceremonies, and in altogether cutting down the others. The offenders against the rules of the Association are looked down upon, and in some cases a nominal penality is also imposed upon them. The system of advertising for husbands and wives may seem new to the East, but we find our caste paper, the *Vaisya Hitkari*, generally full of advertisements from parents and guardians of both boys and girls eligible for marriage. These advertisements are always matter-of-fact productions, and describe the position in life of the advertiser, the age, health, education of his child, and the kind of husband or the wife he requires. Last year the Conference discussed the effect of the present system of education upon the youth of the community, and it was probably due to its initiative that some very desirable changes in it were introduced by the authorities in these provinces. In order to widen the field of employment of the younger portion of the community, the

Conference has set itself about having them trained in arts and manufactures in foreign countries as well as in India by those of its members who own mercantile and manufacturing or banking firms. Its orphanage and Ayurvedic dispensaries are also gaining in popularity and altogether it has a good future before it. Above all it has succeeded in rousing the *Vaisyas* to a sense of their condition both in the past and the present, as well as provided the means of inducing a feeling of affection and regard among its members, and even if it had done nothing else, that alone would have entitled it to its gratitude. I have spoken of the work of the Vaisya Conference as I happen to know it best. The work of the other caste Conferences, like the Kayastha and the Bhargava, is no less praiseworthy. If the reformers have not been able to achieve the success they deserve, it is because they have to work in a society where education has not yet made much progress among the masses, and where old but unreasonable customs are still holding their sway.

As remarked by a great writer, "custom is a violent and treacherous schoolmistress who, by little and little, slyly, unperceived, slips in the foot of her authority, but having thus by gentle means and humble beginnings with the aid of time established it, unmasks a furious and tyrannical countenance against which none has the courage nor the power so much as to lift up his eyes." The reformer in a country like India, especially in provinces like these, has therefore to meet with great difficulty in making good his standing-place. This is a work of years, requiring the utmost patience. He has not only to be a whole man all round and have a clear conception of his aims and objects, but has also often to work unassisted, deriving little sympathy from those around him, and having generally to rely upon his own resources in his efforts to undo the work of centuries. He requires to look neither to the right nor to the left, neither backwards nor forwards, but always towards the object he has in view, and if he adheres to the well-known Persian saying of "*Himmat mardan madad Khudá*"—Heaven helps those who help themselves,—success will come to him in the end, tardily though it be. This, I believe, is the steady aim which all reformers have or ought to have in view, and I hope the day may soon come when we shall be able to show you more tangible results than we have done hitherto.

We are told that, in having so many caste Conferences and Associations, we are wasting power and are scattering force which ought to be conserved, that it will be much better, if instead of having so many separate bodies working independently, we had one social reform Association like this Conference. I regret I cannot subscribe to this opinion. We are not, by working in the way we are doing, perpetuating distinctions and differences which ought not to be perpetuated. On the contrary we take society as we find it, and are beginning the work of reform in the

only way in which it could possibly begin, *i.e.*, from the bottom upwards. A general social reform organization like this Conference, though most useful and necessary as an advising body, cannot from the present circumstances of the country, be a working body. All that it can do is to lay down a general programme of social reform, leaving it to each caste and community to carry it out in the manner most suited to its conditions. The number of earnest reformers in the various castes is yet few and far between, though as time goes on we hope soon to see a larger accession to our numbers, and each community shall reckon not a few but many workers in the field till the cry of social reform is re-echoed from one part of the country to the other. I need not cite for our workers the well-known saying of a Sanskrit poet, that where these six, *viz.*, exertion, courage, fortitude, intelligence, strength of character, and enterprise, are found, there even the gods are ready to offer their help. Well did the wisest Indian of his time say: "Thy sphere is action, not regard for the fruit of action."

I shall not say much on the subjects we are going to discuss. None of them is new, and they have all been very fully and ably discussed both in the press as well as on the platform, so much so that a vast amount of useful literature has grown round most of them. All that seems to be necessary is to devise practical methods for carrying out the suggested reforms. We do not, for instance, now require to be told the advantages of female education which are now being recognized by almost the whole of the Indian community, a few men and women of the orthodox school excepted. On the contrary the questions which demand serious consideration are: (1) Whether we should educate our girls on the same lines as we are doing our boys in the matter of primary, secondary, and college education; if we are to do so with certain modifications, what ought to be such modifications? (2) Are we, as is the general opinion of many of our greatest sympathizers, to give our wives, and daughters, only such education in their vernaculars as is necessary for the successful management of an ordinary Indian household, or are we also to give high education to those who seek for it? (3) What are the kinds of subjects we are to teach our females, and what books are we to place in their hands?

All these questions are periodically discussed in the various reform conferences in the country, and any suggestions from a distinguished body like this Conference will materially help the movement. In some communities fathers of boys, and boys themselves, insist upon having educated wives, and this is made a condition precedent in some marriage negotiations. Might I suggest a more universal adoption of this suggestion in order to afford greater impetus to the work of reform. In connection with this subject, I beg to appeal to those of our countrymen who have received the benefits of a Western education to bring their knowledge to bear

upon the compilation of suitable text-books for our females and thus make them sharers in their culture. For some years past we have been advertising for suitable text-books for females, and are prepared to give handsome prizes for a series of such books, but our advertisement has not yet been responded to on the part of those who are best able to give us good text-books.

The subject of promotion of the physique of our boys and girls is so closely connected with the question of raising of the marriageable age that the two may usefully be considered together. The lowest marriageable ages prescribed by the various conferences in the country have not yet been universally adopted in the community, yet the progress we have already made in this direction is very hopeful, and parents and guardians of boys, and the latter themselves, are gradually coming to recognize the advantages of marrying at a proper age. This is producing a good effect upon parents and guardians of girls also, and I submit for the consideration of all who are assembled in this Conference, that if they but determine to have their boys marry at a proper age, they will soon find some progress in the direction of raising the marriageable age of girls also. I need scarcely tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that in Western countries the lower the station in life, the earlier the age of marriage, and that among classes which aspire to rise high in the social scale marriage is delayed even up to middle age in order to have fewer children, but such as shall be more capable of succeeding in the present struggle of life in those countries. For instance, among the working classes, the average age of marriage among women is between 22 and 24, and among men between 24 and 26. Among farmers the averages are 26 and 29, and among the professional classes 31 and 36. The number of confirmed bachelors among the last-mentioned classes is greater than among the first two. Here in India the case is exactly the reverse. The higher the station in life, the lower the age at which children are married, with the result that we are adding every year to a population already incapable of achieving any success in the modern struggle for existence, are swelling the number of child and girl widows dragging a life of misery, and instead of decreasing are only adding to the general poverty of the country. All indulgence in show and pomp at marriages is also due to this system of child-marriage. Reform it and you lessen the inducements to extravagance on occasions of marriage.

The question of reform in the caste system is closely connected with the questions of unequal marriages, sales of boys and girls for enormous sums of money in the name of marriage, as well as with the restrictions on foreign travels. Broaden the basis of caste by having those sub-sections of a caste which interdine also to intermarry, and *vice versâ*, and you widen the circle of choice of husbands and wives and effect some reform in the system of un-

equal marriages, and sales of boys and girls; you would also thereby promote brotherly feeling among the members of the caste, and make them less exclusive and more devoted to public good. Many of the restrictions upon foreign travel will also be relaxed, if not removed, by reform in the caste system. Such restrictions are due more to prejudice than to any religious prohibition. The most learned S'astris in the country have given their dictum in favour of sea voyages, but caste prejudices defy the S'astris and their Sastras. In some communities in the Punjab and parts of the North-Western Provinces such restrictions have been removed in the case of those who, on return from Europe, live and mix with their fellows in the same manner as they did before going to Europe. In some of these communities a visit to Europe does not excite much notice. The members of those communities have come to recognize the danger of alienating the sympathies of, and throwing overboard those who are best capable of helping them on in the race of progress by their widened knowledge and experience of foreign countries. On the other hand the latter have also come to recognize the importance of their living with their brethren and keeping themselves in touch with their own community, in preference to unsympathetic relations with foreigners.

These are some of the most important subjects we are going to discuss, and I beg most earnestly the attention of all speakers to the importance of dealing with each of them in a practical manner. We require not only ourselves to recognize but also to bring home to our less favored countrymen, the fact that no society can hope to prosper where artificial restrictions or class privileges prevent individuals from putting forth their best powers both to their own and their country's advantage, where the high are prevented from sympathizing actively with the low and the mean, and where the standard of virtue is neither the same as it was in its own past nor what it is in the most progressive nations of modern times. We have long defied the moral law. In unmistakeable tones it tells us that if we aspire to rise in the scale of nations we must purify private life and effect social justice, and that our safety lies only in defying it no longer. Says Tennyson :

Love thou thy land, with love far-brought
From out the storied Past, and used
Within the Present, but transfused
Thro' future time by power of thought.
Watch what main-currents draw the years;
Cut Prejudice against the grain;
But gentle words are always gain;
Regard the weakness of thy peers.
Nor toil for title, place, or touch
Of pension, neither count on praise,
It grows to guerdon after-days;
Nor deal in watch-words overmuch;

Not clinging to some ancient saw,
Not master'd by some modern term,
Not swift nor slow to change, but firm:
And in its season bring the law
That from discussion's lip may fall
With Life, that, working strongly, binds—
Set in all lights by many minds,
To close the interests of all.
For Nature also, cold and warm,
And moist and dry, devising long,
Thro' many agents making strong,
Matures the individual form.
Meet is it changes should control
Our being, lest we rust in ease.
We all are changed by still degrees,
All but the basis of the Soul.
So let the change which comes be free
To improve itself with that which flies,
And work a joint of state that plies
Its office moved with sympathy.

I should now conclude. Our ancestors call to us not to let the glorious inheritance they have left us rot and perish. They tell us: "You are proud of us, let your children be also proud of you. According as the generations that come bear honourable witness to your deeds, so shall your fame be." What great deeds, what great institutions, what noble manners and customs of many a nation of antiquity have passed away because succeeding generations could not maintain them in their original purity, nor improve upon them as the times required. It is now for us to prove whether those are right who believe that humanity ever advances in a course of ceaseless improvement, and that the great ideals of old are no mere empty dreams, or those who slumber in the sluggish indolence of a mere animal existence and mock every aspiration towards a higher life. Such an answer can only be given by us by deserving the blessings of those who blessed their followers in these words: "May your minds be always devoted to Dharma during every day of your lives. That alone is man's friend in this world as well as in the next. Those who follow Dharma, do their duty without expectation of honour or reward, though both come in the end. Let us therefore never renounce truth and duty, remembering that truth protects those who protect it and kills those who kill it."

धर्मएवहतोहन्ति धर्म्मो रक्षति रक्षितः ।
तस्माद्धर्म्मो नहन्तव्यो मानो धर्म्मो हतोऽवधीत ॥

Ladies and gentlemen, permit me now to thank you very sincerely for the kind attention and patience with which you have listened to these words of mine.

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GOUVERNEMENT GÉNÉRAL DE L'ALGÉRIE

HAYY BEN YAQDHÂN

ROMAN PHILOSOPHIQUE D'IBN THOFAÏL

2

TEXTE ARABE

PUBLIÉ D'APRÈS UN NOUVEAU MANUSCRIT

AVEC LES VARIANTES DES ANCIENS TEXTES

ET

TRADUCTION FRANÇAISE

PAR

LÉON GAUTHIER

CHARGÉ DE COURS

A LA CHAIRE DE PHILOSOPHIE DE L'ÉCOLE SUPÉRIEURE DES LETTRES

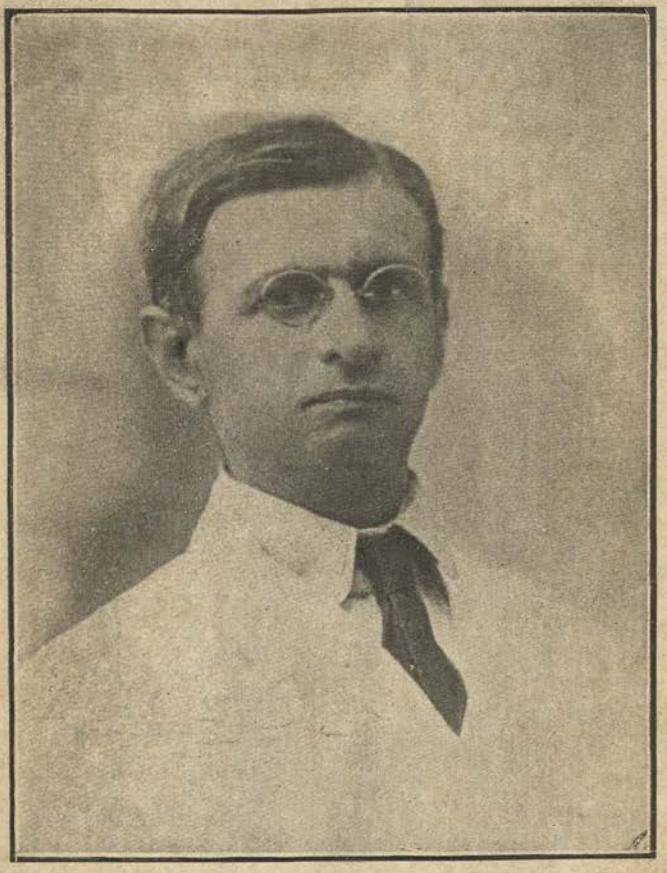
D'ALGER

T+ d. 36

ALGER

IMPRIMERIE ORIENTALE, P. FONTANA ET Cie, RUE D'ORLÉANS, 29

1900



Mr. Gustasp K. Nariman.

Born 9–8–1873. *Died 4 April 1933.*

Author of:

(1) "Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism";

(2) "Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature", from the Russian of Inostramzev;

(3) "Priyadarsika", jointly with Jackson and Ogden;

(4) "Religion of the Iranian Peoples", from the German of C. P. Tiele.

G. A. Kurimun.
23

GOUVERNEMENT GÉNÉRAL DE L'ALGÉRIE

HAYY BEN YAQDHÂN

ROMAN PHILOSOPHIQUE D'IBN THOFAÏL

TEXTE ARABE

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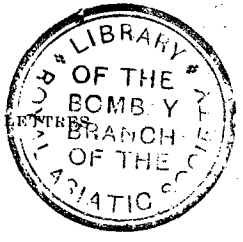

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IMPRIMERIE ORIENTALE, P. FONTANA ET Cº, RUE D'ORLÉANS, 29

1900

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NOTA

Les chiffres arabes entre crochets, intercalés dans le français de la traduction, renvoient aux pages du texte arabe. Les chiffres arabes entre crochets, dans le texte arabe, indiquent les pages du manuscrit d'Alger.

INTRODUCTION

I. — Bien qu'Ibn Thofaïl ne puisse prétendre au titre de grand philosophe, un travail d'ensemble sur la vie, les œuvres et la doctrine de ce personnage remarquable à tant d'égards, à la fois homme d'état, médecin, savant, philosophe et poète, ne manquerait pas d'intérêt. On a publié sur lui divers articles biographiques; mais une biographie complète d'Ibn Thofaïl, tirant parti de tous les renseignements épars dans les auteurs musulmans, reste à écrire. Quant à sa doctrine, personne n'a encore entrepris de l'étudier de près, d'en rechercher les origines, d'en suivre les destinées, d'en apprécier le degré d'originalité, d'en marquer la place dans le développement des idées philosophiques à travers le monde musulman et dans l'histoire universelle de la philosophie. Ce double programme a de quoi nous tenter, et nous ne désespérons pas de le remplir un jour dans la mesure de nos forces.

Pour le moment, nous croyons devoir nous borner au simple travail préparatoire, indispensable à notre sens, qui consiste à publier une édition établie sur une base un peu plus large que les précédentes, accompagnée d'une traduction nouvelle, la première qui paraisse en notre langue, et qui aura du moins sur ses aînées l'avantage de n'être pas introuvable. Aussi nous suffira-t-il de donner, dans une courte introduction, les renseignements les plus indispensables sur l'auteur et sur l'œuvre, des indications sommaires sur les ouvrages de seconde main les plus utiles à

consulter, enfin quelques avertissements relatifs à la traduction, et surtout aux manuscrits, aux éditions, à l'établissement du texte.

II. — Abou Bekr Mohammed ben Abd-el-Mélik Ibn Thofaïl, issu de la célèbre tribu arabe de Qaïs, comme nous l'apprend son nom ethnique El-Qaïci, naquit à Ouadi-Ach (Guadix), en Andalousie, probablement dans les premières années du XIIe siècle. Il fut secrétaire du gouverneur de Grenade, puis vizir et médecin du souverain almohade Abou Ya'qoub Youçof, alors maître de l'Espagne musulmane en même temps que de l'Afrique du Nord. En cette qualité il habitait la ville de Marrakech (ou Maroc), capitale des états almohades. Protecteur éclairé des savants, c'est lui qui présenta au « roi des deux continents » le philosophe Ibn Rochd (Averroès), et qui l'engagea, sur un désir exprimé par ce prince, à entreprendre les fameux *Commentaires* des écrits d'Aristote. A la mort d'Abou Ya'qoub, il conserva ses fonctions de médecin et de vizir auprès de son successeur Ya'qoub el-Mançour, et mourut un an plus tard, à Marrakech, en 581 de l'hégire (1185 de l'ère chrétienne).

Divers témoignages nous le montrent versé dans presque toutes les sciences de son temps. Il avait écrit des ouvrages de médecine, d'astronomie, divers poèmes, et des traités philosophiques.

III. — Les principaux livres ou périodiques dans lesquels on trouve des renseignements un peu détaillés sur la vie et les œuvres d'Ibn Thofaïl sont les suivants :

Dictionnaire des Sciences philosophiques de Franck, article *Ibn Tofaïl*, par Munk.

Munk : *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, Paris, 1859, article *Ibn Tofaïl* (p. 410 à 418).

Un article en allemand, de M. Adalbert Merx, sur Ibn Thofaïl et son *Yayy ben Yaqdhân*, paru en 1885 dans la *Protestantische*

Kirchenzeitung, sous ce titre : *Eine mittelalterliche Kritik der Offenbarung.*

Chacun de ces trois articles contient, outre la biographie d'Ibn Thofaïl, une analyse détaillée de son célèbre roman philosophique. Celui de M. Merx est le plus complet à tous égards.

IV. — Les traités philosophiques que nous trouvons mentionnés sous le nom d'Ibn Thofaïl sont au nombre de trois :

1° Un *Traité de l'Ame*, dont un historien musulman du XIIIe siècle, Abd el-Ouâhid El-Marrékochi, déclare avoir vu le manuscrit autographe ;

2° La *riçala* (petit traité, ou dissertation sous forme de lettre) intitulée *Histoire de Hayy ben Yaqdhân ;*

3° Casiri, dans son catalogue des manuscrits de l'Escurial publié sous le titre de *Bibliotheca Arabo-Hispana*, mentionne (tome I, p. 203, n° DCXCIII) le manuscrit mutilé d'un *Traité de l'Ame* dont l'auteur est Abou Bekr ben Thofaïl, l'Espagnol, de Cordoue (*sic*), et qui a pour titre اسرار الحكمة المشرقية (*Secrets de la Sagesse orientale).* — Dans son Catalogue des *Manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, t. I, p. 492, n° 669 (c'est une faute typographique : il faut lire 696), M. Hartwig Derenbourg fait mention du même manuscrit « en très mauvais état, et dont le commencement est indéchiffrable ». — Munk (ouvrage cité, p. 411) suppose que ce manuscrit « est peut-être identique avec le *Traité de l'Ame* ou avec le traité philosophique... (de *Hayy ben Yaqdhân*) ». — Sans nous engager ici dans une discussion approfondie, faisons remarquer seulement, à l'appui de cette dernière supposition, que le titre de ce manuscrit اسرار الحكمة المشرقية *Secrets de la philosophie orientale* (ou *spiritualiste* comme traduit M. Derenbourg. Cf. Munk, ouvr. cité, p. 413 ; p. 330, et même page note 2) est précisément le sous-titre de la riçala de *Hayy ben Yaqdhân* ; que

Casiri, parcourant à la hâte un nombre énorme de manuscrits pour en dresser le catalogue, a pu prendre tout naturellement pour un traité de l'Ame un manuscrit *mutilé et en très mauvais état* de notre *Hayy ben Yaqdhân*, dont une bonne partie est relative à l'âme. Enfin M. Derenbourg, qui a eu le manuscrit entre les mains, semble partager cette opinion puisqu'il ajoute : « opuscule publié à Boulâq en 1882 », date qui est celle des diverses éditions égyptiennes de *Hayy ben Yaqdhân*. Cependant nous n'avons pu jusqu'ici lever le doute qui subsiste, soit en allant à l'Escurial, soit en faisant prendre la copie ou le cliché photographique d'une page de ce manuscrit. — Quant à la première supposition de Munk, elle nous paraît beaucoup moins probable ; nous avons peine à croire que le manuscrit de l'Escurial soit précisément le *Traité de l'Ame* mentionné par El-Marrékochi, et qui aurait eu pour titre, si cette identification était exacte, le sous-titre du *Hayy ben Yaqdhân*.

V. — La lecture de ce roman semblable à une adaptation philosophique et mystique des contes des *Mille et une Nuits*, est attachante à plus d'un titre. On y trouve le prototype de Robinson Crusoë, à qui ne manque même pas son Vendredi. On est surpris d'y rencontrer, au milieu d'une physique péripatéticienne greffée sur un mysticisme transcendant, des vues astronomiques, géographiques, physiologiques et philosophiques d'allure véritablement moderne : par exemple sur les conditions cosmographiques du climat tropical, sur la vivisection, sur le rôle social des religions positives, et le rapport des symboles dont elles s'enveloppent à la vérité métaphysique. On ne peut qu'admirer la clarté du style, l'art consommé avec lequel l'auteur a su donner à un développement philosophique parfaitement enchaîné dans toutes ses parties, et appuyé sur des considérations d'ordre scientifique, la forme extérieure

d'un récit simple, naturel et intéressant. On ne peut se défendre enfin d'un sentiment de respectueuse sympathie pour ce personnage puissant et redouté, qui occupa si noblement ses loisirs à faire goûter aux farouches conquérants almohades la sensibilité raffinée d'un solitaire hindou attentif à ne pas même détruire les graines des plantes auxquelles il demande sa nourriture.

Dans ce livre attachant, profond, et d'une haute inspiration morale, l'auteur s'est proposé de concilier l'autorité et la raison, la théologie traditionnelle des Musulmans et l'esprit de libre examen, la foi ingénue du vulgaire et le mysticisme transcendant des Çoufis. Nous ne doutons pas que nos étudiants indigènes des Médersas, à qui s'adresse particulièrement la collection dans laquelle paraît le présent ouvrage, ne trouvent à le lire à la fois intérêt et profit.

VI. — C'est à Ibn Sîna (Avicenne) qu'Ibn Thofaïl a emprunté les noms de ses trois personnages : Hayy ben Yaqdhân, Salâmân et Açâl. On trouve dans les *Traités mystiques d'Avicenne* publiés par Mehren, Leide, Brill, 1889 (1er fascicule), une *Allégorie mystique de Hayy ben Yaqdhân*, et dans les تسع رسائل (*Neuf riçalas*) d'Ibn Sîna, imprimées en 1298 de l'hégire, à Constantinople, Imprimerie du Djaouaïb, plusieurs histoires de Salâmân et d'Abçâl. Mais les personnages d'Ibn Sîna, malgré l'identité des deux premiers noms et la ressemblance du troisième, n'offrent à peu près rien de commun avec ceux du philosophe maghrebin ; Ibn Thofaïl nous le donne lui-même à entendre lorsqu'il dit (voir notre texte arabe, p. 1r, dernière ligne, et notre traduction, p. 16, l. 3) : « Je vais donc te raconter l'histoire de Hayy ben Yaqdhân, d'Açâl et de Salâmân, qui ont reçu *leurs noms* du Cheikh Abou Ali (Ibn Sîna). » Il a trouvé encore dans Ibn Sîna, et dans un conte intitulé : *Histoire de Salâmân et d'Abçâl*, qui est donné comme

la traduction en arabe, par Honein, d'une fable grecque dont l'authenticité reste douteuse (voir le dernier ouvrage cité, p. ۱۱۲ et suiv.), quelques détails épars dont il a su tirer parti : par exemple la naissance, grâce à des moyens magiques, d'un enfant issu d'un roi et d'une mandragore, ce qui a pu lui suggérer l'idée d'une naissance sans mère ni père. Quant à l'idée de son « philosophe autodidacte », il paraît l'avoir empruntée à Ibn Bâdja, auteur d'un *Régime du Solitaire*. Mais dans ces divers emprunts Ibn Thofaïl a fait preuve d'une incontestable originalité. Maints détails ingénieux ne relèvent d'ailleurs que de sa propre imagination, comme il nous en avertit vers la fin de son livre (texte arabe, p. ۱۱۸, l. ۱ ; dans la traduction, p. 117, l. 2), et la conception du roman dans son ensemble lui est absolument personnelle.

Notons que le nom de *Hayy ben Yaqdhân* signifie en arabe : le *Vivant fils du Vigilant*, et désigne l'Intellect de l'homme issu de l'Intellect divin. *Vigilant* (qui veille, qui ne dort pas) désigne Dieu ; lorsqu'un conteur musulman dit qu'un personnage quelconque s'endormit, il manque rarement d'ajouter سبحان من لا ينام « Gloire à Celui qui ne dort jamais ! »

VII. — Il n'existait jusqu'à ce jour, à notre connaissance, que deux manuscrits du *Hayy ben Yaqdhân* ; (nous omettons, bien entendu, celui de l'Escurial).

Le premier est le manuscrit du *Bristish Museum*, édité en 1671 par Edward Pococke, avec une traduction latine, sous le titre de *Philosophus autodidactus*. La seconde édition, parue en 1700 ne diffère de la première que par cette mention : *Editio secunda priori emendatior*. Ce n'est qu'un second tirage, avec les mêmes fautes dans la traduction et dans le texte, sans en excepter une seule, et la même table d'errata.

Ce livre de Pococke est précieux parce qu'il reproduit fidèle-

ment le manuscrit du *British Museum*, y compris les fautes, qu'il rectifie parfois (non pas toujours) dans la marge.

Il doit exister en Orient un second manuscrit, d'après lequel ont été publiées en 1299 de l'hégire (1882 de l'ère chrét.) plusieurs éditions arabes : en Egypte quatre éditions, en particulier, au Caire, celle de l'imprimerie d'Idârat el-Ouathan (en 60 pages), et celle de Ouad 'n Nîl (en 41 pages), moins bien imprimée, moins correcte aussi ; à Constantinople ont encore paru, dans la même année, deux éditions. Tout porte à croire que ces éditions multipliées sont de simples réimpressions et diffèrent extrêmement peu des deux premières, identiques à quelques fautes près.

Notons enfin pour mémoire qu'il existe un savant commentaire hébreu, de Moïse de Narbonne, sur le *Hayy ben Yaqdhân* d'Ibn Thofaïl. La Bibliothèque Nationale en possède plusieurs exemplaires manuscrits.

Parmi les traductions publiées en diverses langues, deux seulement ont une certaine valeur : celle de Pococke, en latin, et celle d'Eichhorn, en allemand, faites l'une et l'autre sur le texte arabe de Pococke.

La traduction de Pococke, écrite en fort mauvais latin, est d'une fidélité désespérante : le premier de ces deux défauts est en partie la conséquence du second. Dans tous les passages difficiles, on ne peut guère comprendre le latin sans recourir à l'arabe. Le traducteur respecte religieusement toutes les ambiguïtés du texte ; il pousse le scrupule jusqu'à rendre uniformément par le pronom peu compromettant *ipsius, ipsorum*, tous les pronoms affixes, évitant, au préjudice de la latinité et de la clarté, les vocables significatifs *suus, ejus*, etc.

Au point de vue de l'exactitude, il s'en faut que la traduction de Pococke soit à l'abri de tout reproche. La traduction d'Eichhorn, moins servilement littérale et généralement assez fidèle,

n'échappe pas non plus à toute critique. Eichhorn corrige certains contre-sens de Pococke, en reproduit quelques-uns, et en ajoute plusieurs autres. Il eût été fastidieux de relever, chemin faisant, tous les contre-sens que contiennent ces deux traductions. Bornons-nous à en signaler ici quelques échantillons, non pas, certes, pour nous donner, au détriment de nos deux savants prédécesseurs, une satisfaction périlleuse, sujette à de cruels retours, mais pour montrer que leur travail ne saurait être considéré comme définitif, et que, même avant la découverte d'un nouveau manuscrit, il restait quelque chose à faire après eux.

Page o, l. 1, (dans la traduction : p. 3, l. 2) : ظهر عند ذلك انه لا يمكن ان يكون معلوم من العلوم المتعاطاة فى مرتبته (P. : فى رتبته) Pococke (p. 4, l. 22) rend ce passage de la manière suivante : « tunc appariturum non posse *illum percipi* ex scientiis in eo, quo ipse erat, gradu usitatis » ; et Eichhorn (p. 28, l. 6) : « So werde sich zeigen, dass *er* in seiner Stufe nicht durch Hülfe der gewöhnlichen Wissenschaften *könne verstanden werden* ». Ils traduisent comme si le texte portait معلومًا (au lieu de معلومٌ), oubliant qu'en arabe l'attribut du verbe *être* et de ses analogues se met au cas direct, et non pas, comme en latin par exemple, au même cas que le sujet.

Page v, l. v (dans la traduction : p. 5, l. 22) : وكان يعرف الالوان وحدها بشروح اسمائها وبعض حدود تدل عليها Pococke traduit (p. 8, l. 21) : « dignosceretque colores, *eorumque definitionem*, per nominum eorum descriptiones, et definitiones quasdam, quæ eos indicarent » ; et Eichhorn (p. 33, l. 16) : « der die Farben *unterscheiden* und sie durch Umschreibung ihrer Namen, und durch einige Bechreibungen ; (*sic*, mais il avertit dans les *errata* qu'il faut lire une virgule au lieu du point-virgule) die *er* von ihnen *gab*, erklären konnte ». Au lieu de وَحْدَهَا *(seules)*,

ils ont lu évidemment وَحَدَّهَا que Pococke traduit: « *et leur définition* » et Eichhorn : « *distinguer* les couleurs ».

Page ١٧, l. ٢ (dans la traduction : p. 16, l. 8) : وهو شهيد Pococke traduit (p. 27, l. 5) : « *atque ipse testis sit* » (*et que lui-même soit témoin*) ; Eichhorn (p. 56, l. 16) : « findet Aufmunterung, *ein Zeuge ihres Zustandes zu werden* » (trouve un encouragement *à devenir un témoin de leur état*), au lieu de : « *et qui voit* ». S'ils avaient reconnu dans ce passage une citation du Qoran, ils eussent probablement évité ce contre-sens.

Page ٩٨, l. ١٥ (dans la traduction p. 96, l. 14) : ورای لذات ذلك العلك المعارفة من الكمال .... نما.... Pococke traduit (p. 164, l. 22) : « viditque *sphæræ illi separatæ* eam esse perfectionem, ... quæ... » ; Eichhorn (p. 202, l. 16) : « In dem Wesen *dieser abgesonderten Sphäre* bemerkte er Vollkommenheit,... grösser als sie... ». Ils traduisent : « ...*cette sphère séparée* » au lieu de : « *l'essence de cette sphère, essence séparée* (s. e. de toute *matière*. Cf. dans le contexte même, p. ٩٨, l. ١٢ ; p. ٩٩, l. ٨ et ٩, l. ١٢ et ١٤ ; etc.) Même contre-sens p. ٩٩, l. ٤ (Pococke, p. 164, l. 3 ; Eichhorn, p. 203, l. 7).

Page ٤١, dern. ligne (dans la traduction : p. 41, l. 11) : عصبا Pococke (p. 68, l. 9) traduit : « *arteriæ* » (*artères*), au lieu de : « *nerfs* ». Eichhorn (p. 101, l. 16) corrige ce contre-sens et traduit : « *Nerven* ».

En revanche, page ٨٤, l. ١٠ (dans la traduction : p. 82, l. 3) اذ من يشاهد ذلك النحو من المشاهدة على الدوام فهو مع تلك المشاهدة يغفل ذاته ويلتفت اليها Pococke avait bien traduit (p. 140, l. 24, la page porte, par erreur, le numéro 104) : « cum quicunque per illum visionis modum continue videt, suam etiam essentiam intelligat, et ad ipsam respiciat » ; Eichhorn, au contraire (p. 176, l. 10), fait un contre-sens : « Denn diese Art von Anschauen

ist der Weg, der zum bestandigen Anschauen führt ; durch sie erlangt man Kenntniss von seinem Wesen, und sieht sich selbst.»

C'est d'après le texte de Pococke qu'ont été publiées toutes les traductions du *Hayy ben Yaqdhân*, à savoir :

Celle d'Ashwell et celle de G. Keith, en anglais, qui ont été faites sur le latin même de Pococke.

Une traduction anglaise, très médiocre, de Simon Ockley, faite sur l'original arabe, et publiée sous ce titre : *The improvement of human reason exhibited in the life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan ; written by Abu Jaafar Ebn Tophaïl.* London 1708, in-8°.

Une traduction hollandaise, publiée en 1672, et réimprimée à Rotterdam en 1701.

Une traduction allemande, faite sur le latin de Pococke, par Pritius, et publiée sous ce titre : *Der von sich selbst gelehrte Weltweise.* Franckfurth, 1726, in-8°.

Enfin la traduction allemande d'Eichhorn, qui porte ce titre : *Der Naturmensch oder Geschichte des Hai Ebn Joktan.* Berlin, 1783, petit in-8°.

On nous annonce, en outre, comme devant paraître prochainement dans la *Coleccion de Estudios Arabes*, une traduction, en espagnol, de M. Francisco Pons Boigues.

Nous avons utilisé tous ceux de ces ouvrages que nous avons pu nous procurer, à savoir :

Pococke, 1re et 2e éditions, texte arabe et traduction latine ;

Les deux éditions égyptiennes d'Idârat el-Ouathan et de Ouad 'n-Nil ;

La traduction allemande d'Eichhorn ;

La traduction anglaise de Simon Ockley et la traduction allemande de Pritius. Mais, vu leur infériorité, c'est seulement par occasion que nous avons eu recours à ces deux dernières traductions.

Nous désignerons, dans les notes, le texte de Pococke par la lettre P., l'édition d'Idârat el-Ouathan par O., et celle de Ouad'n-Nil par N.

VIII. — Grâce à un de nos amis, M. Luciani, à qui revient tout le mérite de cette trouvaille, nous avons eu récemment la bonne fortune de découvrir à Alger, dans la bibliothèque d'un indigène lettré, Si Ali ben el-Hadj Mouça, Oukîl de la Mosquée Sidi Abd er-Rahmân, un manuscrit ayant pour titre المرافى النزلعبى والمورد الاضعبى للعالم ابى بكر بن سينا c'est-à-dire : « *Les degrés les plus proches* (1) *et l'Aiguade la plus pure, par le savant Abou Bekr ben Sîna (sic).* » Sous ce titre de fantaisie il était malaisé de reconnaître à première vue un manuscrit du *Hayy ben Yaqdhân* d'Ibn Thofaïl. Ce manuscrit, sur papier demi-glacé, d'une écriture maghrebine ordinaire mais très lisible, est en parfait état de conservation. Il porte la date de 1180 (1766 après J. C.). Il compte quatre-vingt-onze pages de vingt-trois lignes, et mesure exactement vingt centimètres 1/2 de haut sur quinze de large.

Le manuscrit du *British Museum* et celui d'Orient appartiennent évidemment à une même famille. Parmi les preuves innombrables qu'on en pourrait donner, il suffira d'en signaler trois :

Dans la première ligne, le texte de Pococke et celui des deux éditions égyptiennes attribuent également le présent ouvrage à Abou Dja'far (au lieu d'Abou Bekr) ben Thofaïl (voir notre texte, p. ٢, note 1).

Page ١٦ de notre texte, note 15, Pococke et les deux éditions égyptiennes donnent au compagnon de Hayy ben Yaqdhân le nom d'Abçâl, alors que partout ailleurs ils le nomment Açâl ainsi que le manuscrit d'Alger.

(1) Les plus proches [de Dieu].

Page ɛı, note 2, variante de deux lignes commune à Pococke et aux deux éditions égyptiennes, variante inacceptable d'ailleurs, tandis que le texte du manuscrit d'Alger offre un sens parfait.

Ce qui fait, à notre avis, la valeur du manuscrit d'Alger, ce n'est pas qu'il l'emporte par la correction sur les deux précédents, mais c'est qu'il appartient manifestement à une autre famille de manuscrits : il ne reproduit aucune des fautes communes aux trois autres textes et, seul des quatre, il est exempt d'une foule d'interpolations ayant tous les caractères de gloses marginales introduites ultérieurement dans le texte par un copiste peu intelligent. Citons comme exemples caractéristiques les passages suivants :

Page ıv, note 3 (p. 16, note 3 de la traduction française).

Page vı, note 7 (p. 74, l. 11 de la traduction).

Page rr, note 6 (p. 21, l. 17 de la traduction), etc., etc.

Tout bien considéré, il nous paraît probable que le manuscrit d'Alger est l'ouvrage d'un scribe d'une intelligence et d'une instruction assez ordinaires, qui, plus d'une fois, se trompe dans la lecture d'un mot, à qui même il arrive, dans certains cas particuliers, de sauter une ligne par inadvertance, mais qui s'attache à copier fidèlement son texte, sans rien y ajouter ni en retrancher de son propre chef. Si ce manuscrit est relativement récent, en revanche celui qu'il reproduit devait être assez ancien, vraisemblablement excellent, et à peu près exempt de gloses marginales faciles à confondre avec le texte. En un mot le manuscrit d'Alger, malgré quelques inadvertances qu'il est aisé, le plus souvent, de rectifier, offre, à notre avis, un texte plus voisin du manuscrit original que celui de nos trois éditions.

IX. — Le texte que nous publions est donc, en principe, celui du manuscrit d'Alger. Chaque fois qu'il donne une leçon accepta-

ble, nous la conservons, les autres textes fussent-ils d'accord pour en proposer une différente. C'est seulement en cas de faute, d'incorrection, d'altération manifeste, ou simplement probable, du texte primitif, que nous avons recours aux autres leçons.

X. — Quant à la traduction, sans viser, comme Pococke, à une sorte de transcription littérale qui, en latin même, ne va pas sans de graves inconvénients, et que le génie de la langue française rendrait intolérable, nous nous sommes efforcé de serrer le texte d'aussi près que le permettaient la correction et l'euphonie. Quand il a bien fallu choisir, nous avons toujours sacrifié le mérite de l'élégance au devoir de fidélité.

XI. — Un texte établi d'après deux ou trois manuscrits seulement ne saurait être définitif, et tout traducteur est faillible. Nous espérons pourtant que ce livre, tel qu'il est, constituera un progrès sur les éditions et les traductions précédentes.

En terminant cette courte introduction, nous nous faisons un devoir de témoigner notre profonde reconnaissance à notre ancien maître M. René Basset, directeur de l'Ecole Supérieure des Lettres d'Alger ; nous devons à son obligeance et à son inépuisable érudition de judicieux conseils et maints renseignements précieux.

On ne peut guère considérer le titre d'un manuscrit arabe comme partie intégrante du texte : bien souvent il a été ajouté après coup, modifié, ou même forgé de toutes pièces, comme c'est évidemment le cas pour le manuscrit d'Alger. C'est donc ici qu'il convient d'indiquer les différents titres :

P. donne simplement : رسالة حى بن يقظان « *Riçala de Hayy ben Yaqdhân* ».

N. et O. :

رسالة حى بن يقظان فى اسرار الحكمة المشرقية استخلصها
من درر جواهر الفاظ الرئيس ابى على بن سينا
الامام الفيلسوف الكامل العارف ابو
جعفر بن طفيل اسبل الله عليهما
رواق رحمته وعمهما
بواسع مغفرته
امين

« *Riçala de Hayy ben Yaqdhân, sur les Secrets de la Philosophie orientale tirés | des paroles précieuses comme des perles du Prince [des philosophes] Abou Ali ben Sîna | par l'Imam, le docte et parfait philosophe Abou | Dja'far ben Thofaïl (que Dieu répande sur eux deux | la coupe de sa miséricorde, et qu'il les enveloppe | dans le vaste sein de son pardon. | Amen).* »

A. :

المرافى النزلبى والمورد الاصبى
للعالم ابى بكر بن سينا
فى شان الغلام الذى ولد بالجزيرة
من غير ام ولا اب
والله اعلم

« *Les degrés les plus proches et l'Aiguade la plus pure, | par le savant Abou Bekr ben Sîna* (sic) | *Ou le jeune garçon né dans une île | sans mère ni père. | Dieu sait au juste ce qu'il en est.* »

Alger-Mustapha, mars 1900.

HAYY BEN YAQDHÂN

ROMAN PHILOSOPHIQUE D'IBN THOFAIL

Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux !

Que Dieu comble de bénédictions Notre Seigneur Mohammed, sa famille, ses compagnons, et qu'il leur accorde le salut ! (1)

Tu m'as demandé, frère au cœur pur, (que Dieu t'accorde la vie éternelle et la félicité sans fin !), de te révéler ce que je pourrais des secrets de la Philosophie [ع] orientale (2) communiqués par le Cheikh, le Prince [des philosophes] (3), Abou Ali ben Sina (4). Sache-le bien : celui qui veut la vérité pure doit chercher ces secrets et travailler à en obtenir [la connaissance]. Or la demande que tu m'as adressée m'a inspiré une noble ardeur, qui m'a conduit (Dieu en soit loué !), à la perception d'un *état* (حال) dont je n'avais pas eu conscience auparavant, et m'a transporté à un terme si reculé, que la langue ne

(1) Nous traduisons le texte d'A. Dans N. O. P. cette formule préliminaire reçoit un développement assez long, identique dans ces trois textes, sauf deux ou trois variantes insignifiantes dans P.

(2) Cf. Munk : *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, p. 330 et 322.

(3) Cf. Leclerc : *Histoire de la Médecine arabe*, t. I., p. 470. Cheikh signifie Maitre.

(4) Avicenne.

saurait le décrire, ni les ressources du discours en rendre compte ; car il est d'une autre espèce et appartient à un autre monde. Le seul rapport qu'il ait au langage c'est que, par suite de la joie, du contentement, de la volupté qu'inspire cet *état*, celui qui y est arrivé, qui est parvenu à l'un de ses degrés, ne peut se taire à son sujet et en cacher le secret: il est saisi d'une émotion, d'une allégresse, d'une exubérance et d'une gaieté qui le portent à communiquer le secret de cet *état* en gros et d'une façon indistincte. Alors, si c'est un homme à qui manque la culture scientifique, il en parle sans discernement. L'un, par exemple, est allé jusqu'à dire, à propos de cet *état* : « Louange à moi ! Combien ma position est élevée ! » (1) ; tel autre : « Je suis la Vérité ! » (1) ; tel autre enfin : « Celui qui est sous ces vêtements n'est autre que Dieu ! » (2)

Quant au Cheikh Abou Hamid (3), il a fait à cet *état*, lorsqu'il y fut parvenu, l'application du vers suivant :

« Ce qu'il est, je ne saurais le dire. ❋ Penses-en du « bien et ne demande pas d'en rien apprendre. » (4)

Mais c'était un esprit affiné par l'éducation littéraire et fortifié par la culture scientifique. Considère aussi les paroles d'Abou Bekr ben es-Saigh (5) qui font suite à ce qu'il dit au sujet de la description de la *conjonction* (6) :

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(1) Expressions réservées à Dieu.

(2) Cf. Dugat : *Histoire des philosophes et des théologiens musulmans*. p. 134 sqq ; Schmölders : *Essai sur les écoles philosophiques chez les Arabes*, p..61 et 213.

(3) Al-Ghazzali.

(4) Cf. Schmölders : *opus cit.*, p. 61, au bas ; et Barbier de Meynard : *Traduction nouvelle du Traité de Ghazzali intitulé Le Préservatif de l'erreur....*, p. 63.

(5) Ibn Badja, l'Avempace des Scolastiques.

(6) اتصال union de l'intellect humain avec l'intellect divin.

« Lorsque, dit-il, on est arrivé à comprendre le *sens* « *caché* (معنى) [٥] de sa doctrine, alors on voit claire- « ment qu'aucune connaissance des sciences ordinaires « ne peut être au même rang que lui. L'intelligence de « ce *sens caché* est donnée dans une *condition* (رتبة) où « l'on se voit séparé de tout ce qui précède, avec des « convictions nouvelles qui n'ont rien de matériel, trop « nobles pour être rapportées à la vie physique, *états* « propres aux bienheureux, affranchis de la composition « inhérente à la vie naturelle, dignes d'être appelés des « *états* divins accordés par Dieu à qui il lui plaît d'entre « ses serviteurs. » Cette *condition* que désigne Abou Bekr, on y arrive par la voie de la science spéculative et de la méditation. Pour lui, il y est parvenu, sans nul doute, et n'a point manqué ce [but].

Quant à la *condition* dont nous avons parlé d'abord, elle est autre. Mais elle est la même en ce sens que rien ne s'y révèle qui diffère de ce qui se révèle dans celle-ci. Elle s'en distingue seulement par une plus grande clarté, et parce que l'*intuition* (مشاهدة) s'y produit avec une qualité (شيء) que nous appelons *force* (قوة) par pure métaphore, faute de trouver, soit dans la langue générale, soit dans la terminologie technique, des mots propres à rendre la qualité avec laquelle se produit cette sorte d'intuition. Cet *état* dont nous avons parlé, et dont ta demande nous a conduit à sentir le *goût* (1), est du nombre de ceux qu'a signalés le Cheik Abou Ali, à

(1) ذوق Cf. رسالة قشيرية éd. du Caire (بالمطبعة العثمانية) p. ٤٩ où Qochaïry distingue, dans la langue des Soufis, le ذوق (action de goûter, de déguster, de boire modérément), qui engendre une simple gaieté, du شرب (action de boire), qui engendre l'ivresse. Aussi traduit-on souvent ذوق par *transport*. (Cf. par exem-

l'endroit où il dit (1) : « Puis, lorsque la *volonté* (الإرادة) et « la *préparation* (الرياضة) l'ont conduit jusqu'à un certain « *degré* (حدا ما), il saisit de rapides lueurs, [apparitions « fugitives] de la Vérité dont il entrevoit l'aurore, suaves, « et semblables à des éclairs [أ] qu'il verrait luire à peine « et disparaître. Puis ces illuminations soudaines se « multiplient s'il persévère dans cette *préparation* ; il « devient expert à les provoquer, si bien qu'enfin elles « lui arrivent sans *préparation*. Et dans toutes les choses « qu'il aperçoit, il ne considère que leur rapport à « l'Auguste Sainteté, conservant quelque conscience de « lui-même. Puis il lui vient une nouvelle illumination « soudaine; et peu s'en faut qu'il ne voie la Vérité en toute « chose. Enfin, la *préparation* le conduit à un point où « son *état momentané* (وقت) se tourne en *quiétude par-* « *faite* (سكينة) ; ce qui était furtif devient habituel, ce « qui était une faible lueur devient une flamme écla- « tante ; il arrive à une connaissance stable, sem- « blable à une société continuelle. » Il décrit ainsi les degrés successifs jusqu'à ce qu'ils aboutissent à l'*obten- tion* (نيل), *état* dans lequel « son être intérieur devient « un miroir poli orienté du côté de la Vérité. Alors « les jouissances d'en haut se répandent abondam- « ment sur lui ; il se réjouit en son âme des traces « de vérité qu'il y saisit ; en cette *situation* (رتبة), il « il est en relation d'une part avec la Vérité, de l'autre

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Schmölders, *op. cit.*, p. 61 ; Barbier de Meynard, *op. cit.* p., 63), ou encore par *volupté, plaisir*. (Cf. Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits, t. x, traduction des *Tarifât*, ou Définitions, de Djordjani, par Silvestre de Sacy, défin. 223 ; et ibid., t. xii, traduction des *Vies des Sofis*, de Djami, par Silvestre de Sacy, p. 347, note 5 et p. 315, note 1).

(1) Mehren : *Traités mystiques d'....Ibn Sina*, ii, texte arabe, p. 10, l. v sqq., et, dans le texte français, p. 13.

« avec son âme, et il flotte de l'une à l'autre. Enfin il perd « conscience de lui-même : il ne considère plus que l'Au- « guste Sainteté, ou s'il considère son âme c'est seule- « ment en tant qu'elle contemple ; et alors a lieu néces- « sairement l'*unification complète* (الوصول). » Ces *états* qu'il a décrits, il veut que par eux seulement le *goût* (ذوق) puisse lui être procuré, et non par la voie de la perception spéculative qui s'obtient par des raisonnements, en posant des prémisses et tirant des conclusions.

Si tu veux une comparaison qui te fasse clairement saisir la différence [V] entre la *perception* (ادراك) telle que l'entend cette secte et la *perception* telle que les autres l'entendent, imagine-toi un aveugle-né, doué néanmoins d'un heureux naturel, d'une intelligence vive et ferme, d'une mémoire sûre, d'un esprit droit, qui aurait grandi, depuis qu'il est au monde, dans une cité où il n'aurait cessé d'apprendre, au moyen des sens qui lui restent, à connaître individuellement les habitants, de nombreuses espèces d'êtres tant vivants qu'inanimés, les rues de la ville, ses ruelles, ses maisons, ses marchés, de manière à être en état de parcourir la ville sans guide, et de reconnaître sur le champ tous ceux qu'il rencontre ; les couleurs seules ne lui sont connues que par des explications des noms qu'elles portent, et par certaines définitions qui les désignent. Suppose qu'arrivé à ce point ses yeux soient ouverts, qu'il recouvre la vue, qu'il parcoure toute la ville et qu'il en fasse le tour. Il n'[y] trouvera aucun objet différent de l'idée qu'il s'en faisait, il n'y rencontrera rien qu'il ne reconnaisse, il trouvera les couleurs conformes aux *descriptions* (1) qu'on lui en a don-

(1) رسوم, plur. de رسم, *description* ou *définition imparfaite*. Cf. Munk : *Guide des Egarés*, p. 190, note 4.

nées ; et dans tout cela il n'y aura de nouveau pour lui que deux choses importantes, dont l'une est la conséquence de l'autre : une clarté, un éclat plus grand, et une grande volupté.

L'état des *hommes voués à la contemplation* (النظّار) qui ne sont point arrivés à la phase de *sainteté parfaite* (الولاية), c'est le premier état de l'aveugle ; et les couleurs qui, dans cet état, lui sont connues par des explications de leurs noms, ce sont ces choses dont Abou Bekr dit qu'elles sont trop sublimes pour être rapportées à la vie physique, et que Dieu les accorde à qui il lui plaît d'entre ses serviteurs. L'état des hommes voués à la contemplation qui [A] sont arrivés à la phase de sainteté parfaite, et à qui Dieu a fait don de cette chose dont nous avons dit qu'elle n'est appelée *force* que métaphoriquement, c'est le second état [de cet aveugle]. Mais on trouve rarement un homme qui, lorsqu'il a les yeux ouverts, jouisse d'une vue toujours perçante, sans avoir besoin de contempler.

Et je n'entends point ici (que Dieu t'honore de sa familiarité !), par la perception des hommes voués à la contemplation (1), ce qu'ils perçoivent du monde physique, et par la perception des familiers de Dieu, ce qu'ils perçoivent de supraphysique, car ces deux genres d'objets perceptibles sont très différents en eux-mêmes et ne se confondent point l'un avec l'autre. Ce que nous entendons par la perception des hommes voués à la contemplation, c'est ce qu'ils perçoivent de supra-physique, c'est ce que percevait Abou Bekr. Or, la condition requise par une

(1) En général, nous traduisons plutôt le mot نظر et ses dérivés par : *spéculation, spéculatif*, etc.

telle perception c'est qu'elle soit manifestement vraie, et, par conséquent, elle se distingue par l'*attention*, de la perception [propre] aux familiers de Dieu, qui connaissent les mêmes choses avec plus de clarté et avec une extrême volupté. Abou Bekr prostitue cette volupté en l'offrant au vulgaire ; il la rapporte à la faculté imaginative, et s'engage à donner une description claire et distincte de ce que doit être l'état des bienheureux parvenus à ce degré. Mais c'est ici le lieu de lui répondre : « Ne déclare pas douce la saveur d'une chose dont tu n'as pas goûté, et ne foule pas aux pieds les nuques des hommes véridiques » ; (1) car notre homme n'en a rien fait et n'a point tenu cette promesse. Il est probable [d'ailleurs] que ce qui l'en a empêché c'est le manque de temps dont il parle, et le dérangement causé par son voyage à Oran ; ou [peut-être] a-t-il vu que, s'il décrivait [٩] cet état, il serait entraîné à dire des choses de nature à décrier sa conduite et à désavouer les encouragements qu'il a donnés à acquérir de grandes richesses, à les accumuler, et à employer divers moyens pour se les procurer.

Mais nous nous sommes écarté du sujet que tu nous a invité à traiter, un peu plus qu'il n'était nécessaire.

Il résulte clairement de ce qui précède que ta demande ne peut viser qu'un des deux buts [suivants] : Ou bien tu désires connaître ce que voient les hommes qui jouissent de l'*intuition* (المشاهدة), du *goût* (الذوق), et qui sont arrivés à la phase de la familiarité avec Dieu (الولاية) ; mais c'est une chose dont on ne peut donner l'idée adéquate dans un livre ; et, dès qu'on l'entreprend, dès qu'on cherche à l'[exprimer] par la parole ou dans des

(1) Cf. S. de Sacy : *Commentaire sur Hariri*, séance VII, p. 72.

écrits, sa nature s'altère, et elle verse dans l'autre genre, le genre spéculatif : car lorsqu'elle a revêtu [la forme] de consonnes et de de voyelles, lorsqu'elle s'est rapprochée du monde sensible, elle ne demeure en aucune manière semblable à ce qu'elle était ; et les [diverses] expressions [qu'on lui applique] en donnent des idées très différentes ; [si bien que] certains s'égarent loin du droit chemin, et d'autres semblent s'être égarés alors qu'il n'en est rien. Cela vient de ce que c'est une chose qui n'est pas délimitée dans une vaste étendue ambiante, et qui enveloppe sans être enveloppée. Ou bien, et c'est là le second des deux buts dont ta demande, avons-nous dit, ne pouvait viser que l'un ou l'autre, tu désires connaître cette chose suivant la méthode des hommes qui s'adonnent à la spéculation ; et c'est là (que Dieu t'honore de sa familiarité !) une chose de nature à être consignée dans des livres et exprimée par des mots. Mais elle est plus rare que le Soufre rouge [1], surtout en cette contrée où nous vivons ; car elle y est tellement étrangère [1•] qu'à peine un seul homme après un autre [2] en recueille-t-il quelques parcelles. Encore ceux qui en ont recueilli quelque peu n'en ont-ils parlé aux gens que par énigmes, vu que la religion orthodoxe, la Vraie Loi [3], défend de s'y consacrer entièrement et met en garde contre elle.

Ne crois pas que la philosophie qui nous est parvenue dans les écrits d'Aristote, d'Abou Nasr [4], et dans le livre de la *Guérison*, satisfasse au désir qui est le tien ; ni

(1) C'est-à-dire la Pierre philosophale.
(2) C'est-à-dire un homme par génération.
(3) P. E. : la Loi mahométane.
(4) Al-Farabi.

qu'aucun des Andalous (1) ait rien écrit de suffisant sur cette matière. Car les hommes d'un esprit supérieur qui ont grandi en Andalousie (2) avant la diffusion de la logique et de la philosophie dans ce pays ont consacré leur vie aux sciences mathématiques ; ils y ont atteint un haut degré [de perfection], mais ils n'ont rien pu faire de plus. Après eux vint une génération d'hommes qui surpassèrent leurs prédécesseurs par certaines connaissances en logique : ils s'occupèrent de cette science, mais elle ne les conduisit point à la véritable perfection. L'un d'entre eux a dit :

« C'est pour moi une affliction que les sciences humai-
« nes soient au nombre de deux, pas davantage : ❋ Une
« vraie, difficile à acquérir, et une fausse dont l'acqui-
« sition est sans profit. »

Après eux vint une autre génération d'hommes plus habiles dans la spéculation, et qui approchèrent davantage de la vérité. Nul, parmi eux, n'eut un esprit plus pénétrant, une vue plus sûre et plus juste qu'Abou Bekr ben es-Saïgh ; mais les affaires de ce monde l'absorbèrent à tel point que la mort l'enleva avant qu'eussent été mis au jour les trésors de sa science et qu'eussent été révélés les secrets de sa sagesse. La plupart des ouvrages qu'on trouve de lui manquent de fini et sont tronqués à la fin : par exemple son livre sur [l'] *Ame*, le *Régime du Solitaire* (3), ses écrits sur la logique et sur la science de la Nature. Quant à ses écrits achevés, ce sont des abré-

(1) C'est-à-dire des Musulmans d'Espagne.

(2) L'Espagne musulmane.

(3) Cf. Renan : *op. cit.*, p. 74 ; et surtout Munk : *op. cit.*, p. 388 sqq., où l'auteur donne une longue analyse de ce livre, d'après le commentaire hébreu de Moïse de Narbonne sur le *Hayy ben Yaqdhân* d'Ibn Thofaïl.

gés et de petits traités rédigés à la hâte. Il en fait lui-même l'aveu : il déclare que la thèse dont il s'est proposé la démonstration dans le petit traité de la *Conjonction* [avec Dieu], ce discours n'en peut donner une idée claire qu'au prix de beaucoup de peine et de fatigue ; que l'ordonnance de l'exposition, en certains endroits, n'est pas d'une méthode parfaite ; et que, s'il en pouvait trouver le temps, il les remanierait volontiers. Voilà ce que nous avons appris touchant la science de cet homme ; car pour nous, nous ne l'avons pas connu personnellement. Quant à ses contemporains qu'on place au même niveau que lui, nous ne voyons pas d'ouvrage qu'ils aient composé. Enfin ceux qui sont venus après eux, nos contemporains, sont encore en voie de développement, ou ils se sont arrêtés avant d'atteindre à la perfection, ou bien nous n'avons pas encore connaissance de leur véritable valeur.

Quant aux livres d'Abou Nasr qui sont arrivés jusqu'à nous, le plus grand nombre est relatif à la logique. Ceux qui [nous] sont parvenus sur la philosophie sont pleins d'incertitudes. Il affirme, dans le livre de la *Bonne secte*,(1) que les âmes des méchants, après la mort, demeurent éternellement dans des tourments sans fin ; après quoi il déclare expressément, dans la *Politique*, qu'elles se dissolvent et retournent au néant, qu'il n'y a de survivance que pour les âmes vertueuses et parfaites ; enfin dans le *Commentaire de l'Ethique*, faisant une description relative au bonheur humain, il le place uniquement dans la [ו] vie de ce monde. Aussitôt après, il ajoute des paroles dont voici le sens : « Tout ce

(1) Cf. sur le titre de cet ouvrage : Munk, *op. cit.*, p. 344, et 348, note 1.

« qu'on rapporte hors de là n'est qu'extravagance; ce « sont des contes de vieilles femmes. » Il conduit ainsi tous les hommes à désespérer de la miséricorde divine; il met les bons et les méchants sur le même niveau, puisque, d'après lui, ce qui les attend tous c'est le Néant. Erreur irrémissible ! faux pas dont on ne saurait se relever ! Outre les mauvaises doctrines qu'il professe touchant l'inspiration prophétique, qu'il rapporte à la faculté imaginative, et sur laquelle il donne le pas à la philosophie, ainsi que d'autres encore que nous n'avons pas besoin de rappeler.

Quant aux écrits d'Aristote, le Cheikh Abou Ali se charge de nous en expliquer le contenu, et suit la voie de sa philosophie, dans le livre de la *Guérison*. (1) Au commencement de ce livre, il déclare que la vérité selon son opinion n'est pas dans les doctrines qu'il y expose, qu'il s'est borné, en le composant, à reproduire le système des péripaticiens, et que celui qui veut la vérité pure doit [la chercher] dans son livre de la *Philosophie orientale* (2). Si on se donne la peine de lire le livre de la *Guérison* et de lire [aussi] les livres d'Aristote, on s'apercevra que sur la plupart des questions ils sont d'accord, quoique le livre de la *Guérison* contienne certaines choses qui ne nous sont point parvenues sous le nom d'Aristote. Mais si l'on prend toutes les énonciations des écrits d'Aristote et du livre de la *Guérison* dans leur sens exotérique, sans en chercher le sens profond et ésotérique,

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(1) Cf. Munk : *op. cit.*, p. 355 sqq.

(2) Tel est le sous-titre des *Traités mystiques d'Avicenne*, publiés par Mehren. Leyde, Brill, 1889 : رسائل الشيخ الرئيس ابى على الحسين بن عبد الله بن سينا فى اسرار الحكمة المشرقية

on n'arrivera point de la sorte à la perfection, ainsi qu'en avertit le cheikh Abou Ali dans le livre de la *Guérison*.

Quand aux livres du Cheikh Abou Hamid [الغزالي], cet auteur, en tant qu'il s'adresse au vulgaire, lie dans un endroit et délie dans l'autre, condamne certaines opinions, puis les professe. Parmi toutes les accusations d'impiété qu'il porte contre les philosophes dans le livre de la *Destruction* (1), il leur reproche de nier la résurrection des corps et d'affirmer que la récompense et le châtiment concernent exclusivement les âmes; puis il dit formellement, au début du livre de la *Balance* (2), que cette opinion est professée par les docteurs soufis; et, dans son traité intitulé *La Délivrance de l'erreur et Aperçu des états extatiques* (3), il déclare que sa propre opinion est semblable à celle des Soufis, et qu'il ne s'y est arrêté qu'après un long examen. Il y a dans ses livres beaucoup de [contradictions] de ce genre, que peut apercevoir quiconque les lit et les examine avec soin. Il s'en est excusé à la fin de son livre *La Balance des Actions*, à l'endroit où il dit qu'il y a trois sortes d'opinion : une opinion qu'on partage avec le vulgaire et qui est conforme à sa manière de voir; une opinion dont on entretient quiconque interroge et demande à être dirigé ; enfin, une

(1) *La Destruction des Philosophes.* Sur cet ouvrage d'Al-Ghazzali, voir en particulier Schmölders, p. 214 sqq. et Munk, p. 371 sqq., Renan : *Averroès et l'Averroïsme*, p. 73 sqq.

(2) *La Balance des Actions.* Voir Munk, p. 382.

(3) Ce titre a été traduit de façons très diverses : Munk, p. 368 : « *Délivrance de l'erreur et exposé de l'état vrai des choses* » ; Schmölders, p. 16 : « *Ce qui sauve des égarements et éclaircit les ravissements* » ; et, même page, en note... : on pourrait dire : « *Avertissements sur les erreurs des sectes suivis de notices sur les extases des Çoufis* » ; Barbier de Meynard : « *Le préservatif de l'erreur et Notices sur les extases (des Soufis)* ».

opinion que l'homme garde pour lui-même, et qu'il ne laisse paraître qu'à ceux qui partagent ses convictions. Après quoi il ajoute : « Ces paroles n'eussent-elles d'autre effet que de te faire douter de ce que tu crois par une « tradition héréditaire, ce serait un profit suffisant ; car « celui qui ne doute pas n'examine pas, celui qui n'examine pas n'aperçoit pas, et celui qui n'aperçoit pas « demeure dans l'aveuglement et dans le trouble. » Puis il cite en proverbe ce vers :

« Accepte ce que tu vois et laisse là ce que tu as entendu dire. * Quand le soleil se lève, il te met en état de te passer de Saturne. »

[١٤] Telle est sa doctrine. La plus grande partie consiste en énigmes, en vagues allusions, dont celui-là seul peut tirer profit qui les examine d'abord avec le regard de son âme, et qui, ensuite, se les entend expliquer par une voix intérieure, ou qui est préparé à les comprendre, intelligence supérieure à qui la moindre indication suffit. Le même auteur avertit, dans le livre des *Pierres précieuses*, qu'il a composé des livres ésotériques, et qu'il a confié à ces écrits la vérité toute pure ; mais aucun d'eux, à notre connaissance, n'est parvenu en Andalousie. Des écrits y sont bien parvenus que certains prétendent être ces livres ésotériques, mais il n'en est rien ; ce sont : le livre des *Connaissances intellectuelles*, le livre de l'*Insufflation et du Parachèvement*[1], et un recueil d'autres questions. Ces écrits, bien qu'il s'y trouve certaines indications, ne contiennent pas de bien grands éclaircissements autres que ceux qui sont épars dans les écrits de cet auteur destinés au vulgaire.

(1) Cf Qoran : sourate XV, verset 29 ; XXXII, 8 ; XXXVIII, 72.

D'ailleurs, on trouve dans le livre du *But suprême* des choses plus profondes que dans ces écrits ; or il déclare que le livre du *But suprême* n'est pas ésotérique ; d'où il résulte nécessairement que les écrits qui [nous] sont parvenus ne sont pas les écrits ésotériques. Certains [critiques] récents donnent à ce qu'il dit, à la fin du livre de la *Niche*, une interprétation grave, qui les a fait tomber dans un précipice dont ils ne sauraient se tirer : il s'agit de l'endroit où, après avoir énuméré les catégories d'hommes privés de la Lumière et après être passé à ceux qui sont arrivés à la *conjonction* [avec Dieu], il dit que ces derniers reconnaissent que cet Etre est pourvu d'attributs, incompatibles avec l'unité pure ; d'où ils croient devoir déduire [10] que, selon notre auteur, l'[Etre] Premier, Véritable et Glorieux, admet dans son essence une certaine multiplicité. Dieu est bien au dessus de ce que disent les pervers ! Nous ne doutons pas que le Cheikh Abou Hamid ne soit de ceux qui ont joui de la béatitude suprême et qui sont arrivés à ces degrés sublimes de l'union [avec Dieu]. Mais ses écrits ésotériques renfermant la science de la révélation extatique ne nous sont point parvenus.

Nous n'avons pu, quant à nous, dégager la vérité à laquelle nous sommes arrivé, et qui est le terme de notre science, qu'en étudiant avec soin ses paroles et celles du Cheikh Abou Ali, en les rapprochant les unes des autres, et en les joignant aux opinions émises de notre temps et embrassées avec ardeur par des gens faisant profession de philosophie, jusqu'à ce que nous eussions découvert d'abord la vérité par la voie de l'investigation spéculative, et qu'ensuite nous en eussions perçu récemment ce léger *goût* par l'intuition [extatique].

Alors il nous parut que nous étions en état de dire quelque chose dont on nous saurait gré; et nous décidâmes que tu serais le premier à qui nous ferions présent de ce que nous possédons, et à qui nous l'exposerions, à cause de ta solide amitié et de ton affection sincère. Toutefois, si nous te présentions les derniers résultats auxquels nous sommes parvenu dans cette [voie] sans y assurer au préalable tes premiers [pas], cela ne te serait pas plus utile qu'un précepte traditionnel sommairement énoncé ; et il en serait de même si tu nous donnais, toi, ton approbation à cause de notre intime amitié, et non parce que nous méritons d'être cru. Mais nous, nous ne nous contentons pas pour toi de ce niveau [ו], et nous ne serons satisfait que si tu t'élèves plus haut ; car il n'assure pas le salut ni, à plus forte raison, l'accès aux degrés suprêmes. Nous voulons te faire entrer dans les chemins où nous sommes entré avant toi, te faire nager dans la mer que nous avons déjà traversée, afin que tu arrives où nous sommes nous-même arrivé, que tu voies ce que nous avons vu, que tu constates par toi-même tout ce que nous avons constaté, et que tu [puisses] te dispenser d'asservir ta connaissance à la nôtre. Cela exige un espace de temps qui ne saurait être court, des loisirs, et une application exclusive à ce genre [d'exercice]. Si tu prends sincèrement cette détermination, si tu as la ferme résolution de te mettre activement à l'œuvre pour atteindre ce but, quand viendra le matin tu [te] loueras [de] ton voyage nocturne, tu recevras de Dieu la récompense de tes efforts, tu auras satisfait ton Seigneur et il t'aura satisfait. Et moi, je remplirai ton attente : je te conduirai par le chemin le plus droit, le plus plus exempt d'accidents et d'obstacles, quoique présen-

tement il [ne] m'ait été donné d'apercevoir qu'une faible lueur, à titre de stimulation et d'encouragement à entrer dans la voie. Je vais donc te raconter l'histoire de Hayy ben Yaqdhân, d'Açal et de Salâmân, qui ont reçu leurs noms du Cheikh [V] Abou Ali. Elle peut servir d'exemple pour ceux qui savent comprendre (ولى الالباب)(1), d'« avertissement pour tout homme qui a un cœur, ou qui prête l'oreille et qui voit. »(2)

Nos vertueux prédécesseurs rapportent (Dieu soit satisfait d'eux !), qu'il y a une île de l'Inde, située sous l'équateur, dans laquelle l'homme naît sans mère ni père(3). C'est qu'elle jouît de la température la plus égale et la plus parfaite qui soit à la surface de la terre, parce

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(1) Cf. *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, t. X, p. 79, défin. 188.

(2) Qoran, sourate L, verset 36 :

إِنَّ فِى ذَٰلِكَ لَذِكْرَىٰ لِمَن كَانَ لَهُۥ قَلْبٌ أَوْ أَلْقَى ٱلسَّمْعَ وَهُوَ شَهِيدٌ

Savary traduit : « Ces exemples doivent instruire ceux qui ont un cœur, des oreilles, et qui sont capables de réflexion » ; et Kasimirski : « Avis à tout homme qui a un cœur, qui prête l'oreille et qui voit ». Au lieu de أَوْ أَلْقَى (ou qui prête...), certaines éditions du Qoran écrivent وَأَلْقَى (et qui prête...).

(3) P. E. ajoutent : « Il s'y trouve un arbre qui, en guise de fruits, produit des femmes ; c'est d'elles que parle Maç'oudi sous le nom de filles du Ouâqouâq ». Ce passage, qui manque dans le ms. d'Alger, est évidemment une glose interpolée : il n'est pas question de ces femmes dans le reste du récit, et ce n'est pas d'un arbre, mais de l'argile en fermentation, que naîtra Hayy ben Yaqdhân.

qu'elle reçoit la lumière [de la région du ciel] la plus élevée possible. Cette assertion, à vrai dire, est en opposition avec l'opinion professée par la plupart des philosophes et par les grands médecins, d'après qui la température la plus égale dans les pays habités est celle du quatrième *climat* (1). S'ils disent cela parce qu'ils tiennent pour établi qu'il n'y a pas, sous l'équateur, de pays habité, par suite de quelque empêchement dû aux conditions terrestres, leur assertion, que le quatrième climat est le plus égal sur la surface du reste de la terre, a quelque apparence de raison. Mais s'ils ont voulu dire par là que les pays situés sous la ligne équatoriale sont excessivement chauds, comme le déclarent expressément la plupart d'entre eux, c'est une erreur dont le contraire peut être démontré.

Les sciences naturelles établissent en effet que les seules causes productrices de la chaleur sont : le mouvement, le contact des corps chauds, ou la lumière. Ces sciences montrent aussi que le soleil n'a pas de chaleur propre, qu'il ne possède aucune de ces propriétés *de température* (2). Elles établissent [١٨] en outre que les corps qui reçoivent le mieux l'action de la lumière sont les corps polis non transparents, en second lieu les corps opaques non polis, et que les corps transparents complè-

(1) Les anciens cosmographes divisaient la terre en zones parallèles à l'équateur, qu'ils appelaient *climats*, en arabe *aqâlîm*, au singulier *iqlîm* (du grec κλίμα, inclinaison). Ils comptaient de l'équateur au pôle, suivant les systèmes, tantôt sept, tantôt vingt-quatre, tantôt trente climats. Dans la division en sept climats, le quatrième, dont il est ici question, correspond à la partie médiane de notre *zone tempérée*.

(2) المزاجية Cf. Al-Khowarezmi, *Mafâtih al-colûm*, éd. Van Vloten. Leyde 1895, in 8°, p. ١٨١, art. الامزجة ; et notre texte arabe p. ٧١ dernière ligne.

tement dépourvus d'opacité ne la reçoivent pas du tout. Voilà tout ce que démontre le Cheikh Abou Ali; cette démonstration lui est propre, et ceux qui l'ont précédé n'en font pas mention. Si ces prémisses sont vraies, il en résulte nécessairement que le soleil n'échauffe pas la terre comme les corps chauds échauffent d'autres corps avec lesquels ils sont en contact, puisque le soleil par lui-même n'est pas chaud. Ce n'est pas non plus par le mouvement que la terre s'échauffe, puisqu'elle est immobile et dans une même situation au moment de l'apparition et au moment de la disparition du soleil, et que la sensation nous révèle en elle, à ces deux moments, des manières d'être opposées par rapport à l'échauffement et au refroidissement. Ce n'est pas non plus le soleil qui échauffe d'abord l'air, puis ensuite la terre par le moyen de la chaleur qu'il aurait communiquée à l'air; car comment se ferait-il alors, que nous trouvions, au moment de la chaleur, les couches d'air voisines de la terre beaucoup plus chaudes que les couches d'air supérieures qui en sont éloignées ? Il reste donc que l'échauffement de la terre par le soleil ait lieu par le moyen de la lumière et non autrement. Car la chaleur accompagne toujours la lumière; si bien que lorsque la lumière se concentre dans les miroirs ardents, elle enflamme un objet placé en face. — De plus, on établit dans les sciences exactes, par des démonstrations rigoureuses, que le soleil est de figure sphérique, qu'il en est de même de la terre, que le soleil est beaucoup plus gros que la terre, que la partie [19] de la terre éclairée par le soleil est toujours de plus de moitié, et que, de cette moitié éclairée de la terre, la partie qui reçoit la plus forte lumière est, à un moment quelconque, le milieu,

parce que c'est toujours le lieu le plus éloigné de l'obscurité, et parce qu'il présente au soleil une surface plus considérable ; tandis que les parties voisines de la périphérie sont moins éclairées, et finissent par être dans l'obscurité à la périphérie du cercle qui forme la partie éclairée de la terre. Et un lieu ne se trouve au centre du cercle de lumière que lorsque le soleil y est au zénith : la chaleur est alors en ce lieu la plus forte possible. Si le lieu est tel que le soleil y soit éloigné du zénith, le froid y est extrême ; s'il est tel que le soleil y demeure dans la direction du zénith, la chaleur y est extrême. Or l'astronomie démontre que, dans les régions de la terre situées sous l'équateur, le soleil n'est au zénith que deux fois par an : lorsqu'il est dans le signe du Bélier et lorsqu'il est dans le signe de la Balance ; pendant le reste de l'année, il est durant six mois au sud et durant six mois au nord. On n'y éprouve donc ni chaleur excessive ni froid excessif, et on y jouit par conséquent d'un climat sensiblement uniforme. — Cette théorie exigerait des explications plus longues que ne le comporte notre présent objet. Nous ne l'avons signalée à ton attention que parce qu'elle contribue à confirmer la légitimité de l'allégation énoncée, à savoir que, dans cette contrée, l'homme peut naître sans mère [٢٠] ni père.

Certains tranchent la question et décident que Hayy ben Yaqdhân est un de ceux qui sont nés, dans cette région, sans mère ni père. Mais d'autres le nient, et rapportent son histoire comme nous allons te la raconter.

Ils disent qu'en face de l'île dont nous avons parlé se trouvait une île importante, vaste, riche et populeuse. Elle avait pour roi un homme du pays, d'un caractère hautain et jaloux. Ce roi avait une sœur qu'il empêchait

de se marier. Il écartait d'elle les prétendants : aucun d'eux ne lui paraissait un parti sortable. Or elle avait un voisin du nom de Yaqdhân qui l'épousa secrètement, suivant un usage autorisé par la religion qui était en ce temps-là celle du pays. Elle conçut de lui, et accoucha d'un enfant mâle. Craignant que son cas ne fût dévoilé et son secret divulgué, elle le mit, après lui avoir donné le sein, dans un coffre soigneusement fermé, et elle l'emporta ainsi, après la tombée de la nuit, accompagnée de serviteurs et d'amis sûrs, vers le rivage de la mer, le cœur brûlant, pour lui, d'amour et de crainte. Puis elle lui fit ses adieux, en s'écriant : « O Dieu ! c'est toi qui as créé cet enfant qui n'était rien (1); tu l'as entretenu dans les profondeurs (2) de mes entrailles, et tu as pris soin de lui, jusqu'à ce qu'il ait été formé et achevé. Je le confie à ta bonté, par crainte de ce roi injuste, altier, opiniâtre, et je compte pour lui sur ta bienveillance. Sois son soutien et ne l'abandonne pas, ô [toi] le plus miséricordieux des miséricordieux ! » Puis elle le livra aux flots. Un courant le saisit avec force, et le porta, pendant la nuit, jusqu'au rivage [ ] de l'île dont il a été question précédemment.

Or le flux arrivait à ce moment en un point qu'il n'atteignait qu'une fois par an. Le flot poussa le coffre au milieu d'un épais fourré, lieu charmant, abrité contre les vents et la pluie, garanti du soleil dont les rayons n'y pouvaient pénétrer ni pendant qu'il montait ni pendant qu'il descendait (3). Le reflux commençant alors, le coffre demeura en cet endroit. Puis les sables peu à peu fermèrent à

(1) Qoran : sourate LXXVI, verset 1.

(2) Littéralement : ténèbres.

(3) Qoran : sourate XVIII, verset 16.

l'eau l'entrée du fourré, et le flux [desormais] ne put y pénétrer.

Au moment où les vagues avaient jeté le coffre dans le fourré, les clous en avaient été ébranlés et les planches disjointes. Pressé par la faim, l'enfant se mit à pleurer, à pousser des cris d'appel et à se débattre. Sa voix parvint à l'oreille d'une gazelle qui avait perdu son petit. Elle suivit la voix, croyant que c'était lui, et arriva au coffre. De ses sabots elle tenta de l'ouvrir, tandis que l'enfant poussait de l'intérieur, si bien qu'une planche du [٢٢] couvercle céda. Alors, émue de pitié et prise d'affection pour lui, elle lui présenta ses pis et l'allaita à discrétion. Elle revint sans cesse le visiter, l'élevant et veillant à écarter de lui tout dommage. Tels sont les débuts de son histoire d'après ceux qui n'admettent point la naissance [sans mère ni père]. Nous raconterons dans la suite son éducation et les progrès successifs par lesquels il parvint à la plus haute perfection.

Quant à ceux qui le font naître [sans mère ni père], voici leur version : Il y avait dans cette île une dépression du sol renfermant une argile qui, sous l'action des ans, y était entrée en fermentation, en sorte que le chaud s'y trouvait combiné au froid et l'humide au sec, par parties égales dont les forces se faisaient équilibre. Cette argile fermentée était en grande masse, et certaines parties l'emportaient sur les autres par la juste proportion de la combinaison et par l'aptitude à former les *humeurs séminales* (1) ; le centre surtout de cette masse était la partie qui offrait la proportion la plus exacte et la ressem-

(1) امشاج Cf. Qoran, sourate LXXVI, verset 2, et le commentaire de Beidawi. — Al-Khowarezmi, op. cit., p. ١٨١ *l.* ٤.

blance la plus parfaite avec le composé humain. Cette argile était en travail et donnait naissance, à raison de sa viscosité, à des bulles du genre de celles que produit l'ébullition. Or il se forma, au centre de cette masse d'argile, une bulle [٢٣] extrêmement petite, divisée en deux par une membrane mince, remplie d'un corps subtil, aériforme, constitué exactement suivant les proportions convenables. Alors vint s'y joindre l'*âme* (روح)[1], qui émane de Dieu ; et elle s'y attacha d'une union si étroite que les sens et l'entendement ont peine à l'en séparer.

Car il est manifeste que cette *Ame* émane sans cesse et abondamment du Dieu Glorieux et Très Haut. Elle est comparable à la lumière du soleil, qui sans cesse est répandue sur le monde en abondance. Il y a un corps qui ne réfléchit point cette lumière : c'est l'air extrêmement transparent. D'autres la réfléchissent en partie : ce sont les corps opaques non polis ; et des diverses façons dont ils la réfléchissent résulte la diversité de leurs couleurs. D'autres enfin la réfléchissent au plus haut degré : ce sont les corps polis, comme les miroirs ou autres du même genre ; et si les miroirs présentent une

(1) Le mot روح a le double sens de *souffle* et d'*âme* (principe de la *vie*), comme les mots grecs ψυχή, πνεῦμα, et les mots latins *anima*, *spiritus*. Nous le traduirons tantôt par *âme*, tantôt par *esprit* (au sens de *souffle* ou *fluide subtil* que lui donnaient encore, par exemple, les cartésiens, dans l'expression *esprits animaux*). Pour éviter toute ambiguïté, nous écrirons *esprit* en lettres italiques quand nous le prendrons dans cette acception, et en lettres ordinaires quand, traduisant par exemple le mot نفس, nous l'emploierons, au sens psychologique moderne, pour désigner l'ensemble des facultés de l'intelligence, l'ensemble des faits *représentatifs*. — Cf. dans Munk, *op. cit.* p. 393, l'explication donnée par Ibn Badja, l'un des philosophes dont s'est inspiré Ibn Thofaïl ; et Munk : Traduction du *Guide des Egarés*, de Maïmonide, t. I, p. 355, note 1.

concavité d'une certaine forme déterminée, la concentration des rayons lumineux y produit du feu. Il en est de même de l'*Ame*, qui émane de Dieu. Elle se répand toujours abondamment sur toutes les choses créées. Mais il en est qui ne manifestent point son influence, parce que cette aptitude leur fait défaut : ce sont les corps inorganiques, dépourvus de vie ; ils correspondent à l'air dans l'exemple précédent. D'autres, ce sont les diverses plantes, en manifestent l'influence selon les aptitudes qu'elles présentent ; elles correspondent aux corps opaques dans l'exemple en question. D'autres la manifestent à un haut degré : [٢٤] ce sont les diverses espèces d'animaux, qui correspondent aux corps polis dans notre exemple. Enfin, parmi ces corps polis, certains, outre leur pouvoir éminent de réfléchir les rayons solaires, reproduisent l'image ressemblante du soleil. De même aussi, parmi les animaux, il en est qui, outre leur faculté éminente de recevoir l'*Ame* [et de la manifester], la reflètent, et sont faits à son image (صورة) : ce sont proprement les hommes ; et c'est à l'homme que [le Prophète] (que Dieu le comble de bénédictions et lui accorde le salut !) a fait allusion en disant : « Dieu a créé Adam à son image ». S'il arrive enfin que cette *image* (صورة) (1), dans l'homme, prenne de la force au point que toutes les autres *images* s'évanouissent devant elle, et qu'elle demeure seule, consumant de son auguste splendeur tout ce qu'elle atteint, alors elle est comparable au miroir courbe qui incendie tous les autres [corps]. Pareille

(1) Ou *forme*. Le mot صورة, comme le mot grec εἶδος, auquel il correspond, signifie à la fois, et dans toutes les acceptions, *image* et *forme*. Dans la terminologie des péripatéticiens arabes, il désigne en particulier la *forme*, par opposition à la *matière*, مادة ou هيولى (ὕλη).

chose ne se produit que chez les prophètes (les bénédictions de Dieu soient sur eux !). Tout cela est clairement exposé dans les écrits compétents.

Mais achevons de voir ce que rapportent ceux qui décrivent ce mode de génération.

Dès que, disent-ils, cette *âme* se fut fixée dans ce réceptacle, toutes les *facultés* قوى (1) se soumirent à elle et elles s'inclinèrent toutes par ordre de Dieu. Alors il se forma en face de ce réceptacle une autre bulle divisée en trois compartiments, séparés par de fines membranes mais communiquant par des ouvertures, et pleins d'un corps aériforme semblable à celui du premier réceptable, quoique plus subtil (2); et dans ces [٢٥] trois compartiments d'un même réceptacle se logèrent certaines des facultés qui s'étaient soumises au [premier *esprit* ou première *âme*] (3); elles furent chargées de les garder, de prendre soin d'eux et de faire parvenir [des impressions de] toutes les modifications, petites ou grandes, qui y surviendraient, à la première *âme* fixée dans le premier réceptacle.

En outre, il se forma, en face de ce [premier] réceptacle, et dans la direction opposée au second, une troisième

(1) Le mot قوة, au pluriel قوى, a le double sens de *force* et de *faculté*. Dans la terminologie péripatéticienne, il désigne aussi la *puissance* (δύναμις), par opposition à فعل *acte*, (ἐνέργεια).

(2) Au sujet des trois sortes d'*esprit* et de leur subtilité relative, voir Munk : *Guide des Egarés*, t. I, p. 355, note 1.

(3) Le texte porte له *à lui*. Ce pronom affixe est ambigu, comme il arrive si souvent en arabe, et comme la fin de cette phrase et la phrase suivante en donnent de nouveaux exemples. Mais la suite montre (Cf. infra, p. ٢٦, *l.* ٤ et *l.* ٧, القوى التى اصلها منه) qu'il s'agit du corps aériforme contenu dans le premier réceptacle et que l'auteur appelle plus loin (p. ٢٥, *l.* ٣), *premier esprit* ou *première âme*.

bulle remplie d'un corps aériforme mais plus grossier que les deux premiers ; et dans ce réceptacle se logèrent une partie des facultés soumises, qui furent chargées de le garder et d'en prendre soin.

Ce premier, ce second, et ce troisième réceptacle, furent ce qui se forma d'abord de cette argile en fermentation, dans l'ordre que nous venons d'indiquer. Ils avaient besoin d'une aide réciproque : le premier avait besoin des deux autres pour se faire servir et obéir, et ceux-ci du premier comme le gouverné à besoin du gouvernant et le dirigé du dirigeant ; tous les trois (1) étaient, par rapport aux organes formés après eux, gouvernants et non gouvernés, l'un d'eux, à savoir le second, étant d'ailleurs supérieur au troisième au point de vue du commandement.

Le premier des trois (2), lorsque l'*âme* s'y fut jointe, et que sa chaleur fut devenue ardente, prit la figure du feu, la figure cônique ; le corps épais qui l'entourait prit aussi la même figure, et devint une masse de chair dure, par dessus laquelle il se forma une enveloppe protectrice membraneuse. L'ensemble de cet organe a reçu le nom de cœur. La chaleur ayant pour effet [٢١] de dissoudre et de détruire les humeurs, [cet organe] avait besoin de quelque chose qui l'entretint, le nourrit, et lui restituât continuellement ce qu'il perdait, sans quoi il ne pouvait subsister. Il avait encore besoin de percevoir ce qui lui convenait, pour se le procurer, comme aussi ce qui lui était contraire, pour l'écarter. L'un des deux autres organes se chargea pour lui, au moyen des facul-

(1) et (2) Le duel arabe ne peut désigner ici que les *trois* réceptacles répartis en *deux* catégories.

tés dont il était le siège, et qui tiraient du [cœur] leur origine, de pourvoir à l'un de ces besoins, et l'autre organe se chargea pour lui de pourvoir à l'autre besoin ; celui qui se chargeait de la perception, c'était le cerveau, et celui qui se chargeait de l'entretien, c'était le foie. L'un et l'autre d'ailleurs avaient besoin du [cœur] pour leur fournir la chaleur et les facultés particulières à chacun d'eux mais qui tiraient du [cœur] leur origine. C'est pour [répondre à] ces divers [besoins] qu'il se forma entre ces [organes] un réseau de passages et chemins dont les uns étaient plus larges que les autres, selon que la nécessité le demandait ; ce furent les artères et les veines.

Puis les partisans de cette version continuent à décrire la formation de l'organisme entier et de toutes ses parties, de la même manière que les naturalistes décrivent la formation du fœtus dans la matrice, sans rien omettre, jusqu'au complet développement de l'organisme et de ses parties, et jusqu'au moment où le fœtus est prêt à sortir du sein [maternel]. Dans toute cette exposition ils ont recours à cette grande masse d'argile fermentée et apte, selon eux, à constituer tout ce qui est requis pour la formation de l'organisme humain, les enveloppes qui entourent tout le fœtus, etc. Lorsqu'il fut complètement formé, ces enveloppes s'en séparèrent comme dans l'enfantement, et la masse restante de l'argile s'entr'ouvrit sous l'action de la sécheresse. Privé d'aliment et pressé par la faim, l'enfant se mit à pousser des cris de détresse. Puis une gazelle qui avait perdu son petit, répondit à son appel.

A partir de cet endroit, les partisans de la seconde version [V] sont d'accord avec ceux de la première ; ils racontent tous de la même manière l'éducation [de l'en-

fant]. La gazelle qui s'était chargée de lui, disent-ils d'un commun accord, ayant trouvé d'abondants et gras pâturages, engraissa, son lait devint abondant et pourvut le mieux du monde à la nourriture du petit enfant. Elle demeurait auprès de lui, et ne le quittait que lorsqu'elle y était forcée par le besoin de paître; l'enfant de son côté s'habitua si bien à la gazelle que, lorsqu'elle tardait à revenir, il éclatait en larmes, et elle volait vers lui. Il n'y avait d'ailleurs dans cette île aucun animal féroce. L'enfant s'éleva et grandit, nourri du lait de la gazelle. Il atteignit l'âge de deux ans, apprit à marcher et fit ses dents. Il suivait la gazelle, et celle-ci se montrait pour lui pleine de soins et de tendresse: elle le conduisait dans des endroits où se trouvaient des arbres chargés de fruits, lui donnant les fruits tombés de l'arbre, lorsqu'ils étaient doux et mûrs; s'ils avaient une enveloppe dure, elle les lui cassait avec ses molaires; dès qu'il revenait au pis, elle lui donnait son lait; dès qu'il avait soif et voulait de l'eau, elle le menait boire; dès que le soleil l'incommodait, elle le conduisait à l'ombre; dès qu'il avait froid, elle le réchauffait; dès que la nuit tombait, elle le ramenait à son premier abri, le garantissant avec son corps et avec de la plume qui se trouvait là, provenant du coffre qui en avait jadis été rempli au moment où on y avait mis l'enfant. Le matin et le soir, un troupeau de gazelles avait coutume de les accompagner, allant avec eux au pâturage et revenant avec eux passer la nuit au même gîte. L'enfant ne cessa de vivre ainsi avec les [٢٨] gazelles, dont il reproduisait les cris avec sa voix à s'y méprendre. Il reproduisait de même, avec beaucoup d'exactitude, tous les chants d'oiseaux ou cris d'autres animaux qu'il

entendait. Mais les cris qu'il reproduisait surtout c'étaient ceux des gazelles qui demandent du secours, ou qui veulent entrer en relations, ou qui désirent [quelque chose], ou qui cherchent à éviter [un danger]; car les animaux, pour toutes ces occasions différentes, ont des cris différents. Ils se connaissaient, les animaux et lui, et ils ne se traitaient pas en étrangers. Lorsque s'étaient fixées dans son esprit des représentations des choses dont il cessait d'avoir une perception actuelle, les unes lui inspiraient du désir, les autres de l'aversion.

Il observait entre temps tous les animaux et les voyait couverts de poils, laineux ou soyeux, ou de plumes. Il remarquait leur rapidité à la course, leur force, les armes dont ils étaient munis pour lutter contre l'adversaire, par exemple les cornes, les dents, les sabots, les ergots, les serres. Puis, faisant un retour sur lui-même, il se voyait nu, sans armes, lent à la course, faible contre les animaux qui lui disputaient les fruits, se les appropriaient à son détriment, et les lui enlevaient sans qu'il put les repousser ou échapper à aucun d'entre eux. Il voyait à ses compagnons, les petits des gazelles, pousser des cornes qu'ils n'avaient point auparavant ; il les voyait devenir agiles après avoir été lents à la course. Il ne constatait chez lui-même rien de pareil, et il avait beau y [٢٩] réfléchir, il ne pouvait en découvrir la cause. Considérant les animaux difformes ou infirmes, il n'en trouvait aucun qui lui ressemblât. Mais considérant aussi les orifices réservés aux excrétions chez les autres animaux, il les voyait protégés, l'un, celui qui est affecté aux excréments solides, par une queue, l'autre, celui qui sert aux excrétions liquides, par des poils ou autre substance [laineuse] du même genre ; et, en outre, leur

urèthre était plus caché que le sien. Toutes ces constatations lui étaient pénibles et l'affligeaient.

La tristesse qu'il en ressentait dura longtemps et il approchait de l'âge de sept ans lorsque, désespérant de voir se réaliser en lui les [avantages naturels] dont l'absence le faisait souffrir, il prit de larges feuilles d'arbre qu'il disposa les unes derrière lui, les autres devant, et il les attacha à une ceinture qu'il se fit autour de la taille avec des feuilles de palmier et de l'alfa. Mais ces feuilles ne tardèrent pas à se faner, à sécher et à tomber. Il en cueillit alors d'autres qu'il assembla dorénavant en couches superposées. Elles pouvaient ainsi durer davantage, mais jamais bien longtemps. De branches d'arbre il se fit des bâtons qu'il rendit lisses aux extrémités et unis d'un bout à l'autre ; et il les brandissait contre les animaux avec lesquels il avait à lutter, attaquant les plus faibles d'entre eux et résistant aux plus forts. Il conçut, par suite, une certaine idée de ce dont il était capable, et comprit que sa main avait sur leurs membres antérieurs une grande supériorité, puisque, grâce à elle, [r·] il lui devenait possible de couvrir ses parties honteuses et de se faire des bâtons pour se défendre, ce qui lui permettait de se passer de queue et d'armes naturelles.

Pendant ce temps il grandissait et dépassait l'âge de sept ans. Mais il se lassa de renouveler les feuilles dont il se couvrait. L'idée lui vint alors de prendre la queue d'un animal mort pour se l'attacher à lui-même ; mais il hésitait à le faire, ayant observé que les animaux vivants évitent et fuient les cadavres d'animaux. Sur ces entrefaites il rencontra un jour [la dépouille d']un aigle mort et se trouva en mesure de réaliser son désir. Ne voyant

point les animaux s'en effaroucher, il profita de l'occasion, s'approcha de l'oiseau, détacha les deux ailes et la queue, entières et telles quelles, et en étala les plumes d'une façon régulière. Il dépouilla ensuite la bête du reste de sa peau, la partagea en deux parties, et se les attacha l'une sur le dos et l'autre au-dessous du *nombril*. Enfin il suspendit la queue derrière lui, et les deux ailes au haut de ses bras. Il eut de la sorte un [vêtement] qui le couvrit, lui tint chaud, et le fit craindre de tous les animaux; ceux-ci ne [songèrent plus à] lui chercher querelle ou à lui résister, et aucun d'eux ne s'approcha plus de lui, sauf la gazelle qui l'avait allaité et élevé. Elle ne le quitta point ni lui ne la quitta.

Enfin, elle devint vieille et s'affaiblit. Il la conduisit à de gras pâturages, il lui cueillit et lui fit manger [٢٦] de bons fruits. Mais sa faiblesse et sa maigreur augmentèrent et la mort survint enfin ; tout mouvement et toute action cessèrent totalement. Lorsqu'il la vit en cet état, le jeune garçon fut saisi d'une émotion violente, et peu s'en fallut qu'il ne mourût de douleur. Il l'appelait avec le cri auquel, lorsqu'elle le lui entendait pousser, elle avait coutume de répondre, ou bien il criait de toutes ses forces, mais sans constater en elle ni mouvement ni changement. Il lui examinait les oreilles et les yeux sans y apercevoir aucun dommage apparent ; il examinait de même tous ses membres sans les trouver aucunement endommagés. Il souhaitait ardemment de découvrir la place d'un mal dont il pourrait la délivrer, et dont la disparition la ramènerait à l'état où elle se trouvait auparavant ; mais rien de tel ne s'offrait à lui, et il était impuissant à lui porter secours.

Ce qui lui inspirait cette idée, c'est une observation

qu'il avait faite sur lui-même antérieurement : il avait remarqué que, s'il fermait ses deux yeux, ou leur interceptait la vue au moyen d'un objet [quelconque], il ne voyait plus rien jusqu'au moment où cet obstacle disparaissait ; que si, de même, il se bouchait les oreilles en introduisant un doigt dans chacune d'elles et en l'y maintenant fortement, il n'entendait plus rien jusqu'à ce qu'il eût supprimé cet empêchement ; que s'il se bouchait le nez avec la main, il ne sentait plus aucune odeur tant qu'il ne débouchait pas ses narines. Il en concluait que toutes ces facultés perceptives et actives pouvaient être entravées par certains empêchements, [٢٢] et que si ces empêchements disparaissaient, elles s'exerçaient de nouveau.

Mais après qu'il eût examiné tous les organes externes de la gazelle sans y rencontrer aucun empêchement apparent, se trouvant d'autre part en présence d'un arrêt total, qui n'affectait point exclusivement tel ou tel organe, l'idée lui vint que la cause en devait être dans un organe invisible, caché dans l'intérieur du corps ; que cet organe est indispensable à chacun des organes extérieurs pour l'exercice de sa fonction ; et que si son action est entravée, il en résulte un désordre général et un arrêt total. Il avait le ferme espoir que s'il découvrait cet organe et le débarrassait de [l'empêchement] qui lui était survenu, il reviendrait à son état [normal], que l'amélioration éprouvée par lui rejaillirait sur tout l'organisme et que les fonctions reprendraient leur cours.

Il avait constaté précédemment sur les cadavres des animaux sauvages ou autres, que toutes les parties de leurs corps sont pleines et ne présentent point de cavité, sauf le crâne, la poitrine et le ventre. Il lui vint donc à

l'esprit que l'organe en question ne pouvait se trouver que dans l'un de ces trois endroits ; et il acquérait la conviction que cet organe devait être dans l'endroit situé entre les deux autres, puisqu'il avait la certitude que tous les organes ont besoin de lui, d'où résultait nécessairement qu'il doit se trouver au centre ; et faisant retour sur lui-même, il sentait la présence d'un pareil [ΓΓ] organe dans sa poitrine. En outre, suspendant l'action de tous ses autres organes tels que la main, le pied, l'oreille, le nez, l'œil, et pouvant s'en priver, il concluait qu'il lui était possible de subsister sans eux ; tandis que réfléchissant à l'organe situé dans sa poitrine, il ne pensait pas pouvoir s'en passer, fut-ce pendant la durée d'un clin d'œil. De même [enfin], dans ses luttes contre les animaux, ce qu'il évitait surtout, c'était de recevoir des coups de corne dans la poitrine, par un sentiment vague de l'organe qu'elle contenait.

Lorsqu'il eut décidé que l'organe atteint d'un empêchement ne pouvait être que dans la poitrine de la gazelle, il résolut de chercher à l'atteindre et à l'examiner, espérant qu'il parviendrait peut-être à trouver l'empêchement et à le faire disparaître. Puis il craignit que ce qu'il allait faire là ne fut plus dangereux pour la gazelle que l'empêchement primitivement survenu, et que son zèle ne lui fût nuisible. Il chercha alors à se rappeler s'il avait vu quelque animal sauvage ou autre tomber dans un pareil état et en revenir. Mais n'en trouvant aucun [exemple], il désespéra de la voir revenir à son état normal s'il l'abandonnait ; tandis qu'il lui en restait quelque espoir s'il trouvait l'organe en question et le débarrassait de son mal. Il se décida donc à lui ouvrir la poitrine afin de voir ce qui s'y trouvait.

Avec des éclats de pierre dure et des lamelles de roseau sec semblables à des couteaux, il fit une incision entre les côtes, trancha la chair, et finit par arriver à l'enveloppe du poumon intérieure aux côtes. La voyant forte, il se persuada fortement (1) qu'une telle enveloppe ne convenait qu'à un organe [ܓܐ] du genre de celui qu'[il voulait découvrir]. Il eut l'espoir de trouver, s'il allait plus loin, ce qu'il cherchait, et il voulut fendre cette enveloppe. Mais cela lui fut difficile, parce qu'il manquait d'instruments, et n'avait en fait d'outils que des pierres et des roseaux. Il les repassa, les aiguisa, et mit beaucoup de soin à fendre l'enveloppe, si bien qu'enfin elle s'entr'ouvrit, et il se trouva en présence du poumon. Il crut d'abord que c'était là ce qu'il cherchait; et il l'examina longtemps en tout sens, y cherchant le siège du mal. Mais il n'avait d'abord rencontré qu'une moitié latérale du poumon. Il s'aperçut que cet objet déviait vers l'un des côtés. Or il avait la conviction que l'organe cherché devait être au milieu du corps, aussi bien dans le sens de la largeur que dans celui de la longueur. Il continua donc ses recherches au milieu de la poitrine, et finit par rencontrer le cœur ; [mais] ce [viscère] était recouvert d'une enveloppe extrêmement forte, attaché par des ligaments très solides, et le poumon l'entourait du côté par où [l'enfant] avait entamé la dissection. « Si cet organe (2) a, se dit-il, de

(1) Jeu de mots : فَوَى... فَوِيًّا.

(2) Le poumon. Ce passage, jusqu'à l'alinéa, est un peu confus. Il faut comprendre, sans doute, que le cœur, entouré par le poumon, dissimulé par ses ligaments et sa forte enveloppe, échappe à l'attention de l'enfant, ou ne lui apparait que comme la partie centrale du

l'autre côté, une partie semblable à celle-ci, il est réellement au milieu, et c'est sans aucun doute celui que je cherchais ; surtout si je considère l'excellence de sa position, l'élégance de sa forme, sa structure peu découpée, la fermeté de sa chair, et son enveloppe protectrice dont je ne vois la pareille à aucun autre organe. » Il fouilla de l'autre côté de la poitrine, y rencontra l'enveloppe intérieure aux côtes, et trouva le poumon tel qu'il l'avait trouvé du premier côté. Il jugea donc que cet organe était celui qu'il cherchait. Il voulut le dégager de son enveloppe, et fendit la membrane dont il était couvert. Il y parvint, non sans travail et non sans peine, après y avoir employé tous ses soins.

Il mit à nu le cœur et vit qu'il était massif de toutes parts. Il essaya d'y découvrir quelque dommage apparent, mais n'y remarqua rien. Il le serra avec [٢٥] la main et sentit qu'il était creux. « Peut-être, dit-il, ce que je cherche est-il, en fin de compte, à l'intérieur de cet organe, et ne l'ai-je pas encore atteint. » Il ouvrit le cœur et y vit deux cavités, l'une à droite, l'autre à gauche. Celle de droite était remplie de sang coagulé ; celle de gauche était absolument vide. « Ce que je cherche, dit-il, ne peut manquer de se trouver dans l'un de ces deux compartiments. Dans celui de droite je ne vois rien d'autre que ce sang coagulé ; et il est hors de doute qu'il ne s'est point coagulé avant que le corps tout entier fût arrivé à cet état [où il se trouve] » ; il avait observé, en effet, que, dès qu'il coule, le sang, quel qu'il

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poumon, seul organe sur lequel il raisonne jusqu'à la fin du paragraphe. Peut-être la phrase précédente : « Il continua donc... avait entamé la dissection », n'est-elle qu'une phrase interpolée.

soit, se coagule et se fige. « Ce n'est là qu'un sang pareil à tout autre ; je le retrouve dans tous les organes indistinctement. Ce que je cherche n'est point de cette nature : ce doit être la chose qui a pour siège propre cette région du corps dont je trouve que je ne puis me passer, fût-ce pendant la durée d'un clin d'œil. Voilà ce dont je me suis mis en quête dès le début. Quant au sang que voici, combien de fois, blessé par des animaux dans la lutte, j'en ai perdu une grande quantité sans en éprouver de dommage et sans être privé d'aucune de mes fonctions ! Voilà donc un compartiment dans lequel je n'ai pas à chercher. Quant à celui de gauche, je le vois absolument vide. Mais je ne puis croire qu'il soit inutile. Car j'ai vu que chaque [71] organe était destiné à une fonction spéciale. Comment donc ce réceptacle, dont j'ai constaté la supériorité, serait-il inutile ? Je ne puis m'empêcher de croire que l'objet de mes recherches s'y trouvait, mais qu'il l'a abandonné, le laissant vide ; et c'est alors qu'est survenu dans cet organisme l'arrêt en question, qu'il a perdu la perception et le mouvement. » Ainsi l'habitant de ce logement en avait déménagé avant qu'il eût subi aucune dégradation, et l'avait quitté lorsqu'il était encore intact : il était donc probable qu'il ne reviendrait pas, maintenant qu'il était ainsi ravagé et béant.

Alors le corps entier lui parut vil et sans valeur auprès de cette chose qui, selon sa conviction, y demeurait un temps et le quittait ensuite. Il concentra donc uniquement ses réflexions sur cette chose, se demandant ce que c'était, comment elle était, qu'est-ce qui l'avait attachée à ce corps, où elle s'en était allée, par quelle issue elle était passée lorsqu'elle était sortie du corps, quelle cause l'avait chassée, au cas où son départ

avait été forcé, et quelle cause lui avait rendu le corps assez odieux pour qu'elle s'en séparât, au cas où son départ avait été volontaire. Il se répandit en réflexions sur toutes ces questions, oubliant le corps et l'écartant [de sa pensée]. Il comprit que sa mère, que celle qui avait eu pour lui de l'attachement et qui l'avait allaité, était non pas ce corps inerte mais cette chose disparue. C'est d'elle qu'émanaient tous ces actes. Ce corps dans son ensemble n'était que comme un instrument, comparable aux bâtons que lui-même s'était faits pour combattre les animaux sauvages. Alors son affection se détourna [IV] du corps pour se porter sur le maître et moteur du corps, et il n'eut plus d'amour que pour lui seul.

Sur ces entrefaites le corps commença à se corrompre et à exhaler des odeurs repoussantes. L'éloignement qu'il éprouvait s'en accrut, et il souhaita de ne plus le voir. Alors s'offrirent à ses regards deux corbeaux qui se battaient. L'un d'eux finit par étendre mort son adversaire. Sur quoi, celui qui [restait] vivant se mit à gratter le sol jusqu'à ce qu'il eût creusé un trou, y déposa l'oiseau mort, et le couvrit de terre. « Combien est louable, se dit l'enfant, l'action de ce corbeau enterrant le cadavre de son compagnon, bien qu'il ait mal agi en le tuant ! Et moi je dois, à plus juste titre, m'acquitter de ce devoir envers ma mère. » Il creusa une fosse, y déposa le corps de sa mère, et le couvrit de terre.

Puis il continua à méditer sur cette chose qui gouvernait le corps. Il ne se rendait point compte de sa nature. Mais examinant le corps de toutes les gazelles, il leur voyait la même forme et le même aspect qu'à celui de sa mère, et il ne pouvait s'empêcher de penser que chacune

d'elles était mue et dirigée par une chose semblable à celle qui mouvait [le corps de] sa mère et le dirigeait. Il fréquentait les gazelles, et il éprouvait pour elles une grande affection à cause de cette ressemblance.

Il demeura ainsi pendant un long espace de temps, examinant les diverses espèces d'animaux et de plantes, parcourant le rivage de l'île, et cherchant s'il rencontrerait un être semblable à lui, de même qu'il voyait à chaque individu, animal ou végétal, un grand nombre de congénères ; mais il n'en trouvait [٢٨] aucun. D'autre part il voyait que la mer entourait l'île de tous côtés, et s'imaginait qu'il n'existait pas d'autre terre au monde.

Un jour il arriva que le feu prit dans des broussailles de férule par voie de frottement. Lorsqu'il l'aperçut, ce phénomène inconnu lui parut d'un aspect effrayant. Il s'arrêta rempli d'étonnement, mais il ne laissa pas d'en approcher peu à peu. Il constata la lumière brillante du feu, son action irrésistible, par laquelle il se communiquait à tout objet auquel il s'attachait, et le convertissait à sa propre nature. L'étonnement que le feu lui inspirait, joint à la hardiesse et à la force de caractère dont Dieu l'avait doué, le portèrent à étendre sa main vers la flamme pour la saisir. Mais à peine l'avait-il touchée qu'elle lui brûla la main sans qu'il pût l'appréhender. Il eut alors l'idée de prendre un tison que le feu n'avait pas enflammé en entier, le saisit par le côté intact pendant que l'autre était en feu, et réussit, de la sorte, à l'emporter vers le lieu qui lui servait d'abri : c'était un antre profond qui lui avait convenu comme demeure. Il ne cessa d'entretenir ce feu avec de l'herbe sèche et du bois sec. Il était assidu auprès de lui nuit et jour, tant il l'appréciait; et tant il éprouvait d'étonnement à le

[voir]. Mais c'est surtout la nuit qu'il se plaisait en sa compagnie, parce qu'il lui remplaçait la lumière et la chaleur du soleil. Il éprouvait pour lui un grand amour, et le considérait comme supérieur à toutes les choses qui l'entouraient. Voyant toujours la flamme se dresser verticalement et tendre à monter, il acquit la conviction que le feu était du nombre [٢٩] des substances célestes qu'il apercevait. Il expérimentait la puissante action du feu sur toutes les choses en les y jetant, et il le voyait en venir à bout, tantôt vite, tantôt lentement, suivant que ce corps avait une disposition plus ou moins grande à brûler.

Or, parmi tous les objets qu'il jetait dans le feu pour en éprouver la puissance, il se trouva des animaux marins que la mer avait déposés sur le rivage. Lorsqu'ils furent rôtis et que leur odeur se répandit, son appétit fut excité. Il en goûta, les trouva bons, et prit ainsi l'habitude de manger de la chair. Il s'ingénia à capturer les animaux terrestres et marins et y devint habile. Son attachement s'en accrut pour le feu, auquel il devait de nouveaux aliments excellents.

Enfin ce grand amour que lui inspiraient l'excellence de ses effets et la grandeur de sa puissance le conduisit à penser que la chose disparue du cœur de la gazelle qui l'avait élevé était de même substance ou quelque chose du même genre. Il était confirmé dans cette pensée par cette constatation que les animaux ont de la chaleur pendant toute leur vie et deviennent froids après leur mort, et cela toujours, sans aucune exception ; et aussi par la grande chaleur qu'il constatait en lui-même dans sa poitrine, à l'endroit où il avait pratiqué une ouverture dans le corps de la gazelle. Il lui vint donc à l'esprit que

s'il prenait un animal vivant, s'il lui ouvrait le cœur, et s'il examinait la cavité qu'il avait trouvée vide en l'ouvrant chez la gazelle, en cet animal vivant il la verrait occupée encore [ɛ·] par la chose qui s'y trouve logée, et s'assurerait si elle est de même substance que le feu, si elle possède ou non de la lumière et de la chaleur. Il s'empara donc d'un animal, le garotta, et lui ouvrit le corps comme il avait fait à la gazelle. Arrivé au cœur, il s'attaqua d'abord au côté gauche, l'ouvrit, et en vit la cavité remplie d'un air vaporeux semblable à un brouillard blanc. Il y introduisit le doigt, et il y trouva une chaleur si intense qu'il faillit être brûlé; et l'animal mourut aussitôt. Il fut certain, désormais, que cette vapeur chaude était chez cet animal le principe du mouvement, que dans le corps de tout autre animal il y en avait une semblable, et qu'aussitôt qu'elle le quittait l'animal périssait.

Il éprouva ensuite le désir d'explorer tous les membres de cet animal et d'en étudier l'arrangement, les positions, le nombre, le mode d'assemblage des uns avec les autres; de rechercher comment cette vapeur chaude leur est fournie et leur donne la vie à tous; comment se conserve cette vapeur pendant tout le temps qu'elle subsiste ; par quel moyen elle s'entretient; comment il se fait que sa chaleur ne se perde point. Il poursuivit sans relâche la solution de tous ces problèmes, en faisant sur les animaux des vivisections et des dissections de cadavres; et il ne se lassa pas dans ses investigations et ses réflexions, jusqu'à ce qu'il eût acquis, dans ces questions, une science égale à celle des plus grands naturalistes. Il connut avec évidence que tout animal, nonobstant la multiplicité de ses

membres, la variété de ses sensations et de ses mouvements, est un, grâce à cet *esprit* qui, rayonnant d'un centre [قلب] unique, se répand dans tous les membres ou organes, lesquels ne sont pour lui que des serviteurs ou des instruments; et que le rôle de cet *esprit* dans le gouvernement du corps est comparable au rôle qu'il jouait lui-même dans le maniement des instruments, dont les uns lui servaient à combattre les animaux, les autres à les capturer, les autres à les disséquer. Ceux dont il se servait pour la lutte étaient les uns des armes défensives, les autres des armes offensives. De même ses instruments pour la capture des animaux étaient destinés les uns aux animaux aquatiques, les autres aux animaux terrestres. De même enfin les outils qui lui servaient à disséquer étaient propres les uns à trancher, les autres à briser, les autres à perforer. Le tronc, unique, maniait ces instruments de diverses manières, selon l'usage auquel convenait chacun d'eux et selon les fins qu'il en attendait. De même cet *esprit animal* (1) est unique. Lorsqu'il se sert de cet instrument,

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(1) Les médecins et les philosophes arabes distinguent généralement : 1° l'*esprit naturel* الروح الطبيعي ou الروح الطبيعية (car روح est du genre commun), logé dans le foie ; 2° l'*esprit vital* الروح الحيواني, logé dans le cœur; 3° l'*esprit animal* ou *psychique* الروح النفساني, logé dans le cerveau. (Par exemple Maïmonide. Cf. Munk : *Guide des Egarés*, t. 1, p. 385, note 1.) Mais ils ne sont pas d'accord sur les noms de ces trois *esprits*. (Cf. Munk : *Mél. de philos. juive et arabe*, art. Ibn Bâdja, p. 393 et ibid. note 2.) Ibn Thofaïl, bien qu'il distingue l'*âme végétative* النفس النباتية et l'*âme animale* النفس الحيوانية (Cf. infra, p. 51, *l.* 3 et *l.* 7 et texte arabe p. ٥١, *l.* ١٢ et ١٥), dit que l'*esprit vital* (ou *animal*) الروح

l'œil, son acte est la vision; lorsqu'il se sert de cet instrument, l'oreille, son acte est l'audition; lorsqu'il se sert de cet instrument, le nez, son acte est l'odoration; lorsqu'il se sert de cet instrument, la langue, son acte est la gustation; lorsqu'il se sert de la peau et de la chair, son acte est le toucher; lorsqu'il se sert des membres, son acte est le mouvement; lorsqu'il se sert du foie, son acte est la nutrition et la digestion. Chacune de ces fonctions a des organes pour la servir; mais aucune n'exécute un acte qui ne provienne de ce qui lui arrive de cet *esprit* par les conduits qu'on appelle nerfs. Lorsque ces conduits sont coupés ou obstrués, l'action du membre ou organe [auquel ils correspondent] [٤٢] est suspendue. Les nerfs ne reçoivent *l'esprit* que des cavités du cerveau, qui lui-même le reçoit du cœur. Le cerveau contient une grande quantité d'*esprits* [*animaux*] (ارواح) parce qu'il comprend un grand nombre de compartiments. Tout membre ou organe privé de cet *esprit*, pour une cause quelconque, cesse de fonctionner, et devient

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الحيوانى est logé dans le cœur (traduction p. 50, *l.* 27 et texte arabe p. ٥١, *l.* ٧; traduction p. 78, *l.* 13 et texte arabe p. ٨١, *l.* ١٥; etc.); et cependant il attribue, ici même, à cet *esprit vital* (ou *animal*), à la fois la nutrition, les diverses perceptions, et le mouvement volontaire. Il ne parle jamais d'un *esprit psychique ou animal* روح نفسانى, distinct du روح حيوانى. Nous traduirons donc invariablement روح حيوانى par *esprit animal*, comme font Pococke (*spiritus animalis*), et Eichhorn (*Thiergeist*). Il n'entre pas, d'ailleurs, dans notre plan, d'étudier, au bas des pages de cette traduction, les difficultés d'ordre théorique, et en particulier de justifier ici l'emploi uniforme que fait Ibn Thofaïl de l'expression روح حيوانى *esprit animal*.

comme un instrument abandonné que nul ne manie et dont on ne tire aucun parti. S'il arrive que cet *esprit* sorte entièrement du corps, ou qu'il soit détruit ou dissous d'une manière quelconque, le corps tout entier devient inerte et tombe dans cet état qui est la mort.

Il était arrivé au terme de ces considérations au moment où il acheva le troisième septénaire de son existence, c'est-à-dire à l'âge de vingt et un ans. Dans cet intervalle, son ingéniosité s'était déployée de toute façon. Il s'était vêtu et chaussé avec la peau des animaux qu'il disséquait ; avec les poils, il s'était fait de la ficelle, ainsi qu'avec l'écorce de tiges de guimauve, de mauve, de chanvre et de toutes les plantes filamenteuses : il y avait été conduit par l'usage qu'il avait d'abord fait de l'alfa (1); il s'était fait des alènes avec de fortes épines et des roseaux aiguisés sur des pierres. Il avait été amené à construire par ce qu'il voyait faire aux hirondelles : il s'était bâti une demeure et un entrepôt pour le superflu de ses vivres et l'avait muni d'une porte faite avec des roseaux attachés les uns aux autres [٤٢] pour en interdire l'accès à tout animal pendant que lui-même serait absent et occupé autre part. Il avait dressé des oiseaux de proie pour l'aider à la chasse. Il s'était procuré des volailles pour tirer parti de leurs œufs et de leurs petits. Des cornes de bœuf sauvage lui tenaient lieu de fers de lance ; il les avait emmanchés sur de forts roseaux, sur des bâtons de chêne-zéen ou d'autre bois, et, en s'aidant du feu et de pierres tranchantes, il était parvenu à confectionner ainsi des sortes de lances. Il s'était fabriqué un bouclier de plusieurs peaux superposées. Toutes ces

(1) V. plus haut, p. 29, *l.* 10.

inventions furent le résultat de cette constatation que les armes naturelles lui faisaient défaut, mais que sa main pouvait suppléer à toutes celles qui lui manquaient.

Aucun animal, quel qu'il fut, ne lui tenait tête ; mais ils l'évitaient et lui échappaient par la fuite. Il réfléchit au moyen d'y pourvoir ; et il ne vit rien de mieux pour y arriver que d'apprivoiser des animaux rapides à la course, et de se les attacher en leur donnant une nourriture qui leur convînt, de manière à pouvoir monter sur leur dos et donner ainsi la chasse aux animaux des autres espèces. Or, il y avait dans cette île des chevaux et des ânes sauvages. Il prit ceux qui lui convenaient, et les amadoua jusqu'à ce qu'il fût arrivé à son but. Il leur mit des sortes de bridons et de selles, faits de lanières et de peaux, et il put alors, comme il l'espérait, donner la chasse aux animaux dont la capture [auparavant] lui était difficile. Il était [ξξ] parvenu à tous ces résultats pendant le temps où il s'occupait à disséquer des animaux et où il étudiait avec passion les particularités et les différences de leurs organes et de leurs membres, c'est-à-dire pendant la période finissant, comme nous l'avons dit, à l'âge de vingt-et-un ans.

Ensuite, il se livra à d'autres recherches. Il examina tous les corps qui existent dans le monde de la *génération* et de la *corruption* : les animaux des différentes espèces, les plantes, les minéraux, les divers genres de pierres, la terre, l'eau, la vapeur, la glace, la neige, la grêle, la fumée, la flamme, la braise. Il constata en eux des propriétés nombreuses, des modes d'action variés, des mouvements [les uns] concordants [les autres] opposés. Il les étudia avec une attention soutenue, et vit qu'ils ont certains caractères communs et d'autres différents.

Par leurs caractères communs ils ne font qu'un ; par leurs caractères différents ils sont divers et multiples. — Tantôt il considérait les particularités des choses, les caractères qui les différencient : il les voyait alors innombrables, et la réalité, devant sa pensée, se multipliait à l'infini. Son *essence* propre lui apparaissait multiple aussi, puisqu'il constatait la diversité de ses organes, distincts l'un de l'autre à raison d'une action ou d'une propriété particulière. Il considérait chacun d'eux, et voyait qu'il comporte une subdivision en parties extrêmement nombreuses. Et il concluait à la multiplicité de sa propre *essence*. De même pour l'*essence* de toute chose. — Tantôt, se plaçant à un autre point de vue, et prenant [60] une seconde voie, il remarquait que ses organes, bien que multiples, étaient tous joints les uns aux autres, sans aucune séparation, et formaient un tout unique. Ils ne différaient que par la diversité de leurs actions, et cette diversité n'était que le résultat de ce qu'ils recevaient de puissance de l'*esprit animal* auquel avaient abouti ses premières recherches. Or cet *esprit* était un en *essence* ; c'est lui qui constituait l'*essence* véritable, et tous les organes n'étaient que comme des instruments. Considérée de ce point de vue, son *essence* lui apparaissait une.

Il passa ensuite aux diverses espèces d'animaux, et vit que chaque individu d'entre elles est un, considéré au poin de vue précédent. Puis, examinant une à une ces espèces, par exemple les gazelles, les chevaux, les ânes, et les diverses espèces d'oiseaux une à une, il voyait que les individus de chaque espèce se ressemblent par leurs organes externes ou internes, par leurs perceptions, par leurs mouvements et par leurs instincts ; et il ne remar-

quait entre eux que des différences légères en comparaison de leurs caractères semblables. Il en concluait que l'*esprit* commun à tous les individus de l'espèce est une seule et même chose mais répartie entre un grand nombre de cœurs ; et que si la totalité de ce qui s'en trouvait disséminé dans ces cœurs pouvait être rassemblée et réunie en un seul récipient, tout cela ferait une seule chose ; de même qu'une seule masse d'eau ou de liqueur répartie entre un grand nombre de récipients, puis rassemblée, n'est toujours, soit à l'état de dispersion, soit à l'état de réunion, qu'une seule et même chose, et la multiplicité n'est survenue en elle que *par accident* (بوجه ما). Ainsi considérée, l'espèce entière lui apparaissait une, et la multiplicité [كثرة] des individus qu'elle comprend lui semblait comparable à la multiplicité des membres d'un individu, qui n'est point une multiplicité réelle. Puis, passant en revue par la pensée toutes les espèces animales, il voyait qu'elle sont en commun la sensation, la nutrition, le mouvement volontaire dans toutes les directions ; et il savait que ces actes sont parmi les actions de l'*esprit animal* celles qui lui appartiennent le plus essentiellement ; quant aux différences par lesquelles toutes les espèces, bien que semblables par le caractère précédent, se distinguent les unes des autres, il voyait qu'elles n'appartiennent point à l'*esprit animal* d'une façon rigoureusement essentielle. Ces réflexions lui firent comprendre que l'*esprit animal*, commun à tout le règne animal, est un en réalité, bien qu'il présente d'une espèce à l'autre des différences légères ; c'est ainsi qu'une eau répartie entre plusieurs récipients peut être plus ou moins froide, bien qu'elle soit toujours, au fond, une seule et même chose ; toutes les portions de cette eau

qui sont au même degré de froid représentent l'état particulier de l'*esprit animal* dans [tous les animaux d']une même espèce ; enfin comme toute cette eau est une, de même l'*esprit animal* est un, bien qu'il soit survenu en lui une multiplicité *accidentelle* (بوجه ما). Le règne animal tout entier lui apparaissait un lorsqu'il le considérait ainsi.

Il passa ensuite aux diverses espèces de plantes. Il vit que dans chaque espèce les individus se ressemblent par leurs rameaux, leurs feuilles, leurs fleurs, leurs fruits, leurs modes d'action. Comparant ces individus aux animaux, il reconnut en eux une même chose, à laquelle tous participaient, qui remplissait chez eux le rôle de l'*esprit* chez les animaux, et par laquelle tous [les individus de chaque espèce végétale] sont un. De même, considérant le règne [٤٧] végétal tout entier, il conclut à son unité, parce qu'il constatait chez toutes les plantes des fonctions communes : la nutrition et la croissance.

Puis réunissant par la pensée le règne animal et le règne végétal, il vit que la nutrition et la croissance sont communes à tous les animaux et à toutes les plantes. Les animaux ont de plus que les plantes la sensibilité, l'intelligence et la locomotion. Mais parfois chez les végétaux il apparaît quelque chose de semblable, par exemple lorsque leurs fleurs se tournent vers le soleil, lorsque leurs racines gagnent dans la direction où elles trouvent des éléments nutritifs, etc. En vertu de ces considérations, les plantes et les animaux lui apparurent comme une seule et même chose, parce qu'ils contiennent en commun une même chose, qui se trouve dans l'un de ces deux règnes plus achevée et plus complète, et dont le développement, dans l'autre, est entravé par

quelque empêchement. C'est comme une même eau divisée en deux parts dont l'une est congelée, l'autre liquide. Il réduisit donc à l'unité les plantes et les animaux.

Ensuite, il considéra les corps dépourvus de sensation, incapables de nutrition et de croissance : pierres, terre, eau, air, feu. Il voyait que ce sont des corps déterminés en longueur, largeur et profondeur. Ils diffèrent seulement en ce qu'ils sont les uns colorés, les autres incolores; les uns chauds, les autres froids, etc. Il voyait ceux qui sont chauds devenir froids, et ceux qui sont froids, chauds. Il voyait l'eau se transformer en vapeur, et la vapeur en eau ; les choses qui se consument se transformer en braise, en cendre, en flamme, en fumée, [٤٨] et la fumée, lorsque, dans son mouvement ascendant elle rencontre une voûte de pierre, s'y déposer, et devenir semblable à certaines substances terreuses. Il lui parut donc que tout ces corps ne font qu'un en réalité, malgré leur variété *accidentelle*, et qu'il en est de leur multiplicité comme de celle des animaux et des plantes.

Puis, considérant cette chose qui faisait l'unité des plantes et des animaux, il vit que c'est un certain corps comme les précédents, étendu en longueur, largeur et profondeur, soit chaud, soit froid, comme l'un quelconque des corps dépourvus de sensation et incapables de nutrition ; elle en diffère par les actes qu'elle produit au moyen des organes (1) animaux ou végétaux, et par là seulement. Mais peut-être ces actes ne [lui] sont-ils pas essentiels ; peut-être lui viennent-ils de quelque autre chose, et s'ils étaient produits dans ces corps, peut-être

(1) بالالات littéralement : des instruments...

ceux-ci seraient-ils pareils à la première. Il considéra donc cette première chose dans son *essence*, indépendamment des actes qui, à première vue, semblent émaner d'elle ; et il vit qu'elle n'est autre chose qu'un de ces corps. Tous les corps lui apparaissaient de la sorte comme un, qu'ils soient vivants ou inanimés, en mouvement ou en repos, avec cette seule réserve que certains d'entre eux semblent produire des actes au moyen d'organes ; mais il ne savait si ces actes leur sont esssentiels ou s'ils leur viennent d'ailleurs.

Il ne connaissait jusqu'ici que des corps, et tous les êtres, considérés comme il vient d'être dit, lui semblaient se réduire à une chose unique, tandis qu'au premier point de vue les êtres lui paraissaient en nombre incalculable et infini. Il demeura dans cet état d'esprit pendant un certain temps.

Puis il examina soigneusement tous ces corps, vivants ou inanimés, dans lesquels il voyait tantôt une seule et même chose, [69] tantôt une multiplicité infinie ; et il s'aperçut que chacun d'entre eux est toujours pourvu de l'une des deux tendances suivantes : ou bien il tend vers le haut, tels sont la fumée, la flamme, l'air quand il est sous l'eau ; ou bien il tend vers la direction contraire, c'est-à-dire vers le bas, tels sont l'eau, des fragments de terre, des fragments de végétal ou d'animal. Chacun de ces corps est toujours animé de l'un ou de l'autre de ces deux mouvements, et aucun n'est en repos, à moins qu'il ne soit arrêté par quelque obstacle qui l'empêche de suivre sa voie, comme par exemple une pierre rencontrant dans sa chûte un sol résistant qu'elle ne peut traverser ; car si elle pouvait le traverser elle ne laisserait pas, cela est clair, de poursuivre sa

route. C'est pourquoi, si tu la soulèves, tu sens qu'elle te résiste de toute la force avec laquelle elle tend vers le bas et cherche à descendre. De même la fumée, dans son mouvement ascensionnel, va toujours son chemin, à moins qu'elle ne rencontre une voûte résistante qui lui fasse obstacle ; en ce cas, elle s'infléchit à droite et à gauche, et dès qu'elle n'est plus retenue par la voûte, elle monte à travers l'air, parce que l'air ne peut lui faire obstacle. Il voyait, de même, que si on remplit d'air une outre de peau, qu'on la lie et qu'on la plonge ensuite sous l'eau, l'air cherche à monter et résiste à celui qui le maintient sous l'eau, et cela jusqu'à ce que, sortant de l'eau, il ait atteint l'atmosphère. Alors il demeure en repos, la résistance et la tendance ascendante qu'il manifestait auparavant [٥٠] disparaissent.

Il chercha s'il trouverait un corps dépourvu, à un moment quelconque, de l'un et de l'autre de ces deux mouvements et de la tendance à les réaliser. Mais il ne rencontra rien de tel dans les corps qui se trouvaient autour de lui. Il avait entrepris cette recherche dans l'espoir de rencontrer un tel corps, et de saisir ainsi la nature du corps en tant que corps, dépourvu de toutes les propriétés qui sont la source de la multiplicité.

Lorsqu'il fut las de chercher, et qu'il eut observé les corps les plus pauvres de propriétés sans en trouver un qui ne fut pourvu en quelque façon d'une de ces deux propriétés qu'on appelle pesanteur et légèreté, il se demanda si la pesanteur et la légèreté appartiennent au corps en tant que corps, ou à titre de propriété surajoutée (زائد) à la corporéité. Il lui parut que c'était à titre de propriété surajoutée à la corporéité, parce que si elles appartenaient au corps en tant que corps, il ne se trouverait pas un seul

corps qui ne les possédât toutes les deux. Or nous constatons que le pesant n'admet jamais la légèreté, ni le léger la pesanteur. Ce sont là, sans aucun doute, deux sortes de corps, et chacun d'eux possède un attribut (معنى) qui le distingue de l'autre et qui est surajouté à sa corporéité. Cet attribut est ce qui fait que chacun des deux diffère de l'autre, et sans lui ils ne seraient qu'une seule et même chose à tous égards.

Il lui fut donc évident que l'*essence* de chacun de ces deux corps, le lourd et le léger, se compose de deux attributs : le premier est ce qui leur appartient en commun, à savoir l'attribut corporéité ; le second, ce qui distingue l'*essence* de chacun de celle de l'autre, à savoir : pour l'un la pesanteur, ou tendance à monter, pour l'autre la légèreté, [51] ou tendance à descendre, jointes de part et d'autre à la corporéité.

Il examina de même tous les corps, soit inanimés soit vivants, et vit que l'*essence* des uns et des autres est composée de l'attribut corporéité et de quelque autre chose qui s'ajoute à la corporéité, que cette autre chose soit unique ou multiple ; et ainsi les *formes* des corps lui apparurent dans leur diversité.

Ce fut pour lui la première apparition du monde spirituel, puisque ces *formes* ne peuvent être saisies par les sens, mais seulement par un certain mode d'intuition intellectuelle. Il lui apparut en particulier que l'*esprit animal*, logé dans le cœur, et dont il a été question précédemment, doit nécessairement avoir aussi un attribut surajouté à sa corporéité, qui le mette en état d'accomplir ces actes extraordinaires, comme les diverses espèces de sensations, les diverses opérations de l'esprit, les diverses sortes de mouvements. Cet attribut est sa *forme*,

ce par quoi il se distingue de tous les autres corps, et c'est lui que les philosophes désignent sous le nom d'*âme animale* (النفس الحيوانية)[1]. De même, ce qui tient lieu aux plantes de la chaleur naturelle aux animaux doit avoir quelque chose qui lui est propre, qui est sa *forme*, et c'est ce que les philosophes désignent sous le nom d'*âme végétative* (النفس النباتية). De même tous les corps inanimés, c'est-à-dire tous les corps, autres que les animaux et les végétaux, appartenant au monde [٥٢] de la *génération* et de la *corruption*, ont quelque chose de propre, qui rend chacun d'entre eux apte à accomplir sa fonction propre, comme, par exemple, les diverses sortes de mouvements, les diverses espèces de qualités sensibles; cette chose est la *forme* de chacun d'eux, et c'est ce que les philosophes appellent *nature* (الطبيعة).

Lorsqu'il eut ainsi reconnu que cet *esprit animal*, qui avait toujours été pour lui un objet de prédilection, est en réalité composé de l'attribut corporéité et d'un autre attribut surajouté à la corporéité ; que cet attribut de la corporéité lui est commun avec tous les autres corps, tandis que l'autre attribut, ajouté au premier, appartient exclusivement à lui seul, il se désintéressa de l'attribut corporéité et l'écarta, pour s'attacher au second attribut, désigné sous le nom d'*âme* (النفس). Désireux d'en avoir une connaissance certaine, il y appliqua sa réflexion, et débuta, dans cette recherche, par l'examen de tous les corps, non pas en tant qu'ils sont corps, mais en tant qu'ils sont doués de *formes* auxquelles sont inhérentes certaines propriétés par lesquelles ils se distinguent les uns des autres. Il les embrassa dans sa

(1) Ou *sensitive*.

pensée, et vit que tous les corps d'une certaine catégorie possèdent en commun une *forme* dont émanent un ou plusieurs actes. Il vit qu'une classe de cette catégorie, outre la *forme* [οΓ] qu'elle possède en commun avec cette catégorie, a, de plus, une autre *forme* d'où émanent certains actes. Il vit enfin qu'un groupe, dans cette classe, outre cette première et cette seconde *formes*, qu'il possède en commun avec toute cette classe, a de plus une troisième *forme* d'où émanent certains actes. Par exemple tous les corps *terreux*, comme la terre, les pierres, les métaux, les plantes, les animaux, et tous les corps lourds, forment une seule catégorie et possèdent en commun une même *forme*, d'où émane le mouvement vers le bas, tant qu'aucun obstacle ne s'oppose à leur descente; et lorsque, après avoir été mûs vers le haut par contrainte, ils sont abandonnés à eux-mêmes, ils se meuvent en vertu de leur *forme*, vers le bas. Une classe de cette catégorie, à savoir les plantes et les animaux, outre qu'elle possède cette *forme* en commun avec toute la catégorie précédente, a de plus une autre *forme* d'où émanent la nutrition et la croissance. La nutrition consiste en ce que l'être qui se nourrit remplace les particules de son corps, qui ont disparu, par l'assimilation à sa propre substance d'une matière appropriée. [οξ] Quant à la croissance, c'est le mouvement dans une certaine proportion, suivant les trois dimensions, longueur, largeur et profondeur. Ces deux fonctions sont communes aux plantes et aux animaux; elles émanent sans aucun doute d'une *forme* commune aux uns et aux autres; et cette *forme* est ce qu'on appelle l'*âme végétative*. Enfin un groupe de cette classe, et ce sont proprement les animaux, outre la

première et la seconde *forme*, qu'il possède en commun avec la classe précédente, a de plus une troisième *forme*, d'où émanent la sensation et la locomotion.

Il vit aussi que chaque espèce d'animaux possède un caractère spécifique qui la sépare de toutes les autres espèces et en fait une espèce distincte. Il reconnut que ce [caractère] lui vient d'une *forme* qui lui est propre, surajoutée à la notion (معنى) de la *forme* qui lui est commune avec tous les autres animaux; et qu'il en est de même pour chacune des autres espèces animales.

Il comprenait que parmi ces corps sensibles qui se trouvent dans le monde de la *génération* et de la *corruption*, les uns ont une *essence* composée d'attributs nombreux surajoutés à l'attribut corporéité, les autres d'attributs moins nombreux. Considérant que la connaissance de ce qui est moins nombreux est plus aisée que celle de ce qui est plus nombreux, il se proposa d'abord d'étudier l'*essence* de la chose qui serait la plus pauvre d'attributs essentiels. Or, il vit que les *essences* des animaux et des plantes sont toujours composées d'un grand nombre d'attributs, vu la variété de leurs actes; [٥٥] il différa donc l'examen des *formes* de ces deux genres. Il vit de même que les parties de terre sont les unes plus simples que les autres; et il se proposa [d'examiner] les plus simples qu'il pourrait. Il vit aussi que l'eau est une chose peu complexe, vu le petit nombre d'actes qui émanent de sa *forme*; et qu'il en est de même du feu et de l'air. Il lui était déjà venu à l'esprit, auparavant, que ces quatre corps se changent l'un dans l'autre, et qu'ils ont en commun une même chose qui est l'attribut corporéité; que cette chose est nécessairement exempte des déterminations qui distinguent ces quatre

corps l'un de l'autre, qu'elle ne saurait se mouvoir ni vers le haut ni vers le bas, qu'elle ne saurait être ni chaude ni froide, ni humide ni sèche, parce qu'aucune de ces qualités n'étant commune à tous les corps, ne peut appartenir au corps en tant que corps; et s'il pouvait se trouver un corps dépourvu de toute *forme* surajoutée à la corporéité, il ne posséderait aucune de ces qualités et ne saurait avoir aucune qualité qui ne fût commune à tous les corps revêtus de n'importe quelles *formes*.

Il chercha donc s'il trouverait quelque qualité commune à la fois à tous les corps, vivants et inanimés; et il ne trouva rien qui fut commun à tous les corps, sauf la *notion* de l'étendue à trois dimensions, [51] qui se retrouve en tous, et à laquelle on applique les noms de longueur, largeur, et profondeur. Il reconnut que cette *notion* appartient au corps en tant que corps. Mais les sens ne lui révélaient l'existence d'aucun corps doué de cette unique propriété, dépourvu de toute *notion* surajoutée à l'étendue susdite, et totalement privé de toutes les autres *formes*. Il se demanda donc si cette étendue à trois dimensions constitue la *notion* même de corps, sans l'addition d'une autre *notion*, ou s'il en est autrement; et il vit que derrière cette étendue il y a une autre *notion*, qui est ce en quoi existe cette étendue; que l'étendue, isolée, ne saurait subsister par elle-même, comme d'ailleurs cette chose qui s'étend ne saurait subsister par elle-même, sans étendue. Il en prit pour exemple certains corps sensibles, doués de *formes*, comme l'argile. Il vit que si on lui donne une figure, celle d'une sphère, par exemple, elle a une longueur, une largeur et une profondeur déterminées. Si l'on

prend ensuite cette même sphère et qu'on la transforme en une figure cubique ou ovoïde, cette longueur, cette largeur et cette profondeur [primitives] changent, et ont [chacune] une nouvelle mesure différente de la première. Quant à l'argile, elle demeure identique et sans changement, mais elle doit toujours avoir [٥٧] une longueur, une largeur et une profondeur, quelle qu'en soit la mesure, et il n'est pas possible qu'elle soit dépourvue de ces dimensions. La variabilité de ces dimensions lui montrait qu'elles constituent une *notion* distincte de l'argile elle-même, l'impossibilité qu'elle en soit totalement dépourvue lui montrait qu'elles font partie de son *essence*.

Il conclut de ces considérations que le corps en tant que corps est composé en réalité de deux *notions*, dont l'une joue le rôle de l'argile dans la sphère de l'exemple précédent, et l'autre le rôle de la longueur, de la largeur et de la profondeur de la sphère, du cube, ou de toute autre figure donnée à cette argile. On ne peut concevoir un corps qui ne soit composé de ces deux *notions*, et aucune des deux ne peut exister sans l'autre. Celle qui peut changer et prendre maints aspects successifs (c'est la *notion* de l'étendue), représente la *forme* dans tous les corps doués de *formes*. Celle qui demeure dans le même état (c'est celle qui correspond à l'argile dans cet exemple), représente la *notion* de corporéité qui se trouve dans tous les corps doués de *formes*; et cette chose qui correspond à l'argile dans cet exemple, est ce que les philosophes appellent *matière* (هيولى) et ὕλη[1]; elle est totalement dénuée de *formes*.

(1) هيولى C'est la transcription arabe du mot grec ὕλη, *matière*.

Lorsqu'il en fut là de ses réflexions, comme il s'était écarté quelque peu des objets sensibles et s'était avancé jusqu'aux confins du monde intelligible, il se sentit pris de vertige et du désir de retourner vers les choses du monde sensible, auxquelles il était accoutumé. Il revint donc un peu en arrière et, laissant de côté le corps *en soi*, chose que la sensation ne perçoit pas et qu'elle ne peut atteindre, il s'attacha aux plus simples des corps sensibles qu'il connaissait: c'étaient les quatre corps qu'il avait examinés déjà. D'abord, il examina l'eau; et il vit que, laissée dans l'état que demande sa *forme*, elle manifeste [٥٨] un froid sensible et une tendance à se mouvoir vers le bas. Si elle est échauffée, soit par le feu soit par la chaleur du soleil, le froid l'abandonne d'abord, mais elle conserve la tendance à descendre ; si son échauffement devient considérable, alors elle perd la tendance à se mouvoir vers le bas, elle tend à se mouvoir vers le haut: et elle a perdu entièrement les deux attributs qui émanaient constamment de sa *forme*. Mais il ne savait rien de sa *forme*, sinon que ces deux actions émanaient d'elle; que, lorsqu'elle les perdait, la *forme* même disparaissait, et la *forme aqueuse* abandonnait ce corps, du moment qu'il manifestait des actions dont la nature est d'émaner d'une autre *forme*; qu'il survenait en lui une autre *forme* qu'il n'avait pas auparavant, et qu'il émanait de ce corps, grâce à cette *forme*, des actions dont la nature n'était pas d'en émaner, tant qu'il possédait la première *forme*.

Or, il comprit que tout ce qui est *produit* (حادث) a nécessairement besoin d'un *producteur*; et ainsi se dessina en son âme, avec des linéaments généraux et indistincts, la notion d'un *Auteur* (عامل) de la *forme*. Puis,

étudiant successivement, une à une, les *formes* qu'il connaissait péjà, il vit qu'elles sont toutes *produites*, et ont nécessairement besoin d'une *cause efficiente* (فاعل)[1]. Il considéra ensuite les *essences* des *formes*, et il ne lui parut pas qu'elles fussent rien de plus qu'une disposition du corps à produire tel acte; par exemple l'eau, lorsqu'elle a subi un échauffement considérable, a une disposition à se mouvoir vers le haut, et cette disposition c'est sa *forme*; car il n'y a là qu'un corps, plus certaines choses que les sens y perçoivent, lesquelles n'existaient pas auparavant, comme des qualités et des mouvements, et une *cause efficiente* qui les *produit*, alors qu'elles n'existaient pas auparavant; et l'aptitude du corps à certains mouvements plutôt qu'à [٥٩] certains autres, c'est sa *disposition* et sa *forme*. Il lui apparut qu'il en était ainsi de toutes les *formes*. Il voyait clairement aussi que tous les actes émanés d'elles n'appartiennent pas en réalité à ces *formes*, mais à une *cause efficiente* qui produit en elles les actes qui leur sont attribués ; et cette idée qui lui apparut est celle qui a été exprimée par cette parole de l'Envoyé de Dieu (que Dieu le comble de bénédictions et lui accorde le salut !) : « Je suis l'ouïe, par laquelle il entend, et la vue, par laquelle il voit »[2], et dans le Livre clair et précis de la Révélation[3] : « Ce n'est pas vous qui les avez tués, c'est

(1) Nous traduisons فاعل, tantôt par *cause efficiente*, tantôt par *agent*, tantôt par *auteur*.

(2) Cf. El-Bokhari, éd. de Boulaq, 1314, vol. VIII p. 105 et passim. C'est un *hadits qodsi*, une *parole divine* ou *parole révélée* qui cependant ne figure point dans le Qoran : c'est donc Dieu qui parle.

(3) C'est-à-dire dans le Qoran, Sourate VIII, verset 17.

Dieu qui les a tués. Ce n'est pas toi [Mohammed] qui as assailli, lorsque tu as assailli, c'est Dieu qui a assailli ».

Lorsque lui fut apparue la notion de cette *cause efficiente*, en une esquisse sommaire et indistincte, il éprouva un vif désir de la connaître distinctement. Mais comme il ne s'était jamais séparé du monde sensible, c'est parmi les objets sensibles qu'il se mit à chercher cet *agent*, et il ne savait pas s'il en existait un seul ou plusieurs. Il passa en revue tous les corps qui se trouvaient autour de lui et qui avaient toujours été l'objet de sa réflexion. Il vit que tous tantôt naissent et tantôt périssent; et s'il ne voyait point certains d'entre eux périr en totalité, il en voyait périr les parties: par exemple l'eau et la terre, dont il voyait les parties périr par le feu. De même pour tous les corps qui se trouvaient autour de lui: il n'en voyait aucun qui ne fut *produit* et qui ne supposât un *agent*. Aussi les écarta-t-il tous pour tourner son attention vers les corps célestes.

Il en arriva là de ses réflexions vers la fin du quatrième septénaire de son existence, c'est-à-dire [1·] à l'âge de vingt-huit ans. Il reconnut que le ciel et tous les astres qu'il contient sont des corps; car ils sont étendus suivant les trois dimensions, longueur, largeur et profondeur: aucun n'est dépourvu de ce caractère, et tout ce qui n'est pas dépourvu de ce caractère est corps; ils sont donc tous des corps. Il se demanda ensuite si leur étendue est infinie, s'ils se prolongent toujours suivant la longueur, la largeur et la profondeur, sans fin, ou bien s'ils sont finis, compris entre des limites où ils s'arrêtent, et au-delà desquelles il ne peut y avoir aucune étendue.

Ce problème ne laissa pas de l'embarrasser. Mais

bientôt, grâce à la puissance de sa réflexion et à la pénétration de sa pensée, il vit qu'un corps sans limites est une absurdité, une impossibilité, une notion inconcevable. Et il se confirma dans cette manière de voir par des arguments nombreux qui se présentaient à sa pensée.

Il [se] disait : Ce corps est limité dans la direction où je me trouve, du côté où je le perçois. Je n'en saurais douter, puisque je l'atteins par la vue. Quant au côté opposé à celui-ci, et au sujet duquel je puis concevoir un doute, je reconnais également qu'il est impossible qu'il s'étende à l'infini. J'imagine, en effet, deux lignes partant toutes les deux de ce côté limité et cheminant dans la profondeur du corps, sans fin, aussi loin que s'étend le corps lui-même. J'imagine ensuite que de l'une de ces deux lignes on retranche une portion considérable, du côté où cette ligne est limitée, puis, qu'on prenne la partie qui reste de cette ligne et qu'on en applique l'extrémité [11] où a été faite la coupure sur l'extrémité de la ligne demeurée intacte, en faisant coïncider la ligne dont on a retranché une partie avec la ligne de laquelle on n'a rien retranché. Si maintenant on suit ces deux lignes par la pensée dans la direction où on les suppose infinies, on bien on trouvera qu'elles se prolongent toujours jusqu'à l'infini sans que l'une des deux soit plus courte que l'autre, et alors celle dont on a retranché une partie sera égale à celle dont on n'a rien retranché, ce qui est absurde; ou bien celle qui a été raccourcie ne se prolongera pas toujours en même temps que l'autre, elle s'arrêtera et restera en route, cessant de suivre l'autre dans son développement; elle sera donc finie; et si alors on lui ajoute de nouveau la lon-

gueur qu'on lui a retranchée au début et qui était finie, cette ligne totale, aussi, sera finie ; et elle ne sera pas plus courte que la ligne à laquelle on n'a rien retranché, ni plus longue qu'elle ; elle lui sera égale. Mais celle-ci est finie : celle-là sera donc finie ; et le corps dans lequel on peut mener ces lignes est fini. Mais dans tout corps on peut mener ces lignes. Donc si nous supposons qu'un corps est infini, nous supposons une absurdité et une impossibilité.

Lorsque, grâce à ses remarquables dispositions naturelles, qui [lui] avaient [fait] imaginer un pareil argument, il eut acquis la certitude que la substance corporelle du ciel est finie, il voulut savoir quelle en est la figure, et comment il est limité par les surfaces qui le terminent. Il examina d'abord le soleil, [٦٢] la lune et les autres astres. Il vit qu'ils se levaient tous du côté de l'orient et se couchaient du côté de l'occident. Ceux d'entre eux qui passaient au zénith décrivaient un cercle plus grand, et ceux qui en étaient éloignés vers le nord ou vers le sud décrivaient un cercle plus petit, les plus éloignés décrivant un cercle plus petit que les plus proches, de sorte que les plus petits des cercles suivant lesquels se meuvent les astres sont deux cercles dont l'un a pour centre le pôle sud, à savoir le cercle de [l'étoile] *Sohail*(1), et l'autre a pour centre le pôle nord, à savoir le cercle des [deux étoiles appelées] *Alfarqadani*. Comme il habitait sous la ligne de l'équateur, ainsi que nous l'avons dit précédemment, [les plans de] tous ces cercles étaient perpendiculaires au plan de son horizon et disposés symétriquement du côté du sud et du

(1) Ou Canope.

côté du nord ; et il voyait à la fois les deux pôles. Il observait que lorsqu'une étoile se levait sur un grand cercle et une autre sur un petit, si leurs levers étaient simultanés, leurs couchers l'étaient aussi ; et cela se trouvait vrai pour toutes les étoiles, à tous les moments. Il en conclut que le ciel a une figure sphérique. Il se confirmait dans cette conviction en voyant le soleil, la lune et tous les autres astres revenir à l'orient, après avoir disparu à l'occident ; et aussi en constatant qu'ils apparaissaient à sa vue avec la même grandeur à leur lever, [١٢] au milieu de leur course, et à leur coucher. Or, si leur mouvement n'était point circulaire, ils se présenteraient nécessairement à sa vue plus rapprochés à un moment qu'à un autre ; et s'il en était ainsi, ils s'offriraient à lui avec des différences dans leurs dimensions et dans leurs volumes apparents, et ils les verrait, quand ils seraient proches, plus volumineux que lorsqu'ils seraient éloignés. Puisqu'il n'en était rien, la sphéricité [du ciel] lui était démontrée.

Il continua a observer le mouvement de la lune et vit qu'il est dirigé d'occident en orient, qu'il en est de même de ceux des planètes, et il arriva à connaître une grande partie de la science du ciel. Il découvrit que ses mouvements doivent se produire dans plusieurs sphères, contenues toutes en une seule, qui est la plus élevée, et qui fait tourner toutes les autres d'orient en occident, dans l'espace d'un jour et d'une nuit. Expliquer les découvertes qu'il fit successivement dans cette science, cela serait trop long. Elles sont d'ailleurs divulguées dans les livres, et pour le but que nous nous proposons il n'en faut pas plus que ce que nous en avons exposé.

Parvenu à ce degré de science, il reconnut que la Sphère céleste tout entière, avec tout ce qu'elle comprend, est comme un objet unique dont les parties sont liées les unes aux autres; que tous les corps qu'il avait autrefois examinés, comme la terre, l'eau, l'air, les plantes, les animaux, et autres de même nature, y sont tous contenus et n'en sortent point; que, [illegible] dans son ensemble, elle est tout ce qu'il y a de plus semblable à un individu d'entre les animaux; les étoiles brillantes qui s'y trouvent répondent aux sens de l'animal; les diverses sphères qu'elle contient, reliées entre elles, en représentent les membres ou organes; enfin, tout ce qui constitue, à l'intérieur de cette sphère, le monde de la *génération* et de la *corruption*, joue le rôle qu'ont dans le ventre de l'animal les divers excréments et humeurs, dans lesquels assez souvent se forment aussi des animaux comme dans le macrocosme.

Lorsqu'il eut compris que ce tout est en réalité comme un seul individu, lorsqu'il eut saisi dans leur unité ses multiples parties, en se plaçant au point de vue d'où il avait saisi dans leur unité les corps situés dans le monde de la *génération* et de la *corruption*, il se demanda si le monde, dans son ensemble, est une chose qui ait commencé d'être après qu'elle n'était point, et qui, du néant, ait surgi à l'existence, ou bien une chose qui ait toujours existé dans le passé et qui n'ait été aucunement précédée du néant. Cette question le laissa perplexe et aucune des deux thèses ne l'emporta sur l'autre dans sa pensée. Car lorsqu'il s'attachait à la doctrine de l'éternité, bien des objections l'arrêtaient, fondées sur l'impossibilité d'une existence illimitée, et semblables au raisonnement par lequel il avait

reconnu l'impossibilité d'un corps sans limites. En outre, il voyait que cette [existence] n'est pas dépourvue d'[*accidents*] *produits*, et qu'elle ne peut leur être antérieure; et ce qui ne peut [10] être antérieur aux [*accidents*] *produits* est, par conséquent, *produit*. — Mais lorsqu'il s'attachait à la doctrine de la *production*, d'autres difficultés l'arrêtaient. Il voyait que la notion d'une *production* du monde succédant à sa non-existence ne peut se concevoir que si l'on représente un temps antérieur à lui; mais le temps fait partie intégrante du monde et il en est inséparable ; donc on ne peut concevoir le monde plus récent que le temps. Il se disait encore : « Si le monde est *produit*, il a eu nécessairement un *producteur*. Mais ce *producteur* qui l'a *produit*, pourquoi l'a-t-il *produit* à tel moment et non auparavant ? Serait-ce parce qu'il lui est survenu du dehors quelque chose de nouveau ? Mais il n'existait rien d'autre que lui. Ou parce qu'un changement s'est produit en lui-même ? Mais alors qu'est-ce qui aurait *produit* ce changement ? — Il ne cessa de réfléchir à cette question pendant plusieurs années, et [bien] des arguments se présentèrent à son esprit sans que, dans sa pensée, l'une des deux thèses l'emportât sur l'autre.

Alors, las de cette recherche, il se mit à examiner les conséquences qui découlent de chacune des deux thèses, pensant que peut-être ces conséquences seraient identiques. — Supposait-il que le monde était *produit* et qu'il avait surgi du néant à l'existence : Il en résultait nécessairement qu'il ne peut être apparu à l'existence de lui-même et qu'il lui a fallu pour cela un *Auteur*. Et cet *Auteur* ne peut être atteint par aucun des sens. Car s'il était atteint par un sens, il serait un corps; s'il était un

corps, il ferait partie du monde, il aurait été *produit*, et aurait eu besoin d'un *producteur* ; et si [III] ce second *producteur* était aussi un corps, il aurait eu besoin d'un troisième *producteur*, ce troisième d'un quatrième, et ainsi de suite à l'infini ; ce qui est absurde. Le monde exige donc un *Auteur* qui ne soit pas un corps. S'il n'est pas un corps, il ne saurait être atteint par aucun sens, puisque les cinq sens n'atteignent que les corps et ce qui est inséparable des corps. S'il ne peut être senti, il ne peut pas non plus être imaginé, puisque l'imagination n'est que la représentation des choses senties, en l'absence de ces choses elles-mêmes. En outre, s'il n'est pas un corps, toutes les qualités des corps lui répugnent ; et la première des qualités des corps, l'étendue en longueur, largeur et profondeur, lui est étrangère, ainsi que toutes les qualités qui suivent de cette qualité corporelle. Enfin, s'il est l'*Auteur* du monde, sans aucun doute il a pouvoir sur lui et il en possède la connaissance. « Ne connaît-il pas, Celui qui a créé ? Il est pénétrant et savant [1] ». — De même, admettait-il que le monde est éternel, qu'il a toujours été tel qu'il est, et que le néant ne l'a point précédé : Il en résultait nécessairement que son mouvement a existé de toute éternité dans le passé, puisqu'il n'a pas été précédé d'un repos à la suite duquel il aurait commencé. Mais tout mouvement exige nécessairement un moteur, et le moteur doit être ou bien une force répandue dans un corps, soit dans le corps d'un être qui se meut lui-même, soit dans un autre corps extérieur au premier, ou bien une force qui n'est pas répandue et dispersée dans un corps. [IV] Or, toute force

(1) Qoran : sourate LXVII, verset 14.

répandue en un corps et dispersée en lui se divise s'il est divisé, se double s'il est doublé, par exemple la pesanteur dans la pierre qu'elle meut vers le bas : si la pierre est divisée en deux, sa pesanteur est divisée en deux ; si on ajoute à la première une seconde pierre semblable, la pesanteur s'augmentera d'une pesanteur égale à elle-même ; s'il se pouvait que la pierre augmentât toujours, à l'infini, cette pesanteur augmenterait à l'infini ; et si la pierre arrivait à une certaine grandeur et s'y arrêtait, la pesanteur aussi arriverait à un certain point et s'y arrêterait. Mais il a été démontré que tout corps est indubitablement fini ; par conséquent toute force résidant en un corps est indubitablement finie. Si donc nous trouvons une force qui produise une action infinie, c'est une force qui ne réside point en un corps. Or nous trouvons que le ciel se meut toujours d'un mouvement sans fin et ininterrompu, lorsque nous admettons qu'il est éternel *a parte ante*, sans commencement ; d'où il résulte nécessairement que la force qui le meut n'est point dans le corps qui le constitue, ni dans un corps extérieur à lui, et qu'elle appartient à une chose étrangère aux corps et à laquelle on ne peut attribuer aucune des qualités corporelles. Mais il avait déjà reconnu, au cours de ses premières méditations sur le monde de la *génération* et de la *corruption*, que chaque corps tient sa réalité véritable de sa *forme* seule, qui est la disposition de ce corps à certains mouvements ; que la réalité qu'il tient de sa *matière* est une réalité inconsistante [ΠΛ] et pour ainsi dire insaisissable. Par conséquent, le monde entier tient seulement sa réalité de sa disposition à [recevoir] l'impulsion de ce moteur exempt de *matière*, de qualités corporelles, de tout ce qui est accessible au sens ou à

l'imagination, et si ce moteur est l'*Auteur* des divers mouvements du ciel, [qu'il produit] par une action invariable, immuable, indéfectible, sans aucun doute il a pouvoir sur eux et les connaît. — Il arriva donc par cette voie au même résultat que par la première, sans que le doute dans lequel il était, touchant l'éternité du monde *a parte ante* ou sa *production*, eût été pour lui un obstacle : les deux thèses établissaient également l'existence d'un *Auteur* incorporel, qui n'est ni joint à aucun corps ni séparé d'aucun corps, ni à l'intérieur ni à l'extérieur d'aucun corps, car jonction et séparation, intériorité et extériorité, sont des déterminations des corps, et il en est exempt.

La *matière*, dans tout corps, ayant besoin d'une *forme*, puisqu'elle ne subsiste que par la *forme* et ne posséderait sans elle aucune réalité, et la *forme* ne tenant son existence que de cet *Auteur*, il comprit que toutes les choses qui existent ont besoin, pour exister, de cet *Auteur*, et qu'aucune d'entre elles ne peut subsister que par lui : il est leur *cause* (علة), et elles sont ses *effets* (معلولة), soit qu'elles aient passé du néant à l'existence, soit qu'elles n'aient point eu de commencement dans le temps et que le néant ne les ait nullement précédées ; car dans l'un et l'autre cas elles sont *causées*, elles ont besoin d'un *Auteur* et dépendent de lui pour l'existence : [٦٩] s'il ne subsistait pas, elles ne subsisteraient point, s'il n'était pas éternel *a parte ante*, elles ne le seraient point ; tandis qu'en lui-même il n'a pas besoin d'elles et ne dépend pas d'elles. Et comment n'en serait-il pas ainsi ?

Il a été démontré, en effet, que sa force, sa puissance, est infinie ; que d'autre part tous les corps sont finis,

limités, ainsi que tout ce qui leur est inhérent ou en dépend d'une manière quelconque. Par conséquent le monde entier avec tout ce qu'il contient, cieux, terre, astres, et tout ce qui est entre eux et au-dessus et au-dessous d'eux, [tout cela] est son œuvre, sa création, et lui est postérieur *logiquement*, même s'il ne lui est pas postérieur *chronologiquement*. De même si, prenant un corps dans ta main fermée, tu la déplaces, ce corps se meut nécessairement suivant le déplacement de la main, d'un mouvement qui est postérieur à celui de la main au point de vue *logique*, bien qu'il ne lui soit point postérieur au point de vue *chronologique*, les deux mouvements commençant en même temps. De même aussi le monde entier est un *effet* et une création, en dehors du temps, de cet *Auteur* « qui n'a qu'à commander lorsqu'il veut une chose, en lui disant : « Sois », et elle est. »[1]

Ayant reconnu que toutes les choses existantes sont l'œuvre de cet *Auteur*, il se proposa désormais, en les examinant de nouveau, d'y trouver des exemples de la puissance de leur *Auteur*, de son admirable et merveilleuse industrie, de sa subtile sagesse et de sa science profonde. Il découvrit dans les moindres choses qui existent, et davantage encore dans les plus grandes, des marques de sagesse, un art prodigieux, qui le confondirent d'admiration ; et il tint pour indubitable que [tout] cela ne pouvait être que l'œuvre d'un *Auteur* souverainement parfait, [γ.] et supérieur à la perfection [même], « à qui n'échappe pas le poids d'un atome dans les cieux ou sur la terre, ni rien qui soit plus petit ou plus grand[2]. » Il examina attentivement toutes les espèces

(1) Qoran : sourate XXXVI, verset 82.
(2) Qoran : sourate XXXIV, verset 3.

animales pour voir la structure qu'il a donnée à chacune, et l'usage qu'il l'a instruite à en faire. Car s'il n'avait pas enseigné à chaque animal à faire usage des membres dont il a été pourvu, en vue des divers avantages qu'ils sont destinés à procurer, l'animal n'en tirerait aucun profit et ces membres lui seraient à charge. Il en conclut qu'Il est le plus généreux des généreux, le plus miséricordieux des miséricordieux. Et chaque fois qu'il voyait dans l'Univers une chose douée de beauté, d'éclat, de perfection, de puissance, ou d'une supériorité quelconque, il reconnaissait en elle, après réflexion, une émanation de cet *Auteur*, un effet de son existence et de son action.

Il reconnut donc que ce qui lui appartient *par essence* est plus grand que [tout] cela, plus parfait, plus achevé, plus beau, plus éclatant, plus magnifique, plus durable, sans proportion avec tout le reste. Il ne cessa de rechercher toutes les formes de la perfection ; et il vit que toutes lui appartiennent, découlent de lui, et qu'il en est plus digne que tous les êtres auxquels on les attribue en dehors de lui. Il rechercha [d'autre part] toutes les formes de la *défectivité* (النقص), et vit qu'il en est exempt et affranchi. Comment n'en serait-il pas exempt ? La notion de *défaut* est-elle autre que celle de *non-être* (1) pur, ou de ce qui se rattache au *non-être ?* Et comment le *non-être* aurait-il quelque lien ou quelque mélange avec Celui qui est l'Être pur, nécessaire *par essence*, qui donne l'existence à tout ce qui la possède, hors duquel il n'y a pas d'existence, qui est [VI] l'Existence, la Perfection, la Plénitude, la Beauté, la Splendeur, la Puissance, la Science, qui est Lui ? « Tout périt si ce n'est sa Face » (2).

(1) عدم signifie *néant, non-être,* et aussi *privation* (στέρησις) au sens aristotélicien du mot.

(2) Qoran : sourate XXVIII, verset 88.

Il en était là de ses connaissances vers la fin du cinquième septénaire de son existence, c'est-à-dire à l'âge de trente-cinq ans ; et son esprit était si préoccupé de cet *Auteur*, qu'il n'avait plus de pensée pour autre chose que pour Lui, et qu'il négligeait l'étude et les recherches auxquelles il s'était livré sur les choses de l'Univers. Il en vint à ce point qu'il ne pouvait laisser tomber sa vue sur quoi que ce fût sans y apercevoir des marques d'industrie, et sans reporter aussitôt sa pensée sur l'ouvrier en laissant de côté l'ouvrage. Enfin il se portait vers lui avec ardeur, et son cœur, entièrement dégagé du monde sensible, s'attachait au monde intelligible.

Lorsqu'il eut acquis la connaissance de cet être dont l'existence n'a pas de cause et qui est cause de l'existence de toutes les choses, il voulut savoir par quoi il avait acquis cette connaissance, par quelle faculté il percevait cet être. Il passa en revue tous ses sens, l'ouïe, la vue, l'odorat, le goût et le toucher, et vit qu'ils ne perçoivent tous que des corps, ou ce qui réside dans des corps : l'ouïe ne perçoit que les sons, lesquels résultent des ondulations de l'air qui se produisent lorsque les corps s'entrechoquent ; la vue ne perçoit que les couleurs ; l'odorat les odeurs ; le goût les saveurs ; le toucher les températures (1), la dureté et la mollesse, le rugueux et le lisse ; de même [VI] la faculté imaginative n'atteint que ce qui a longueur, largeur et profondeur. Tous ces objets de perception sont des propriétés des corps ; et les sens ne peuvent rien percevoir d'autre, parce qu'ils

(1) الامزجة Cf. Djordjani : *Definitiones*, ed. Flügel, p. ٢٢٤ المزاج ; Al-Khowarezmi : *Liber Mafâtîh al-ʿolûm*, ed. Van Vloten, p. ١٨١ الامزجة

sont des facultés répandues dans des corps, divisibles en même temps qu'eux : aussi ne perçoivent-ils que des corps, susceptibles de division. Car une telle faculté se trouvant répandue dans une chose divisible, il est hors de doute que lorsqu'elle saisit un objet, cet objet doit nécessairement être divisé suivant les divisions de la faculté elle-même. Et par conséquent toute faculté [répandue] dans un corps ne saisit que des corps ou ce qui réside dans des corps. Or il était déjà établi que cet Être nécessaire est absolument exempt de qualités corporelles ; il ne saurait donc être perçu que par quelque chose qui ne soit ni un corps, ni une faculté [répandue] dans un corps, ni une dépendance des corps à un titre quelconque, qui ne soit ni intérieur ni extérieur aux corps, ni joint aux corps, ni séparé des corps. Il lui était dès lors évident qu'il percevait cet Être par sa propre *essence*, et qu'il en avait la notion gravée en lui ; d'où il concluait que sa propre *essence*, par laquelle il le percevait, était une chose incorporelle, à laquelle ne convenait aucune des qualités des corps ; que toute la partie extérieure et corporelle qu'il percevait dans son être n'était point sa véritable *essence*, et que son *essence* véritable ne consistait que dans cette chose par laquelle il percevait l'Être nécessaire.

Lorsqu'il sut que son *essence* n'était pas cet assemblage corporel qu'il percevait par les sens et dont sa peau formait l'enveloppe, il n'eut plus qu'un dédain absolu pour son corps, et se mit à réfléchir à cette noble *essence* par [٧٢] laquelle il percevait cet Être noble et nécessaire. Il se demanda si cette noble *essence* pouvait périr, ou se *corrompre* et se dissoudre, ou bien si elle était d'éternelle durée. Or il vit que la *corruption* et la *dissolution* sont

des *accidents* des corps, et consistent en ce qu'ils se dépouillent d'une *forme* pour en revêtir une autre, par exemple quand l'eau devient air ou que l'air devient eau, quand les plantes deviennent terre ou cendre, ou que la terre devient plante ; car telle est la notion de *corruption*. Mais une chose qui n'est point corps, qui n'a pas besoin de corps pour subsister, qui est complètement étrangère à la nature corporelle, sa *corruption* ne peut se concevoir en aucune façon.

Lorsqu'il eut acquis la certitude que son *essence* véritable ne pouvait se *corrompre*, il voulut savoir quelle serait sa condition quand elle aurait abandonné le corps et qu'elle en serait affranchie. Mais il s'était convaincu déjà qu'elle ne l'abandonne que lorsqu'il ne lui convient plus comme instrument ; il examina donc successivement toutes les facultés perceptives, et vit que chacune d'entre elles tantôt perçoit *en puissance* et tantôt perçoit *en acte*. Par exemple l'œil, pendant qu'il est fermé ou qu'il se détourne de l'objet visuel, est *percevant en puissance* (*percevant en puissance* signifie qu'il ne perçoit point en ce moment, mais qu'il peut percevoir dans l'avenir) ; lorsqu' [au contraire] il est ouvert et tourné vers l'objet visuel, il est *percevant en acte* (et *percevant en acte* signifie qu'en ce moment il perçoit). De même, chacune de ces facutés [peut] percevoir *en puissance* et [peut] [Vᵉ] percevoir *en acte*. Si l'une quelconque de ces facultés n'a jamais perçu *en acte*, tant qu'elle demeure *en puissance* elle ne désire point la perception de son objet propre, car elle n'en a encore aucune notion ; par exemple [chez] l'aveugle de naissance. S'il lui est arrivé de percevoir *en acte*, puis, qu'elle soit redevenue *en puissance*, tant qu'elle demeure *en puissance* elle désire la perception *en acte*,

parce qu'elle connaît cet objet perceptible, s'attache à lui et a du penchant pour lui ; tel est l'homme qui, après avoir vu clair, est devenu aveugle : il désire sans cesse revoir les objets visibles. Plus grande est la perfection, la splendeur, la beauté de l'objet perceptible, plus grand aussi est le désir qu'il inspire, et plus vive la douleur que cause son absence. C'est pourquoi la douleur de celui qui perd la vue après en avoir joui est plus vive que la douleur de celui qui perd l'odorat ; car les objets perçus par la vue sont plus parfaits et plus beaux que les objets perçus par l'odorat. Si donc, parmi les choses, il s'en trouve une dont la perfection soit infinie, dont la beauté, l'éclat, la splendeur soient sans bornes, qui soit au dessus de la perfection, de la beauté, de la splendeur, une chose telle qu'il n'existe nulle perfection, nulle beauté, nulle splendeur et nul éclat qui ne vienne d'elle, qui ne découle d'elle, celui qui perdrait la perception d'une telle chose après l'avoir connue, celui-là, sans aucun doute, pendant tout le temps qu'il en serait privé, éprouverait des souffrances infinies ; et celui qui le percevrait continuellement éprouverait une volupté ininterrompue, une félicité sans bornes, une joie, une allégresse infinie.

Or il avait déjà la certitude que l'Être nécessaire possède tous les attributs de la perfection, tandis que les attributs de la *défectivité* lui sont étrangers et qu'il en est exempt. Il était certain également que [Vº] la chose par laquelle il en obtenait la perception n'était pas semblable aux corps, et ne périssait pas lorsqu'ils périssaient. Il tira de là les conclusions suivantes : Quand l'être qui possède une pareille *essence* apte à une pareille perception se sépare du corps par la mort,— ou bien dans sa vie

antérieure, pendant qu'il gouvernait le corps, il n'a acquis aucune notion de cet Être nécessaire, ne s'est jamais uni à lui, n'en a point entendu parler; et alors, lorsqu'il est séparé du corps, il ne désire point cet Être et ne souffre pas d'en être privé. Quant aux facultés corporelles, elles disparaissent toutes en même temps que le corps et ne désirent plus leurs objets propres, n'ont plus d'inclination pour eux, ne souffrent plus d'en être privées. C'est là la condition de tous les êtres dépourvus de raison, qu'ils revêtent ou non la forme humaine. Ou bien dans sa vie antérieure, pendant qu'il gouvernait le corps, il a acquis la notion de cet Être, il a connu sa perfection et sa beauté, mais il s'est détourné de lui pour suivre ses passions, et la mort l'a surpris en cet état. Alors il est privé de la *vision intuitive* (مشاهدة), mais il en éprouve un désir ardent, et il demeure dans un long tourment, dans des souffrances infinies, soit qu'il doive être délivré de ces maux après une longue épreuve et recouvrer l'intuition de ce qui faisait l'objet de son désir, soit qu'il doive demeurer dans ses tourments pendant une éternelle durée, selon les dispositions qu'il avait, pendant sa vie corporelle, pour l'une ou l'autre de ces deux [destinées]. Ou bien il a acquis la notion de cet Être nécessaire avant de se séparer du corps, il s'est tourné vers lui tout entier, s'appliquant à méditer sur sa gloire, sa beauté, sa splendeur, et il ne s'est point détourné de lui jusqu'à ce que la mort l'ait surpris [VI] en état de contemplation et d'intuition *actuelle* (بالفعل). Alors, quand il se sépare du corps, il demeure dans une volupté infinie, dans une félicité, une allégresse et un contentement perpétuel, parce que l'intuition qu'il a de cet Être nécessaire est ininterrompue, parce que cette

intuition est exempte d'impureté et de mélange, et il est délivré de toutes les choses sensibles requises par ces facultés corporelles, et qui, par rapport à cet *état*, n'étaient que douleurs, maux et obstacles.

Il lui fut dès lors constant que sa perfection propre et son bonheur consistaient dans la vision intuitive, perpétuelle et toujours *en acte*, de cet Être nécessaire dont il ne devait pas se détourner pendant la durée d'un clin d'œil afin que, la mort le surprenant en état d'intuition *actuelle*, son bonheur fût continu, sans intervention d'aucune douleur. Alors il se demanda comment il pourrait parvenir à la continuité de cette vision *en acte*, de façon qu'il ne lui arrivât [jamais] de s'en détourner. Il attachait sa pensée à cet Être pendant un instant ; mais bientôt un objet sensible quelconque venait s'offrir à sa vue, le cri d'un animal frappait son oreille, une image se présentait à son esprit ; ou bien il éprouvait une douleur dans un membre, ressentait la faim, la soif, la chaleur ou le froid, ou avait besoin de se lever pour évacuer ses excréments. Alors, troublé dans sa méditation et dérangé de l'état où il se trouvait, il ne parvenait qu'à grand peine à se remettre dans cet état d'intuition ; et il craignait de voir la mort fondre sur lui à l'improviste, pendant qu'il était dans un [tel] état de distraction, et de tomber [W] dans le malheur éternel, dans la douleur de la séparation.

Cette situation lui était pénible, et il n'en pouvait trouver le remède. Il se mit à passer en revue toutes les espèces d'animaux, observant leurs actions et leurs penchants, dans l'espoir de constater chez certains d'entre eux la notion de cet Être et un effort vers lui, et d'apprendre d'eux quelque chose qui serait cause de son

salut. Mais il les vit tous occupés seulement de se procurer la nourriture, de satisfaire l'envie de manger, l'envie de boire, l'appétit sexuel, de chercher l'ombre ou la chaleur, et absorbés par ces [divers soins] nuit et jour, jusqu'au moment de leur mort, jusqu'au terme de leur existence; il n'en voyait aucun s'écarter de cette règle, ni se livrer jamais à une autre occupation. Il en conclut qu'ils ne connaissaient pas cet Être, qu'ils n'en avaient aucun désir, aucune préoccupation, et qu'ils tendaient au néant ou à un état semblable au néant. Lorsqu'il eut porté ce jugement sur les animaux, il comprit qu'il s'appliquait aux plantes *à fortiori*, puisque les plantes n'ont qu'en partie les perceptions qu'ont les animaux : si donc des êtres doués d'une perception plus parfaite n'atteignaient pas à cette connaissance, à plus forte raison des êtres moins bien doués quant à la perception n'y atteignaient-ils point. D'autant qu'il voyait toutes les actions des plantes se borner à la nutrition et à la reproduction.

Ensuite il considéra les astres et les sphères, et vit qu'ils ont tous des mouvements réglés et accomplissent leur course suivant un certain ordre; qu'ils sont transparents et brillants, inaccessibles au changement et à la *corruption*. Il se persuada fortement qu'ils avaient, outre leurs corps, des *essences* connaissant cet Être nécessaire, et que ces *essences* intelligentes [٧٨] n'étaient ni des corps, ni imprimées dans des corps. Et comment n'auraient-ils point de telles *essences*, étrangères à la corporéité, lorsqu'il en avait une, lui qui était si faible et qui avait tant besoin des choses sensibles! Car il faisait partie des corps corruptibles, et cependant, malgré son infirmité (نفص), il n'en avait pas moins une *essence* étrangère aux corps et incorruptible. Il conclut

de là que les corps célestes sont à plus forte raison dans le même cas, qu'ils connaissent cet Être nécessaire et qu'ils en ont éternellement l'intuition *actuelle*, parce que rien d'analogue aux empêchements qui interrompaient la continuité de son intuition, à lui, et qui provenaient de l'intervention des objets sensibles, ne se rencontre dans les corps célestes.

Alors il se demanda pourquoi, seul d'entre toutes les espèces animales, il avait le privilège de cette *essence* qui le rendait semblable aux corps célestes. Or il s'était assuré précédemment, à propos des *éléments* et de la transformation des uns dans les autres, qu'aucune des choses qui sont à la surface de la terre ne conserve sa *forme*, mais que la *génération* et la *corruption* se succèdent toujours en elles ; que la plupart de ces corps sont mélangés, composés de choses contraires, et c'est pourquoi ils aboutissent à la *corruption* ; qu'il ne s'y trouve rien de pur, et que ce qui s'y rapproche de la pureté, de l'absence de mélange et d'adultération, est le moins sujet à la *corruption*, comme l'or [V°] et le diamant. Or les corps célestes sont simples, purs ; par suite, ils ne sauraient être sujets à la *corruption*, et les *formes* ne s'y succèdent point.

Il avait aussi la certitude que, parmi tous les corps placés dans le monde de la *génération* et de la *corruption*, il en est dont l'*essence* se compose d'une seule *forme* ajoutée à la *notion* de la corporéité : ce sont les quatre *éléments ;* et il en est [d'autres] dont l'*essence* se compose de plusieurs *formes*, comme les plantes et les animaux. Or ceux dont l'*essence* est composée d'un plus petit nombre de *formes* ont des actes moins nombreux et sont plus éloignés de la vie ; et s'il s'en trouvait un

complètement dépourvu de *forme*, il n'aurait aucun accès à la vie : il serait dans un état semblable au néant. Ceux dont l'*essence* se compose de *formes* plus nombreuses ont des actes plus nombreux et sont mieux en mesure d'entrer dans la vie ; et si cette *forme* est de telle sorte qu'elle ne puisse, par aucun moyen, être séparée de la *matière* à laquelle elle est exclusivement affectée, alors la vie est au plus haut point manifeste, durable et intense. La chose complètement dépourvue de *forme*, c'est la ὕλη, la *matière* ; elle n'a rien de la vie, elle est semblable au néant. Ce qui est constitué par une seule *forme*, ce sont les quatre *éléments*, qui sont au plus bas degré de l'existence dans le monde de la *génération* et de la *corruption ;* c'est d'eux que sont formées les choses douées de plusieurs *formes*. Mais ces *éléments* ont une vie extrêmement faible, puisqu'ils ne se meuvent que d'un seul mouvement ; et ils ont une vie faible parce que chacun d'entre eux a un contraire manifestement opposé, qui contrecarre sa tendance [Λ·] naturelle, et s'efforce de lui ôter sa *forme* ; ce qui fait que leur existence manque de stabilité et que leur vie est faible. La vie des plantes a plus de force ; celle des animaux se manifeste encore davantage, et cela suivant les conditions ci-après : Lorsque, dans un de ces composés, la nature d'un des *éléments* domine, celui-ci, à raison de sa force dans le composé, l'emporte sur la nature des autres *éléments*, neutralise leurs forces, et le composé, recevant le caractère de l'*élément* dominant, n'est apte par suite qu'à une vie rudimentaire, comme cet *élément* lui-même n'est apte qu'à une vie rudimentaire et débile. Lorsqu'[au contraire], dans un de ces composés, la nature d'aucun des *éléments* ne domine, alors les *élé-*

ments s'y trouvent dans une égale proportion, dans un [parfait] équilibre, aucun d'eux ne neutralise la force d'un autre plus que la sienne propre n'est neutralisée par lui, mais les actions qu'ils exercent les uns sur les autres sont équivalentes, aucun *élément* ne manifeste la sienne, dans le composé, à un degré supérieur, aucun ne le domine, et ce composé, loin de ressembler à chacun des *éléments*, est comme si sa *forme* n'avait pas de contraire; par suite, il se trouve apte à la vie. Plus cette proportion est égale, parfaite, voisine de l'équilibre absolu, plus aussi le composé est éloigné d'avoir un contraire, et plus est parfaite la vie de ce composé.

Or comme l'*esprit animal*, qui a pour siège le cœur, réalise un haut degré d'équilibre, car il est plus subtil que la terre et l'eau, plus épais que le feu et l'air, il tient le milieu, aucun des éléments [Λ[] ne s'oppose à lui d'une opposition manifeste, et il est capable par conséquent de la *forme* de l'animalité. — Il vit que de ces prémisses résultaient nécessairement les conséquences suivantes:

Le mieux équilibré de ces *esprits animaux* est apte à la vie la plus parfaite qui soit dans le monde de la *génération* et de la *corruption*; on peut presque dire de cet *esprit* que sa *forme* n'a pas de contraire; et il ressemble par conséquent aux corps célestes dont les *formes* n'ont pas de contraire. En outre l'*esprit* d'un tel animal, étant véritablement intermédiaire entre les *éléments*, ne se meut pas d'une manière absolue vers le haut ni vers le bas; et s'il pouvait être placé au milieu de la distance qui s'étend entre le centre et le point le plus élevé où atteint le feu, sans subir une *corruption*, il y demeurerait immobile, sans chercher à monter ni à descendre; s'il se

mouvait d'un mouvement de déplacement, ce serait pour tourner autour du milieu, comme font les corps célestes; s'il se mouvait sur place, ce serait en tournant sur lui-même; et il serait de figure sphérique, car il ne saurait en être autrement. Par conséquent il a une étroite ressemblance avec les corps célestes.

Comme il avait examiné les manières d'être des animaux sans rien apercevoir en eux qui lui fit supposer qu'ils eussent quelque notion de l'Être nécessaire, tandis que sa propre *essence*, il le savait, en possédait la notion, il conclut de là qu'il était l'animal doué d'une âme [parfaitement] équilibrée, [l'animal] semblable aux corps célestes. Il comprit qu'il était d'une espèce différente des autres espèces d'animaux, qu'il était créé pour une autre fin et destiné à quelque chose de grand à quoi n'était destinée aucune [autre] espèce animale. C'était une marque suffisante de sa noblesse, que la plus vile des deux parties dont il était composé, la partie corporelle, [ΛΓ] fût de [toutes] les choses la plus semblable aux substances célestes extérieures au monde de la *génération* et de la *corruption*, exemptes des *accidents* de *défaut*, de *modification* et de *changement*. Quant à la plus noble de ses deux parties, c'était la chose par laquelle il connaissait l'Être nécessaire, et cette chose intelligente était une chose souveraine et divine, inaccessible à la *corruption*, étrangère à toutes les déterminations des corps, insaisissable aux sens ou à l'imagination, inconnaissable par tout instrument [de connaissance] autre qu'elle-même, mais connaissable à elle-même, qui est à la fois l'intelligent, l'intelligible et l'intelligence, le connaissant, le connaissable et la connaissance, sans présenter pour cela aucune diversité, car diversité et sépa-

ration sont des attributs des corps et des *accompagnements* (لواحـــق) des corps, tandis qu'il n'y a là ni corps, ni attribut d'un corps, ni *accompagnement* d'un corps.

Lorsqu'il eut compris en quoi, seul entre toutes les espèces animales, il ressemblait aux corps célestes, il vit qu'il était obligatoire pour lui de leur ressembler, d'imiter leurs actions, et de faire ses efforts pour se rendre pareil à eux.

De même, encore, il vit que par la partie la plus noble de lui-même, qui lui donnait la connaissance de l'Être nécessaire, il avait quelque ressemblance avec cet Être, en tant qu'elle était exempte des attributs corporels, comme l'Être nécessaire en est exempt. Il y avait donc aussi obligation pour lui de travailler à acquérir lui-même ses qualités de toutes les manières possibles, de prendre son caractère, d'imiter ses actes, de s'appliquer avec zèle à l'accomplissement de sa volonté, de s'abandonner à lui, d'acquiescer à tous ses décrets de tout cœur, extérieurement et intérieurement, [٨٢] au point de s'en réjouir, fussent-ils pour son corps une cause de douleur, de dommage, et même de destruction totale.

De même il vit qu'il avait, d'autre part, quelque ressemblance avec toutes les espèces animales, par la partie vile de lui-même, qui appartenait au monde de la *génération* et de la *corruption*, à savoir le corps ténébreux et grossier, qui demandait à ce monde diverses choses sensibles, la nourriture, la boisson, l'union sexuelle. Il vit aussi que ce corps ne lui avait pas été donné en vain et ne lui avait pas été joint sans utilité, qu'il y avait obligation pour lui de s'en occuper, de l'entretenir ; mais il ne pouvait s'acquitter de ce soin que par des actions semblables à celles de tous les animaux.

Donc les actes auxquels il était obligé se présentaient à lui comme ayant un triple objet. C'étaient :

Ou bien des actes qui l'assimilaient aux animaux dépourvus de raison,

Ou bien des actes qui l'assimilaient aux corps célestes,

Ou bien des actes qui l'assimilaient à l'Être nécessaire,

La première assimilation s'imposait à lui en tant qu'il avait un corps ténébreux, muni de membres distincts, de facultés diverses, et animé d'impulsions variées.

La seconde assimilation s'imposait à lui en tant qu'il possédait l'*esprit animal* logé dans le cœur, principe du corps entier et des facultés qui sont en lui.

La troisième assimilation s'imposait à lui en tant qu'il était lui, c'est-à-dire en tant qu'il était l'*essence* par laquelle il connaissait cet Être nécessaire; et il savait déjà que son bonheur, son salut et sa délivrance, résidait dans la continuelle intuition de cet Être nécessaire, et consistait à ne plus se détourner de lui, fût-ce pendant la durée d'un clin d'œil.

Ensuite il se demanda [Λξ] de quelle manière il pourrai obtenir cette continuité; et ses réflexions l'amenèrent à conclure qu'il devait travailler à ces trois sortes d'assimilation: — En ce qui concerne la première, elle ne lui servirait en rien à acquérir cette intuition: elle ne pouvait que l'en distraire et l'empêcher d'y arriver, puisqu'elle ne s'applique qu'aux choses sensibles, et que toutes les choses sensibles sont [comme] un voile qui intercepte cette intuition. Mais elle est indispensable à la conservation de cet *esprit animal,* par lequel se réalise la seconde assimilation, l'assimilation aux corps célestes; et par là elle est nécessaire, bien qu'elle ne soit pas exempte de l'inconvénient signalé. — Quant à la seconde

assimilation, elle lui procurerait une grande partie de l'intuition continue. Mais cette intuition est mélangée; car celui qui a cette sorte d'intuition continue a conscience, en même temps, de sa propre *essence* et se retourne vers elle, ainsi qu'il sera montré plus loin. — Enfin la troisième assimilation donne l'intuition pure, l'absorpsion absolue qui ne laisse aucune place à l'attention pour un objet autre que l'Être nécessaire. Celui qui a cette intuition, sa propre *essence* ne lui est plus présente, elle s'est évanouie, elle a disparu; et de même toutes les autres *essences*, nombreuses ou non, sauf celle de l'Unique, du Vrai, du Nécessaire, Grand, Très-Haut et Tout-Puissant.

Lorsqu'il eut compris que le but suprême de ses désirs était [٨٥] cette troisième assimilation, mais qu'il ne pourrait y parvenir qu'à force d'habitude, après s'être longtemps exercé à réaliser la seconde assimilation, et qu'il ne pourrait pendant ce temps subsister que grâce à la première assimilation qui, bien que nécessaire, n'en était pas moins, il le savait, un obstacle *par essence* quoiqu'elle fut une aide *par accident*, il s'imposa de ne se livrer à cette première assimilation que dans la mesure du nécessaire, c'est-à-dire dans la mesure [strictement] suffisante pour que l'*esprit animal* pût subsister. Et il trouva que pour que cet *esprit* subsiste, deux choses sont nécessairement requises: D'abord, de quoi l'entretenir à l'intérieur et réparer ses pertes: c'est la nourriture; ensuite, de quoi le préserver à l'extérieur et écarter de lui toute cause de dommage, le froid, la chaleur, la pluie, l'ardeur du soleil, les animaux dangereux, etc. Il vit que s'il usait de ce qui, dans ce genre, est nécessaire, sans réflexion et au hasard des circonstances,

il risquait de tomber dans l'excès, d'en prendre plus que la quantité suffisante, et de travailler contre lui-même sans s'en apercevoir. Il jugea donc que ce qu'il avait à faire c'était de se fixer à lui-même des limites qu'il ne franchirait pas, des mesures qu'il ne dépasserait point ; et il comprit que cette fixation devait porter sur le genre des choses dont il se nourrirait, c'est-à-dire quelles seraient ces choses, sur leur quantité, et sur l'intervalle à observer entre les repas.

Il considéra d'abord les genres de choses dont il se nourrirait et vit qu'il y en avait trois : les [ʌ] plantes qui n'ont pas encore achevé leur croissance et qui n'ont pas accompli leur entière évolution, à savoir les [différentes] espèces de légumes verts qui sont comestibles ; les fruits des plantes entièrement formés, arrivés à terme, et qui ont produit leurs graines afin qu'il en naisse d'autres plantes de leur espèce, à savoir les [diverses] espèces de fruits frais ou secs ; enfin les animaux comestibles, soit terrestres soit marins. Or il savait déjà que toutes ces sortes [d'êtres] sont l'œuvre de cet Être nécessaire dans l'approche duquel il avait compris que résidait son bonheur, auquel il cherchait à se rendre semblable. Et sans aucun doute, le fait de se nourrir d'eux était de nature à les empêcher d'atteindre leur perfection, il constituait une intervention entre eux et la fin dernière à laquelle ils étaient destinés ; c'était là s'opposer à l'action de l'Agent, et cette opposition allait à l'encontre de son but, qui était de se rapprocher de lui et de se rendre semblable à lui. Il vit donc que le mieux serait pour lui de s'abstenir, s'il était possible, de toute nourriture. Mais cela lui était impossible ; car une telle abstinence aboutirait à la destruction de son corps, ce qui

serait, à l'encontre de son Auteur, une opposition plus grande que la première, puisque lui-même était plus noble que ces autres choses dont la destruction était la condition de sa conservation. Il se résigna donc au moindre des deux maux, il se permit la moins grave des deux oppositions : il jugea que de ces [divers] genres [d'êtres] il devait, lorsque certains manqueraient, prendre ceux qu'il aurait sous la main, dans la mesure qu'il jugerait tout à l'heure convenable ; lorsqu'ils [IV] se trouveraient tous [à sa portée], alors il convenait qu'il délibérât, et choisit ceux d'entre eux dont la destruction ne constituerait pas une grande opposition à l'action de l'Agent, comme par exemple la pulpe des fruits dont la maturité est complète et qui contiennent des semences aptes à la reproduction, à condition qu'il eût soin de ne point manger ces semences, de ne point les détruire, ni les jeter dans un lieu impropre à la végétation, comme des rochers, un terrain salsugineux, etc. S'il ne pouvait trouver de tels fruits pourvus d'une pulpe comestible, pommes, poires, prunes, etc., alors il pourrait prendre soit des fruits qui n'ont de comestible que les semences elles-mêmes, comme les noix, les châtaignes, soit des plantes potagères qui n'ont point encore atteint leur plein développement, à condition de s'adresser à ceux qui, parmi ces deux [sortes de végétaux] se trouveraient en plus grande quantité et qui auraient une plus grande puissance de reproduction, de ne pas arracher leurs racines, et de ne pas détruire inutilement leurs semences. Si ces [végétaux] manquaient, alors il pourrait prendre des animaux ou leurs œufs, à condition de ne prendre parmi les animaux que de ceux qui se trouveraient en plus grand nombre, de façon à n'en pas détruire une

espèce complètement. Telles sont les [règles] qu'il crut [devoir s'imposer] relativement aux sortes de choses dont il ferait sa nourriture.

En ce qui concerne la quantité, il jugea qu'elle devait être suffisante pour apaiser la faim, sans plus. Quant à l'intervalle entre les repas, il jugea que lorsqu'il aurait pris la nourriture suffisante, il devait en rester là, et ne pas se mettre en quête [M] d'autre chose tant qu'il n'éprouverait pas une faiblesse l'entravant dans un des actes que lui imposait la seconde assimilation, et dont il sera question ci-après.

Pour ce qui est des choses nécessaires à la conservation de *l'esprit animal* et propres à le protéger extérieurement, il n'en était pas en peine, puisqu'il était vêtu de peaux, et avait une demeure qui le mettait à l'abri des événements du dehors ; cela lui suffisait, et il ne jugea pas à propos de s'en occuper. Pour la nourriture, il observa les règles qu'il s'était prescrites et que nous venons d'exposer.

Il s'attacha ensuite au second [genre d']actes, c'est-à-dire l'assimilation aux corps célestes, leur imitation, et l'acquisition de leurs qualités. Il étudia leurs caractères, et il lui parut qu'ils étaient compris sous trois genres. Le premier comprenait les caractères qu'ils présentent par rapport aux choses qui sont au-dessous d'eux, dans le monde de la *génération* et de la *corruption*, à savoir la chaleur qu'ils leur communiquent *par essence*, et le froid qu'ils leur communiquent *par accident*, la lumière, la raréfaction et la condensation, en un mot toutes les modifications qu'ils y produisent, et grâce auxquelles elles deviennent aptes à [recevoir] les *formes spirituelles* (الصور الروحانية), que répand sur elles l'Agent doué d'une

existence nécessaire. Le second genre comprenait les caractères qui leur appartiennent *par essence*, comme la transparence, l'éclat, la pureté, l'absence de ternissure et de souillure quelconque, le mouvement circulaire, soit autour de leur centre pour certains d'entre eux, soit, pour certains, autour du centre d'un autre. Le troisième genre comprenait les caractères qui leur appartiennent par rapport à l'Être nécessaire, comme d'en avoir l'intuition perpétuelle, de ne point se détourner de lui, [۸۹] d'être épris de lui, de se conduire d'après ses décrets, de se plier à l'accomplissement de ses desseins, de ne se mouvoir que par sa volonté et sous sa puissance. Il se mit donc à faire tous ses efforts pour se rendre semblable à eux dans ces trois genres de caractères.

En ce qui concerne le premier genre, il se rendait semblable à eux en s'imposant de ne point voir un animal ou une plante souffrir d'un besoin, d'un mal, d'un dommage, d'un empêchement, dont il pût les délivrer, sans le faire disparaître : dès que son regard tombait sur une plante qu'un objet, formant obstacle, empêchait de recevoir le soleil, ou à laquelle s'attachait une autre plante de manière à lui nuire, ou qui était sur le point de périr de soif, il écartait l'obstacle si c'était possible, il détachait d'elle la plante nuisible en s'arrangeant pour ne point endommager celle qui nuisait, il revenait arroser la plante aussi souvent qu'il le pouvait. Lorsque son regard tombait sur un animal serré de près par une bête de proie, pris dans un nœud coulant, ou qui s'était enfoncé une épine, ou qui avait reçu dans les yeux ou dans les oreilles quelque objet nuisible, ou pressé par la soif, ou par la faim, il s'imposait de faire son possible pour le délivrer de tout cela, il lui procurait à man-

ger ou à boire. Lorsque son regard tombait sur une eau qui coulait pour aller abreuver des plantes ou des animaux, si un obstacle en arrêtait le cours, [comme] une pierre tombée en travers ou un dépôt de limon, il faisait disparaître cet obstacle. Il ne cessa point de travailler assidûment à ce genre d'assimilation jusqu'à ce qu'il y eût atteint la perfection.

En ce qui concerne le second genre, il se rendait semblable aux corps célestes en s'imposant une continuelle propreté, en débarrassant son corps de [toute] saleté, [9•] de [toute] ordure, en se lavant fréquemment avec de l'eau, en se nettoyant les ongles, les dents, les parties cachées du corps, et les parfumant, autant qu'il lui était possible, avec des herbes odoriférantes et diverses sortes de cosmétiques odorants, en nettoyant et parfumant souvent ses vêtements, si bien qu'il était tout entier resplendissant de beauté, d'élégance, de propreté et de bonne odeur. En outre il se livrait aux diverses espèces de mouvement circulaire : tantôt il faisait le tour de l'île en suivant le rivage et longeant les bords ; tantôt il faisait le tour de sa demeure, ou il décrivait autour de quelque rocher un certain nombre de circuits, soit au pas ordinaire, soit au pas gymnastique ; tantôt il tournait sur lui-même jusqu'à ce qu'il fût pris de vertige.

En ce qui concerne le troisième genre, il se rendait semblable aux corps célestes en fixant sa pensée sur cet Être nécessaire et en s'isolant des choses sensibles, fermant ses yeux, bouchant ses oreilles, luttant de toutes ses forces contre l'entraînement de l'imagination, faisant de suprêmes efforts pour ne considérer que Lui seul et ne lui associer aucun [objet dans sa pensée]. Il avait recours pour cela au mouvement de rotation sur lui-

même, s'excitant à l'[accélérer]; et lorsque son mouvement rotatoire atteignait une grande rapidité, les objets sensibles s'évanouissaient, l'imagination s'affaiblissait ainsi que les autres facultés qui ont besoin d'instruments corporels, tandis que se fortifiait l'action de son *essence*, indépendante du corps, si bien que par moments sa pensée devenait pure de mélange et avait l'intuition de l'Être nécessaire. Mais bientôt les facultés corporelles revenant à la charge faisaient évanouir [٩١] cet *état*, et « ramené par elles au plus bas degré » (1), il revenait à l'état précédent. Si une faiblesse l'envahissait qui l'entravait dans [la poursuite de] son but, il prenait quelque nourriture en se conformant aux règles ci-dessus énoncées; puis il se remettait à son travail d'assimilation aux corps célestes suivant les trois genres énumérés plus haut, et il s'y appliquait pendant un certain temps : il faisait effort contre ses facultés corporelles, et elles faisaient effort contre lui, il luttait contre elles, et elles luttaient contre lui. Dans les moments où il prenait sur elles le dessus, où sa pensée était pure de mélange, il avait une lueur de l'*état* propre à ceux qui sont arrivés à la troisième assimilation.

Puis il se mit à poursuivre la troisième assimilation, et à faire des efforts pour y atteindre. Il considéra donc les attributs de l'Être nécessaire. Or, au cours de ses spéculations théorétiques et avant d'aborder la pratique, il lui était apparu que ces attributs sont de deux genres : des attributs positifs, comme la science, la puissance, la sagesse, et des attributs négatifs, comme d'être indépendant de la corporéité et des corps, de ce qui en est

(1) Cf. Qoran, sourate XCV, verset 5.

une suite, et de ce qui s'y rattache, même d'une façon lointaine. D'ailleurs les attributs positifs impliquent cette indépendance, en sorte que rien ne se trouve en eux qui appartienne aux attributs des corps, en particulier la multiplicité : ces attributs affirmatifs ne rendent point multiple son *essence*, et ils reviennent tous à une seule *notion* qui est son *essence* véritable. Il se mit donc à chercher comment il pourrait se rendre semblable à Lui dans chacun de ces deux genres.

En ce qui concerne les attributs positifs, sachant qu'ils reviennent tous à sa véritable *essence* et qu'ils ne contiennent aucune espèce de multiplicité, puisque la multiplicité [٩٢] est un attribut des corps, sachant que la connaissance qu'il a de son *essence* est son *essence*, il comprit que s'il pouvait lui-même connaître l'*essence* divine, cette connaissance par laquelle il connaîtrait l'*essence* de Dieu ne serait pas une *notion* surajoutée à l'*essence* divine, mais qu'elle serait Lui-même ; et il vit que se rendre semblable à lui par les attributs positifs, cela consistait à ne connaître que Lui seul sans lui associer aucun attribut corporel. C'est à quoi il s'appliqua.

En ce qui concerne les attributs négatifs, ils reviennent tous à l'exemption de la corporéité. Il entreprit donc d'éliminer de sa [propre] *essence* les attributs de la corporéité. Il en avait déjà éliminé un grand nombre pendant qu'il s'exerçait précédemment à s'assimiler aux corps célestes, mais il en restait encore un grand nombre, comme le mouvement circulaire, car le mouvement est un des attributs les plus caractéristiques des corps, le soin qu'il avait des animaux et des plantes, la compassion qu'il éprouvait pour eux, le souci qu'il prenait de les

débarrasser d'entraves ; car ce sont là aussi des attributs corporels, puisqu'il ne les voyait, tout d'abord, que par une faculté qui est corporelle, et c'est par une faculté corporelle également qu'il travaillait à leur être utile. Il entreprit donc d'éliminer de son âme tous ces attributs, puisqu'aucun ne convenait à l'état vers lequel il tendait maintenant ; et il se réduisit à demeurer immobile dans le fond de sa caverne, tête baissée, paupières closes, s'abstrayant des objets sensibles et des facultés corporelles, concentrant ses préoccupations et ses pensées uniquement sur l'Être [91] nécessaire, sans lui associer rien d'autre. Dès que s'offrait à lui l'image de quelque autre objet, de toutes ses forces il l'éloignait de son imagination et la chassait. Il s'entraîna à cet exercice et il y travailla longtemps. Il lui arrivait de passer plusieurs jours sans manger et sans remuer. Et, au plus fort de cette lutte, parfois disparaissaient de sa mémoire et de sa pensée toutes les choses autres que son *essence* propre. Mais cette dernière ne disparaissait pas tandis qu'il était plongé dans la vision de l'Être Véritable et Nécessaire ; et il s'en affligeait, sachant que c'était là un mélange dans la vision pure, et un partage de l'attention.

Il persévéra dans ses efforts pour arriver à l'anéantissement de sa personnalité, à la [complète] absorption dans la vision de [l'Être] Véritable ; et il y réussit enfin : [tout] disparut de sa mémoire et de sa pensée, les cieux, la terre, et ce qui est entre eux, toutes les *formes spirituelles* et les facultés corporelles, et toutes les facultés séparées de toute matière (c'est-à-dire les *essences* qui ont la notion de cet Être) ; et sa propre *essence* disparut avec tout le reste. Tout cela s'évanouit, se dissipa « comme

des atomes disséminés »[1], et il ne resta que l'Unique, le Véritable, l'Être permanent, qui lui dit avec Sa parole, qui n'est pas une *notion* surajoutée à Son *essence* : « A qui appartient aujourd'hui la Souveraineté ? — Au Dieu Unique et Irrésistible »[2]. Il comprit ses paroles, et ni son ignorance du discours ni son incapacité de parler ne l'empêchèrent de les comprendre. Il s'abîma dans cet *état ;* et il perçut « ce qu'aucun œil n'a vu, ce qu'aucune oreille n'a entendu, ce qui ne s'est jamais présenté au cœur d'un mortel. »[3]

N'attache pas ton cœur à la description d'une chose qui ne peut être conçue [٩٤] par un cœur humain. Car beaucoup de choses que conçoit le cœur des humains sont difficiles à décrire ; mais combien l'est davantage une chose que le cœur, par aucune voie, ne saurait arriver à concevoir, qui n'appartient pas au même monde que lui, qui n'est pas de son domaine !

Par [le mot] cœur[4], je n'entends point [l'organe] corporel [appelé] cœur, ni l'*esprit* logé dans sa cavité, mais la *forme* de cet *esprit*, *forme* qui, par ses facultés, se répand dans le corps de l'homme. Car chacun des trois porte le nom de cœur (قلب) ; mais il n'y a aucun moyen que cette chose puisse être saisie par l'un des trois. Or on ne saurait énoncer que ce qu'ils peuvent saisir ; et celui qui veut énoncer cet *état* veut l'impossible : il est semblable à celui qui voudrait goûter les couleurs en

(1) Qoran, sourate LVI, verset 6 ; ou, avec la leçon de P. E., sourate XXV, verset 25.

(2) Qoran, sourate XL, verset 16.

(3) Cf. El-Bokhari, op. cit., vol. VI, p. 115. C'est un *hadits qodsi*. Cf. supra p. 57, note 2.

(4) Le mot arabe قلب signifie à la fois âme, esprit, et cœur.

tant que couleurs, ou qui voudrait que le noir, par exemple, soit doux ou acide.

Toutefois, nous ne te quitterons pas sans te donner, pour te renseigner sur les merveilles qu'il perçut en cette *station* (مقام), quelques indications sous forme allégorique[1], et non en heurtant à la porte de la vérité, puisque pour acquérir une connaissance certaine de ce qui est [perçu] dans cette *station*, il n'y a pas d'autre moyen que d'y arriver. Ecoute donc avec les oreilles de ton cœur, regarde avec les yeux de ton intellect ce que je vais t'indiquer : peut-être y trouveras-tu une direction qui te mettra dans le droit chemin. La [seule] condition que je t'impose c'est de ne pas me demander présentement de te donner de vive voix une explication plus ample [٩٥] que celle que je confie à ces feuilles ; car le champ est étroit, et déterminer par des mots un objet inexprimable de sa nature, c'est chose périlleuse.

Je [te] dirai donc qu'après avoir perdu le sentiment de son *essence* et de toutes les *essences* pour ne plus voir en fait de réalité que l'Un, l'Immuable, qu'après avoir perçu ce qu'il avait perçu, lorsqu'ensuite, revenu de l'état où il s'était trouvé, et qui ressemblait à l'ivresse, il considéra de nouveau les autres choses, alors il lui vint à l'esprit qu'il n'avait pas d'*essence* qui le distinguât de l'*essence* du Véritable ; que sa véritable *essence* était l'*essence* du Véritable ; que ce qu'il avait considéré auparavant comme son *essence*, distincte de l'*essence* du Véritable, n'était rien véritablement, et que rien n'existait si ce n'est l'*essence* du Véritable ; qu'il en était d'elle comme de là

(1) Jeu de mots intraduisible : on dit, en arabe, *frapper* (dans le sens d'*employer*) une métaphore, une allégorie.

lumière du soleil qui tombe sur les corps opaques et qu'on voit apparaître en eux : bien qu'on l'attribue au corps dans lequel elle apparaît, elle n'est autre chose en réalité que la lumière du soleil. Si ce corps disparaît, sa lumière disparaît ; mais la lumière du soleil demeure dans son intégrité : elle n'est pas diminuée par la présence de ce corps, elle n'est pas augmentée par son absence ; dès que se présente un corps propre à réfléchir une telle lumière, il la réfléchit ; si [un tel] corps fait défaut, la réflexion fait défaut et ne saurait exister.

Il se confirma dans cette pensée en considérant cette vérité dont il avait établi l'évidence, que l'*essence* du Véritable, Puissant et Grand, n'admet aucune espèce de multiplicité, que la connaissance qu'il a de son *essence* [91] est son *essence* même ; d'où il résultait pour lui nécessairement que celui qui arrive à posséder la connaissance de Son *essence* possède Son *essence*. Or il était arrivé à posséder la connaissance : il possédait donc l'*Essence*. Mais cette *Essence* ne peut être présente qu'à elle-même, et sa présence elle-même est l'*Essence* ; il était donc l'*Essence* elle-même. De même toutes les *essences* séparées de la *matière* et connaissant cette *Essence* véritable, qui lui étaient apparues précédemment comme plusieurs : elles devenaient pour lui, en vertu de ce raisonnement, une seule et même chose.

Peut-être aurait-il persévéré dans cette méprise si Dieu ne l'avait secouru de sa miséricorde et n'était venu au-devant de lui pour le guider. Il comprit alors que s'il s'était mépris, il le devait à un reste de l'obscurité des corps et du manque de limpidité des choses sensibles : car le *beaucoup* et le *peu*, l'*un*, l'*unité* et la *pluralité*, la *réunion* et la *séparation*, sont autant d'attributs

des corps ; et ces *essences* séparées qui connaissent l'*essence* du Véritable, Puissant et Grand, étant exemptes de *matière*, on ne doit dire ni qu'elles sont plusieurs ni qu'elles sont un, parce que la pluralité ne consiste que dans la séparation de certaines *essences* d'avec certaines autres, l'unité, de même, n'existe que par la réunion, et aucune de ces choses ne se comprend que dans les *notions* composées, mêlées de *matière*. Mais les explications deviennent ici très malaisées. Car si on parle de ces *essences* séparées sous la forme de la pluralité, comme nous le faisons en ce moment, cela donne à penser qu'il y a en elles une pluralité, tandis qu'elles sont exemptes de pluralité ; et si on en parle sous la forme du singulier, cela donne à penser qu'elles ne font qu'un, ce qui leur répugne [également].

Il me semble voir se dresser ici une de [81] ces chauves-souris dont le soleil blesse les yeux, et l'entendre s'écrier, en s'agitant dans les chaînes de sa ténébreuse ignorance : « Votre subtilité dépasse les bornes au point de sortir du caractère des hommes raisonnables et de rejeter le décret de la raison ; car c'est un des décrets de la raison qu'une chose est une ou multiple. » Mais qu'il modère son ardeur, qu'il laisse là ses intempérances de langage, qu'il se défie de lui-même, et qu'il s'instruise en considérant le monde sensible et vil dont il fait lui-même partie, comme le fit Hayy ben Yaqdhân lorsque, l'examinant à un certain point de vue, il le voyait multiple d'une multiplicité impossible à embrasser, échappant à toute limite, puis l'examinant à un autre point de vue, il le voyait un, et demeurait incertain touchant cette question, sans pouvoir la trancher en un sens plutôt que dans l'autre. Pourtant le monde sensible est la patrie de

la pluralité et de l'individualité ; c'est en lui que se comprend leur véritable nature ; c'est en lui que se rencontrent la séparation et la réunion, l'agrégation et la distinction, la conformité et la contrariété. Que pensera-t-il donc du monde divin, auquel on ne peut appliquer les mots de *tout* et de *partie* ; au sujet duquel on ne peut proférer aucun des termes auxquels nos oreilles sont accoutumées, sans y supposer quelque chose de contraire à la réalité ; que celui-là seul connaît qui en a eu la *vision* ; et dont la vraie nature n'est saisie que par celui qui y est parvenu ! Quant au [reproche] qu'il articule : « Vous en êtes venu jusqu'à sortir du caractère des hommes raisonnables et à rejeter l'autorité de la raison », nous lui accordons cela, et nous le laissons avec [٩٨] sa raison et ses hommes raisonnables. Car la raison dont ils veulent parler, lui et ses pareils, n'est autre chose que la faculté logique qui passe en revue les choses sensibles individuelles pour en dégager l'idée générale ; et les hommes raisonnables dont il parle sont ceux qui usent de ce procédé intellectuel ; tandis que le procédé dont nous discourons est au-dessus de tout cela. Qu'il se bouche donc les oreilles pour n'en pas entendre parler, celui qui ne connaît rien en dehors des choses sensibles et de leurs idées générales ; et qu'il retourne avec ses pareils, gens qui « [ne] connaissent [que] les apparences de la vie d'ici-bas, et quant à l'Autre vie, n'en ont cure » (1).

Si tu es de ceux qui se contentent de ce genre d'allusion et d'indication en ce qui concerne les choses du monde divin, et si tu n'attribues pas à nos paroles la

(1) Qoran, sourate xxx, verset 7.

signification que l'usage leur attribue, nous te dirons encore quelque chose de ce que perçut Hayy ben Yaqdhân dans la *station*, mentionnée précédemment, de ceux qui possèdent la vérité.

Parvenu à l'entière absorption, au complet anéantissement de l'individualité, à l'union véritable, il vit que la sphère suprême, au delà de laquelle il n'y a point de corps, possède une *essence* exempte de *matière*, qui n'est pas l'*essence* de l'Un, du Véritable, qui n'est pas non plus la sphère elle-même, ni quelque chose de différent de l'une et de l'autre, mais qui est comme l'image du soleil reflétée dans un miroir poli : cette image n'est pas le soleil, ni le miroir, ni quelque chose de différent de l'un et de l'autre. Il vit que l'*essence* de cette sphère, *essence* séparée, avait une perfection, une splendeur, une beauté trop grandes pour que la langue puisse les exprimer, trop subtiles pour revêtir la forme de lettres ou de sons. Il vit [99] qu'elle atteignait au plus haut degré de la volupté, du contentement, de la félicité et de l'allégresse, par la contemplation de l'*Essence* du Véritable, du Glorieux.

Il vit aussi que la sphère suivante, la sphère des étoiles fixes, possède une *essence* exempte de *matière* également, et qui n'est pas l'*essence* de l'Un, du Véritable, ni l'*essence* séparée qui appartient à la sphère suprême, ni [la seconde sphère] elle-même, ni quelque chose de différent des [trois], mais qui est comme l'image du soleil reflétée dans un miroir qui reçoit par réflexion l'image reflétée par un autre miroir tourné vers le soleil. Et il vit que cette *essence* possède aussi une splendeur, une beauté et une félicité semblables à celles de la sphère suprême. Il vit de même que la sphère suivante, la sphère de Satur-

ne, a une *essence* séparée de la *matière*, qui n'est aucune des *essences* qu'il avait déjà perçues, ni quelque chose d'autre, mais qui est comme l'image du soleil reflétée dans un miroir qui réfléchit l'image reflétée par un [second] miroir qui réfléchit l'image reflétée par un [troisième] miroir tourné vers le soleil. Il vit que cette *essence* possède aussi la même splendeur et la même félicité que les précédentes.

Il vit successivement que chaque sphère possède une *essence* séparée, exempte de matière, qui n'est aucune des *essences* précédentes, ni cependant quelque chose d'autre, mais qui est comme l'image du soleil réfléchie de miroir en miroir dans l'ordre même des sphères, et que chacune de ces *essences* possède une beauté, une splendeur, une félicité et une allégresse « qu'aucun œil n'a vues, qu'aucune oreille (...) n'a entendues, qui ne se sont jamais présentées au cœur d'un mortel[1]. »

Enfin il arriva au monde de la *génération* et de la *corruption*, constitué par tout ce que contient la sphère de la lune. Il vit que ce monde possède une *essence* exempte de *matière*, qui n'est aucune des *essences* qu'il avait déjà perçues, ni quelque chose d'autre; et que cette *essence* possède soixante-dix mille visages, dont chacun a soixante-dix mille bouches, munies chacune de soixante-dix mille langues avec lesquelles cette bouche loue l'*essence* de l'Un, du Véritable, la bénit et la glorifie sans relâche. Il vit que cette *essence*, dans laquelle semble apparaître une multiplicité sans qu'elle soit multiple, possède une perfection et une félicité semblables à celles qu'il avait reconnues dans les *essences* précédentes : cette

(1) Cf. supra, p. 91, note 3.

essence est comme l'image du soleil qui se reflète dans une eau tremblotante en reproduisant l'image renvoyée par le miroir qui reçoit le dernier la réflexion d'après l'ordre déjà indiqué, c'est-à-dire en commençant par celui qui fait face au soleil même.

Puis il vit qu'il possédait lui-même une *essence* séparée ; et cette *essence*, s'il se pouvait que l'*essence* aux soixante-dix mille visages fut divisée en parties, on pourrait dire qu'elle en est une partie ; et n'était que cette *essence* a été *produite* après [un temps] où elle n'existait point, on pourrait dire qu'elle se confond avec celle [du monde de la *génération* et de la *corruption*] ; enfin si elle n'était devenue propre à son corps dès le moment où elle a été *produite*, on pourrait dire qu'elle n'a pas été *produite*.

Il vit qu'au même rang il existait des *essences* semblables à la sienne, ayant appartenu à des corps qui avaient existé puis disparu, et des *essences* appartenant à des corps qui existaient en même temps que lui ; [il vit] que la multiplicité de ces *essences* dépasse toute limite s'il [l·l] est permis de les appeler plusieurs, ou qu'elles ne font qu'un s'il est permis de les appeler une. Et il vit que sa propre *essence* et ces *essences* qui sont au même rang jouissent d'une beauté, d'une splendeur, d'une félicité infinies « qu'aucun œil n'a vues, qu'aucune oreille n'a entendues, qui ne se sont jamais présentées au cœur d'un mortel » (1), que ne peuvent décrire ceux qui savent décrire, que seuls peuvent comprendre ceux qui les connaissent pour y être parvenus. Il vit un grand nombre d'*essences* séparées de la *matière*, comparables à des miroirs rouillés, couverts de saleté, qui, avec cela, tour-

(1) Cf. supra, p. 97, l. 15 et note.

nent le dos aux miroirs polis où se reflète l'image du soleil, et détournent d'eux leurs faces. Il vit que ces *essences* ont une hideur et une *défectivité* dont il ne s'était jamais fait une idée. Il les vit [plongées] dans des douleurs sans fin, dans des soupirs incessants, entourées d'un rideau de tourments, brûlées par le feu du voile de la séparation, partagées entre la répulsion et l'attraction [comme] par [le mouvement alternatif d']une scie.

Outre ces *essences* en proie aux tourments, il vit là d'autres *essences* apparaître puis s'évanouir, se former puis se dissoudre. Il s'y arrêta longuement, les considérant avec soin, et il vit une immense terreur, de grandes choses, une création continuelle, une sagesse ordonnatrice profonde, parachèvement et insufflation[1], production et destruction.

Mais il ne fut pas longtemps sans reprendre ses sens : il se réveilla de cet *état* qui était semblable à l'évanouissement, son pied glissa de ce séjour (مقام), le monde sensible lui apparut et le monde divin s'éloigna de lui ; car ils ne peuvent être réunis dans [l. ٢] un même état. Le monde d'ici-bas et l'autre monde sont comme deux co-épouses : on ne peut satisfaire l'une sans irriter l'autre.

Peut-être diras-tu : « Il résulte de ce que tu as rapporté de cette *vision* que les *essences* séparées, si elles sont [unies] à un corps éternel et incorruptible, comme les sphères, sont elles-mêmes éternelles ; et si elles sont [unies] à un corps qui tend vers la *corruption*, comme [c'est le cas chez] les animaux raisonnables, elles se *corrompent* elles-mêmes, disparaissent et sont

(1) Cf. supra, p. 13, note 1.

anéanties, conformément à la comparaison des miroirs réfléchissants : car l'image ne subsiste qu'autant que subsiste le miroir, et lorsque le miroir se *corrompt*, l'image elle-même se *corrompt* infailliblement et s'évanouit aussi ». — Je te répondrai : « Combien vite tu as oublié notre pacte et tu as violé nos conventions ! Ne t'avons-nous pas dit précédemment qu'ici le champ de l'interprétation est étroit, et que les mots donnent toujours à supposer des choses fausses ? Si tu as été conduit à supposer pareille chose, c'est parce que tu as admis que l'objet auquel on compare et celui qu'on lui compare sont identiques à tous égards. C'est ce qu'il ne convient de faire dans aucune discussion ordinaire. Combien moins ici ! Car le Soleil, et sa lumière, et sa figure, et son image, et les miroirs et les images qui viennent s'y refléter, sont autant de choses inséparables des corps, qui ne subsistent que par eux et en eux, qui par conséquent ont besoin d'eux pour exister et disparaissent avec eux. Tandis que les *essences* divines et les *âmes souveraines*(1) sont toutes étrangères aux corps et à ce qui dépend des corps ; elles en sont aussi éloignées que possible, sans lien, sans dépendance par rapport à eux. Que les corps disparaissent ou subsistent, [1·Γ] qu'ils existent ou n'existent pas, cela leur est indifférent. Elles n'ont de lien et de dépendance que par rapport à l'*Essence* de l'Un, du Véritable, de l'Être nécessaire, qui est la première d'entre elles, leur principe et leur cause, qui les fait exister, leur donne la durée, leur communique la permanence et la perpétuité. Elles n'ont pas besoin des corps : ce sont les corps qui ont besoin

(1) الارواح الربانية Cf. dans Platon, *Philèbe* 30 D, les expressions *βασιλικὴν ψυχήν*, *βασιλικὸν νοῦν*.

d'elles. Si elles n'existaient point, les corps n'existeraient point ; car elles en sont les principes. De même s'il se pouvait que vînt à disparaître l'*essence* de l'Un, du Véritable, Très-Haut et Très-Saint, à qui rien de pareil ne saurait arriver (« Il n'y a d'autre Dieu que Lui »[1]), toutes ces *essences* disparaîtraient, les corps disparaîtraient, le monde sensible disparaîtrait totalement, et il ne demeurerait aucun être, car toutes ces choses sont en connexion les unes avec les autres ; et bien que le monde sensible vienne à la suite du monde divin, semblable à son ombre, tandis que le monde divin peut se passer de lui et lui est étranger, néanmoins on ne peut en supposer la non-existence : car il est une suite du monde divin, et sa *corruption* implique le changement, mais ne comporte pas la non-existence totale. C'est là ce qu'exprime le Livre Saint à l'endroit où il dit que « les montagnes seront enlevées, devenues semblables à des flocons de laine[2], et les hommes à des papillons[3] », que « le soleil et la lune seront enveloppés dans les ténèbres[4] et que les mers se répandront[5], au jour où la terre sera changée en autre chose que la terre et [de même] les cieux[6]. »

Voilà toutes les indications que je puis te donner présentement sur ce que vit Hayy ben Yaqdhân dans cette *condition* sublime. Ne demande pas [d'en apprendre] davantage par des paroles, car c'est à peu près impossible.

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(1) Qoran, sourate II, verset 256.
(2) Cf. Qoran, sourate CI, verset 5 ; et sourate LXXXI, verset 3.
(3) Cf. Qoran, sourate CI, verset 4.
(4) Cf. Qoran, sourate LXXXI, verset 1.
(5) Cf. Qoran, sourate LXXXII, verset 3.
(6) Qoran, sourate XIV, verset 49.

Quant à la fin de son histoire, je vais te la raconter. (١٠٤) Lorsqu'il revint au monde sensible après l'excursion qu'il avait faite, il prit en dégoût les soins de la vie d'ici-bas, il éprouva un vif désir de l'autre vie, et s'efforça de revenir à cette *condition* par les mêmes moyens qu'il avait employés précédemment ; il y parvint, avec moins de peine que la première fois, et y demeura plus longtemps ; après quoi il revint au monde sensible. Puis il s'appliqua de nouveau à arriver à la *condition* qu'il recherchait ; cela lui fut plus facile que la première et la seconde fois, et il y demeura plus longtemps. Il lui devint de plus en plus facile d'arriver à cette *condition* sublime, et il y demeura chaque fois plus longtemps ; si bien qu'enfin il y parvenait dès qu'il voulait, et n'en sortait que lorsqu'il voulait. Il s'attachait donc à cette *condition*, ne s'en détournant que forcé par les exigences de son corps qu'il avait d'ailleurs réduites autant que faire se pouvait. Mais il souhaitait, outre cela, que Dieu Puissant et Grand le débarrassât tout à fait de son corps qui le sollicitait à abandonner cette *condition*, afin d'être tout entier et perpétuellement à ses délices, et d'être délivré de la douleur qu'il éprouvait lorsqu'il était détourné de cette *condition* et rappelé aux exigences du corps. Il demeura dans cet état jusqu'à ce qu'il eût dépassé le septième septénaire de son existence, c'est-à-dire l'âge de cinquante ans. C'est alors qu'il entra en rapport avec Açâl ; et nous allons te raconter, s'il plaît à Dieu, les relations qu'ils eurent ensemble.

On rapporte que dans l'île où Hayy ben Yaqdhân [١٠٥] était né suivant l'une des deux versions différentes relatives à son origine, avait émigré une des sectes de bon aloi issues de l'un des anciens prophètes (les bénédic-

tions de Dieu soient sur eux !) C'était une secte qui exprimait toutes les réalités véritables par des symboles qui en donnaient des images et en fixaient des impressions dans les âmes, comme c'est l'usage dans les discours [qui s'adressent] au vulgaire. Cette secte ne cessa pas de s'étendre dans cette île, d'y devenir puissante et de s'y mettre en évidence, jusqu'à ce qu'enfin le roi du pays l'embrassa et amena tout le monde à y adhérer.

Dans cette île vivaient alors deux hommes de mérite et de bonne volonté : l'un se nommait Açâl et l'autre Salâmân. Ils eurent connaissance de cette secte et l'embrassèrent avec ardeur, s'attachant à observer tous ses préceptes et s'astreignant à toutes ses pratiques : c'est dans ce but qu'ils s'étaient liés d'amitié. Ils cherchaient parfois à comprendre les expressions traditionnelles de cette Loi religieuse relatives à la description du Dieu Grand et Puissant, à ses anges, à la description de la résurrection, des récompenses et des châtiments. L'un d'eux, Açâl, cherchait davantage à pénétrer au fond des choses, à deviner le sens mystique, il était plus porté à l'interprétation. Salâmân s'attachait davantage au [sens] extérieur, il était plus porté à s'abstenir de l'interprétation, du libre examen et de la spéculation. Mais l'un et l'autre s'adonnaient avec zèle aux pratiques extérieures, à l'examen de conscience, à la lutte contre les passions. Or il y avait dans cette Loi religieuse des maximes qui engageaient à la retraite, à la solitude, [l. 1] déclarant qu'en elles étaient la délivrance et le salut ; il y avait aussi d'autres maximes qui recommandaient la fréquentation et la société des hommes. Açâl s'attachait à rechercher la retraite et donnait la préférence aux maximes qui la recommandaient, à cause de son naturel

enclin à une continuelle méditation, à la recherche des explications, à l'élucidation des symboles; et c'est surtout dans la solitude qu'il avait l'espoir d'y arriver. Salâmân au contraire s'attachait à la société des hommes, et donnait la préférence aux maximes qui la recommandaient, à cause de son naturel inapte à la méditation et au libre examen : il estimait que cette fréquentation est propre à écarter la tentation, à éloigner les mauvaises pensées, à protéger contre les instigations des démons. Cette divergence d'opinion fut cause de leur séparation.

Açâl avait entendu parler de l'île dans laquelle on a rapporté que Ḥayy ben Yaqdhân était né : il en connaissait la fertilité, les ressources, le climat tempéré, et [pensait] qu'en s'y retirant il arriverait à la réalisation de ses vœux. Il résolut de s'y transporter, et d'y passer, loin des hommes, le reste de sa vie. Il réalisa tous ses biens, en employa une partie à fréter un navire pour le transporter dans cette île, distribua le reste aux pauvres, dit adieu à son compagnon, et monta sur la croupe des flots. Les matelots, après l'avoir conduit dans cette île, le déposèrent sur le rivage et l'y laissèrent. Açâl demeura [seul] dans l'île à adorer Dieu Puissant et Grand, à le glorifier, à le bénir, à méditer ses beaux [f. V] noms et ses attributs sublimes, sans que sa pensée fut interrompue, sans que sa méditation fût troublée. Lorsqu'il avait besoin de nourriture, il mangeait des fruits de l'île ou des animaux qu'il y prenait, autant qu'il en fallait pour éloigner la faim. Il demeura ainsi pendant un certain temps, dans une félicité parfaite, en société intime avec son Seigneur ; et chaque jour il recevait de lui des bienfaits, des faveurs signalées, [des marques] de complaisance à satisfaire ses désirs et à lui procurer la nourriture, qui

le confirmaient dans sa foi absolue et rafraichissaient son cœur[1].

Pendant ce temps Hayy ben Yaqdhân était profondément absorbé dans ses extases (مقامات) sublimes, et il ne quittait sa caverne qu'une fois par semaine pour prendre la nourriture qui s'offrait à lui. C'est pourquoi Açâl ne le découvrit pas tout d'abord : il fit le tour des rivages de l'île et en visita les [différentes] parties sans voir un homme ni en apercevoir la trace. Ce fut pour lui un surcroît de joie et une satisfaction intime, vu la résolution qu'il avait prise de rechercher avec un [soin] extrême la retraite et l'isolement.

Mais il arriva enfin qu'un jour, Hayy ben Yaqdhân étant sorti pour chercher sa nourriture au moment où Açâl se dirigeait vers le même lieu, ils s'aperçurent l'un l'autre. Açâl ne douta pas que ce fût un religieux solitaire venu dans cette île pour mener une vie retirée, comme lui-même y était venu ; et il craignit, s'il l'abordait et faisait sa connaissance, que ce ne fût une cause de trouble pour son état et un obstacle à la réalisation de ses désirs. Quant à Hayy ben Yaqdhân, il ne sut ce qu'était cet [être], car il ne reconnaissait en lui la forme d'aucun des animaux qu'il [١٠٨] avait déjà vus ; et Açâl portait une tunique noire en poils et en laine qu'il prit pour un tégument naturel. Il demeura donc à le considérer, plein d'étonnement. Mais Açâl tourna le dos et prit la fuite, craignant qu'il ne le détournât de son état. Hayy ben Yaqdhân se mit à sa poursuite, poussé par sa tendance naturelle à tout approfondir. Mais voyant qu'il fuyait à toute vitesse, il resta en arrière et se déroba à

(1) Littéralement : son œil.

sa vue. Açâl crut qu'il avait renoncé à le poursuivre et qu'il s'en était allé. Il se livra donc à la prière, à la lecture, aux invocations, aux larmes, aux supplications et aux lamentations, au point d'oublier tout le reste.

Alors Hayy ben Yaqdhân s'approcha de lui peu à peu sans qu'Açâl s'en aperçût; et il fût bientôt assez près de lui pour l'entendre lire et louer Dieu, pour voir son humble posture et ses larmes : il entendit une belle voix et des articulations ordonnées telles qu'il n'en avait entendu proférer par aucun animal. Il observa ses formes et ses traits, constata qu'il avait le même aspect que lui-même, et comprit que le manteau dont il était couvert n'était pas une peau naturelle, mais un vêtement d'emprunt comme celui que lui-même portait. Voyant son humble attitude, ses supplications et ses larmes, il ne douta pas qu'il ne fût une de ces *essences* qui connaissent le Véritable. Il se sentit porté vers lui, désireux de savoir ce qu'il avait, et qu'elle était la raison de ses larmes et de ses supplications. Il s'avança plus près de lui, et Açâl, l'apercevant enfin, prit vivement la fuite. Hayy ben Yaqdhân le poursuivit non moins vivement. Doué par Dieu d'une grande puissance physique aussi bien qu'[l·l] intellectuelle, il ne tarda pas à le rejoindre, le saisit, le maintint, et le mit dans l'impossibilité de fuir. Le voyant vêtu de peaux de bêtes velues, et pourvu d'une chevelure si longue qu'elle lui couvrait une grande partie du corps, voyant sa rapidité à la course et sa grande force, Açâl fut saisi d'un grand effroi; il se mit à l'apaiser et à le supplier avec des paroles que Hayy ben Yaqdhân ne comprenait pas, dont il ignorait la portée, et dans lesquelles il distinguait seulement des signes de frayeur. Il chercha donc à le rassurer par des inflexions de voix qu'il avait

apprises de certains animaux, lui passant la main sur la tête et sur les côtés, le flattant, lui manifestant de la bonne humeur et de la joie, jusqu'à ce que, revenu de sa frayeur, Açâl comprit qu'il ne lui voulait aucun mal.

Or Açâl autrefois, à cause de son goût pour l'interprétation, avait appris la plupart des langues, et il y était expert. Il adressa donc la parole à Hayy ben Yaqdhân, et lui demanda des renseignements sur lui, dans toutes les langues qu'il connaissait, s'efforçant de se faire comprendre de lui, mais en vain : Hayy ben Yaqdhân, dans tout cela, admirait ce qu'il entendait, sans en saisir la portée, et sans y voir autre chose que la bienveillance et l'affabilité. En sorte que chacun d'eux considérait l'autre avec étonnement.

Açâl avait sur lui quelques restes des provisions qu'il avait apportées de l'île habitée. Il en offrit à Hayy ben Yaqdhân. Celui-ci ne savait ce que c'était, car il n'avait encore rien vu de pareil: Açâl en mangea et lui fit signe d'en manger. Mais Hayy ben Yaqdhân pensa aux règles qu'il s'était imposées relativement à la nourriture, et ignorant la nature du mets qu'on lui présentait, ne sachant s'il lui était ou non licite d'en prendre, il s'abstint d'en manger. Açâl [de son côté] ne cessa de l'en prier, de l'y engager. Par sympathie pour lui, [il craignant de l'affliger s'il persistait dans son refus, Hayy ben Yaqdhân en prit et en mangea. Mais après qu'il l'eût goûté et qu'il l'eût trouvé bon, il lui parut qu'il avait mal agi en violant les règles qu'il s'était promis d'observer concernant la nourriture : il se repentit de son action et voulut se séparer d'Açâl, reprendre son occupation [favorite], chercher à revenir à sa *station* sublime.

Mais la *vision* ne lui revint pas immédiatement, et il

jugea bon de demeurer avec Açâl dans le monde de la sensation jusqu'à ce qu'ayant approfondi son cas il ne restât plus en son âme aucun penchant pour lui, ce qui lui permettrait alors de revenir à sa *station* sans que rien vint l'en distraire. Il se livra donc à la fréquentation d'Açâl. De son côté Açâl, voyant qu'il ne parlait point, fut rassuré touchant les dangers qu'il pouvait faire courir à sa dévotion ; il espérait lui enseigner le langage, la science, la religion, mériter par là une plus grande récompense et s'approcher davantage de Dieu.

Açâl commença donc à lui enseigner le langage. D'abord il lui montrait les objets mêmes en prononçant leurs noms ; il les lui répétait et l'invitait à les prononcer lui-même. Celui-ci les prononçait à son tour en les montrant. Il arriva de la sorte à lui enseigner tous les noms, et petit à petit il parvint, en un temps très court, à le mettre en état de parler.

Açâl se mit alors à lui demander des renseignements sur lui, sur l'endroit d'où il était venu dans cette île. Hayy ben Yaqdhân lui apprit qu'il ignorait quelle pouvait être son origine, qu'il ne se connaissait ni père ni mère, sauf la gazelle qui l'avait élevé. Il le renseigna sur tout ce qui le concernait, et sur les connaissances qu'il avait progressivement acquises jusqu'au moment où il était parvenu au degré de l'union [avec Dieu] (الوصول).

Lorsqu'il l'eut entendu exposer ces vérités, décrire les *essences* séparées du monde sensible, instruites de l'*essence* du Véritable, Puissant et Grand, [ ] dépeindre l'*essence* du Véritable, Très-Haut et Glorieux, avec ses attributs sublimes, lorsqu'il lui eut [entendu] expliquer, autant que faire se pouvait, ce qu'il avait vu, dans cet [état d'] union, des joies de ceux qui sont parvenus à

l'union [avec Dieu] et des souffrances de ceux qui en sont séparés [comme] par un voile, Açâl ne douta point que toutes les traditions de sa Loi religieuse relatives à Dieu, Puissant et Grand, à ses anges, à ses livres, à ses envoyés, au jour dernier, à son paradis et au feu de son [enfer], ne fussent des symboles de ce qu'avait vu Hayy ben Yaqdhân. Les yeux de son cœur s'ouvrirent, le feu de sa pensée s'alluma : il voyait s'établir l'accord de la raison et de la tradition ; les voies de l'interprétation s'ouvraient devant lui ; il n'y avait plus dans la Loi divine rien de difficile qu'il ne comprît, rien de fermé qui ne s'ouvrît, rien d'obscur qui ne s'éclaircît : il devenait une intelligence d'élite. Dès lors il considéra Hayy ben Yaqdhân avec admiration et respect ; il tint pour assuré qu'il était au nombre des élus de Dieu « qui n'éprouveront aucune crainte et qui ne seront pas affligés [1]. » Il s'attacha à le servir, à l'imiter, à suivre ses indications pour les œuvres, instituées par la Loi révélée, qu'il aurait l'occasion d'accomplir, et qu'il avait apprises dans sa religion.

Hayy ben Yaqdhân, de son côté, se mit à l'interroger sur lui, sur sa condition ; et Açâl lui parla de son île, des hommes qui s'y trouvaient, de leur manière de vivre avant d'avoir reçu leur religion, et depuis qu'ils l'avaient reçue. Il lui exposa toutes les traditions de la Loi religieuse relatives au monde divin, au paradis, au feu [de l'enfer], à la résurrection, au rassemblement du genre humain rappelé à la vie, au compte [qu'il faudra rendre], à la balance et au pont. Hayy ben Yaqdhân comprit tout cela, et n'y vit rien qui fût en opposition

(1) Qoran, sourate II, verset 36.

avec ce qu'il avait contemplé dans sa *station* sublime. Il reconnut que l'auteur et propagateur de ces descriptions était vrai dans ses descriptions, sincère dans [ſſſ] ses paroles, envoyé de son Seigneur ; il eut foi en lui, il crut à sa véracité, il rendit témoignage de sa mission.

Il se mit ensuite à le questionner sur les préceptes qu'il avait apportés, sur les pratiques religieuses qu'il avait instituées, et [Açâl] lui parla de la prière, de l'aumône purificatoire, du jeûne, du pélerinage, et autres œuvres extérieures du même genre. Il accepta ces obligations, se les imposa, et se prit à s'en acquitter, pour obéir à l'ordre formulé par celui dont la véracité ne faisait pour lui aucun doute.

Deux choses toutefois demeurèrent pour lui objet d'étonnement, car il n'en concevait aucune sage raison : En premier lieu, pourquoi cet envoyé se servait-il le plus souvent de paraboles, en s'adressant aux hommes, dans la description du monde divin ? pourquoi s'était-il abstenu de mettre à nu la vérité ? ce qui fait tomber les hommes dans l'erreur grave de donner un corps [à Dieu] et leur fait attribuer à l'*essence* du Véritable des choses qui lui sont étrangères et dont il est exempt ; de même en ce qui concerne les récompenses et les châtiments. En second lieu, pourquoi s'en tenait-il à ces préceptes et à ces prescriptions rituelles ? pourquoi permettait-il d'acquérir des richesses, et laissait-il [une telle] latitude en ce qui concerne les aliments, si bien que les hommes se livraient à des occupations vaines, et se détournaient de la Vérité ? car pour lui il estimait qu'on ne devait prendre que la nourriture nécessaire pour entretenir la vie ; et quant aux richesses, elles étaient à ses yeux de nulle considération. Il voyait les dispositions compli-

quées de la Loi relative aux richesses, par exemple l'aumône purificatoire, les contrats synallagmatiques, l'usure, les pénalités édictées par la loi ou laissées à l'appréciation du juge, et tout cela lui semblait étrange, lui paraissait superflu ; il [se] disait que si les hommes connaissaient le fond des choses, certes ils se détourneraient de ces futilités, ils se dirigeraient vers la Vérité, et toute cette [réglementation] (111r) deviendrait inutile : nul ne possèderait de propriété privée qui ait besoin d'être purifiée par l'aumône, dont le vol furtif entraîne [pour le coupable] la section des mains, et le vol ostensible la perte de la vie.

Ce qui le faisait tomber dans cette [illusion], c'est qu'il pensait que tous les hommes étaient doués d'un naturel excellent, d'une intelligence pénétrante, d'une âme ferme. Il ne connaissait pas l'inertie et l'infirmité de leur esprit, la fausseté de leur jugement, leur inconstance ; il ignorait qu'ils sont « comme un [vil] bétail, et même plus éloignés de la bonne voie ! » (1)

Plein de compassion pour les hommes, et désireux de leur apporter le salut, il conçut le dessein d'aller à eux, de leur exposer la vérité d'une manière claire et évidente. Il s'en ouvrit à son compagnon Açâl, et lui demanda s'il y avait pour lui un moyen de parvenir jusqu'à eux. Açâl le renseigna sur l'infirmité de leur naturel, sur leur éloignement des ordres de Dieu. Mais il ne pouvait comprendre pareille chose, et il demeurait, en son âme, attaché à son espoir. Açâl de son côté souhaitait que, par son entremise, Dieu dirigeât quelques hommes de sa connaissance, disposés à se laisser guider et plus

(1) Qoran, sourate XXV, verset 46.

proches du salut que les autres. Il l'encouragea donc dans son dessein. Ils jugèrent qu'ils devaient rester sur le rivage de la mer, sans s'en écarter ni nuit ni jour, dans l'espoir que Dieu leur fournirait peut-être l'occasion de la franchir. Ils y demeurèrent donc assidûment, suppliant dans leurs prières le Dieu Puissant et Glorieux de les diriger [dans] leur entreprise.

Or il arriva par la volonté de Dieu, Puissant et Grand, qu'un navire, sur la mer, s'écarta de sa route, et fut poussé par les vents et les flots tumultueux jusqu'au rivage de cette île. En approchant de la terre, ceux qui le montaient virent deux hommes sur le bord et s'avancèrent vers eux. Açâl, leur adressant la parole, les pria de les prendre avec eux tous les deux. Ils accédèrent à sa demande et les firent entrer dans le navire. Dieu leur envoya un bon vent qui porta le navire en très peu de temps vers l'île où ils désiraient aller. Ils y débarquèrent tous les deux et entrèrent dans la ville. Les amis d'Açâl vinrent le trouver, et il leur fit connaître l'histoire de Hayy ben Yaqdhân. Ils l'entourèrent en foule, admirant son cas; ils lui témoignèrent de l'intérêt, pleins d'estime pour lui et de vénération. Açâl lui apprit que cette réunion d'hommes l'emportait sur tous les autres au point de vue de l'intelligence et de la pénétration, et que s'il ne réussissait pas à les instruire il réussirait moins encore à instruire le vulgaire. Le chef et prince de cette île était Salâmân, cet ami d'Açâl qui jugeait bon de s'attacher à la société [des hommes] et qui considérait la retraite comme illicite.

Hayy ben Yaqdhân entreprit de les instruire et de leur révéler les secrets de la sagesse. Mais à peine s'était-il élevé au-dessus du sens exotérique, à peine avait-il com-

mencé à exposer des [vérités] contraires aux préjugés dont ils étaient imbus, qu'ils se rembrunirent : leurs âmes répugnaient aux [doctrines] qu'il apportait, et ils s'irritaient en leurs cœurs contre lui, bien qu'ils lui fissent bon visage par courtoisie vis-à-vis d'un étranger et par égard pour leur ami Açâl. Hayy ben Yaqdhân ne cessa d'en bien user avec eux nuit et jour et de [110] leur découvrir la vérité dans l'intimité et en public. Il n'aboutissait qu'à les rebuter et à les effaroucher davantage. Pourtant ils étaient amis du bien et désireux du vrai ; mais par suite de leur infirmité naturelle, ils ne poursuivaient pas le vrai par la voie requise, ne le prenaient pas du côté qu'il fallait, et au lieu de l'examiner du biais voulu, ils cherchaient à le connaître à la façon de [tous] les hommes. Il désespéra de les corriger et renonça à tout espoir de trouver accès dans leurs cœurs. Ensuite, examinant successivement les différentes sortes d'hommes, il vit que « ceux de chaque catégorie, contents de ce qui est devant eux (1), prennent pour dieu leurs passions » (2), pour objet de leur culte leurs désirs, se tuent à recueillir les brindilles de ce monde, « absorbés par le soin d'amasser, jusqu'à ce qu'ils visitent la tombe » (3) ; les avertissements sont sans effet sur eux, les bonnes paroles sans action, la discussion ne produit en eux que l'obstination ; quant à la sagesse, nulle voie vers elle ne leur est ouverte et ils n'y ont aucune part. Ils sont plongés dans l'aveuglement, « et les biens qu'ils poursuivaient ont, comme une rouille, envahi leurs cœurs (4).

(1) Qoran, sourate XXIII, verset 55 ; sourate XXX, verset 32.
(2) Cf. Qoran, sourate XXV, verset 45.
(3) Cf. Qoran, sourate CII, versets 1 et 2.
(4) Qoran, sourate LXXXIII, verset 14.

Dieu a scellé leurs cœurs et leurs oreilles, et sur leurs yeux s'étend un voile. Un grand châtiment les attend. »[1]

Lorsqu'il vit que les voiles du châtiment les entouraient, que les ténèbres de la séparation les enveloppaient, que tous, à peu d'exceptions près, ne saisissaient de leur religion que ce qui regarde ce monde ; « qu'ils rejetaient ses pratiques derrière eux, si légères et si faciles fussent-elles, et les vendaient à bas prix »[2] ; « que le commerce et les transactions les empêchaient de se souvenir du Dieu Très-Haut ; qu'ils ne craignaient point un jour où seront retournés les cœurs et les yeux »[3], il comprit, avec une entière certitude, [111] que les entretenir de la vérité pure était chose vaine ; qu'arriver à leur imposer dans leur conduite un niveau plus relevé était chose irréalisable ; que, pour le plus grand nombre, tout le profit qu'ils pouvaient tirer de la Loi religieuse concernait leur existence présente, et consistait à jouir d'une vie facile sans être lésés par autrui dans la possession des choses qu'ils considéraient comme leur appartenant en propre ; et qu'ils n'obtiendraient point la félicité future, à part de rares exceptions, à savoir « ceux qui veulent cette vie future, qui font des efforts sérieux pour l'obtenir, et qui sont croyants.[4] Mais quiconque est impie et choisit la vie de ce monde aura l'enfer pour demeure. »[5] Quoi de plus pénible, quoi de plus profondément misérable que la condition d'un homme parmi les œuvres duquel, si on les passe en revue depuis

(1) Qoran, sourate II, verset 6.
(2) Cf. Qoran, sourate III, verset 184.
(3) Cf. Qoran, sourate XXIV, verset 37.
(4) Cf. Qoran, sourate XVII, verset 20.
(5) Qoran, sourate LXXIX, versets 37, 38, 39.

l'instant où il s'éveille jusqu'au moment où il se rendort, on n'en trouve pas une seule qui n'ait pour fin quelqu'une de ces choses sensibles et viles : accumulation de richesses, recherche d'un plaisir, satisfaction d'un désir, assouvissement d'une colère, [acquisition d']un rang qui lui procure la sécurité, [accomplissement d']un acte religieux dont il tire vanité ou qui protège sa tête ? « Ce ne sont là que ténèbres sur ténèbres dans une mer profonde.(1) Et il n'est aucun de vous qui n'y entre : c'est, de la part de ton Seigneur, un arrêt prononcé. »(2)

Lorsqu'il eût compris quelle était la condition des hommes, et que la plupart d'entre eux étaient au rang des animaux dépourvus de raison, il reconnut que toute sagesse, toute direction, tout amendement, résidaient dans les paroles des Envoyés et dans les [enseignements] apportés par la Loi religieuse, que rien d'autre n'était possible, qu'on n'y pouvait rien ajouter ; qu'il y a des hommes pour chaque fonction, que chacun est plus apte à ce en vue de quoi il a été créé. « Telle a été la conduite de Dieu à l'égard de ceux qui ne sont plus. Tu ne saurais dans la conduite de Dieu trouver aucun changement ».(3)

Il se rendit donc auprès de [IIV] Salâmân et de ses compagnons, leur présenta ses excuses pour les discours qu'il leur avait tenus et les pria de les lui pardonner. Il leur déclara qu'il pensait désormais comme eux, que leur règle de conduite était la sienne. Il leur recommanda d'observer rigoureusement leurs lois tradition-

(1) Cf. Qoran, sourate XXIV, verset 40.
(2) Qoran, sourate XIX, verset 72.
(3) Qoran, sourate XLVIII, verset 23.

nelles et les pratiques extérieures, de se mêler le moins possible des choses qui ne les regardaient pas, de croire sans résistance aux [vérités] obscures, de se détourner des hérésies et des objets qui excitent les passions, d'imiter les vertueux ancêtres et de fuir les nouveautés. Il leur recommanda d'éviter la négligence du vulgaire pour la Loi religieuse et son attachement au monde ; c'est surtout contre cette [erreur] qu'il les mit en garde. Car ils avaient reconnu, lui et son ami Açâl, que pour cette catégorie d'hommes, moutonnière et impuissante, il n'y avait pas d'autre voie de salut ; que si on les en détournait pour les entraîner sur les hauteurs de la spéculation, ils subiraient dans leur état un trouble profond sans pouvoir atteindre au degré des bienheureux, ils flotteraient désorientés, et feraient une mauvaise fin ; tandis que s'ils demeuraient jusqu'à leur mort dans l'état où ils se trouvaient, ils obtiendraient le salut et feraient partie de ceux qui seront placés à la droite. « Quant à ceux qui auront pris les devants, ils seront placés en avant et seront les plus proches [de Dieu]. » (1)

Ils leur dirent adieu tous les deux, les quittèrent, et attendirent patiemment l'occasion de retourner dans leur île. Enfin Dieu, Puissant et Grand, leur facilita la traversée. Hayy ben Yaqdhân s'efforça de revenir à sa *station* sublime par les mêmes moyens qu'autrefois. Il ne tarda pas à y réussir ; et Açâl l'imita si bien qu'il atteignit presque au même niveau. Et ils adorèrent Dieu tous les deux dans cette île jusqu'à leur mort.

Voilà (que Dieu t'accorde le secours de son inspira-

(1) Qoran, sourate LVI, versets 10 et 11.

tion !) ce que nous avons pu apprendre sur Hayy ben Yaqdhân, Açâl et Salâmân. Ce récit comprend [١١٨] beaucoup de choses qui ne se trouvent dans aucun livre et qu'on ne peut entendre dans aucun des récits qui ont cours. Il relève de la science cachée que seuls sont capables de recevoir ceux qui ont la connaissance de Dieu, et que seuls ignorent ceux qui méconnaissent Dieu. Nous nous sommes écarté, sur ce point, de la ligne de conduite suivie par nos vertueux ancêtres, qui étaient jaloux d'un tel secret et s'en montraient avares. Ce qui nous a décidé à le divulguer et à déchirer le voile, ce sont les opinions erronées apparues de notre temps, mises au jour par des soi-disant philosophes de ce siècle et répandues par eux, si bien qu'elles se sont propagées dans les [divers] pays, et que le mal causé par elles est devenu général. C'est pourquoi nous avons craint que les hommes faibles, qui ont rejeté l'autorité des prophètes pour suivre l'autorité des fous et des sots, ne s'imaginent que ces opinions sont le secret que l'on doit cacher à ceux qui n'en sont pas dignes, et que leur goût, leur prédilection pour elles, ne s'en accroisse. Il nous a donc paru bon de faire briller à leurs yeux quelques lueurs du secret des secrets, afin de les attirer du côté de la vérité et de les détourner de cette voie. Cependant, ces secrets que nous confions à ces quelques feuilles, nous les avons laissés couverts d'un voile léger qu'auront vite fait de déchirer ceux qui en sont capables, mais qui deviendra opaque et impénétrable pour quiconque n'est pas digne d'aller au-delà.

Pour moi, je prie mes frères qui liront ce traité de vouloir bien m'accorder leur indulgence pour ma négligence dans l'exposition et ma liberté dans la démons-

tration. Je ne suis tombé dans ces [défauts] que parce que je m'élevais à des hauteurs où le regard ne saurait atteindre, et voulais en donner des notions approximatives, afin d'inspirer un ardent désir d'[[illegible]entrer dans la voie. A Dieu je demande indulgence et pardon ; et [je lui demande] de nous abreuver de la claire connaissance de son [Être], car il est bienfaisant et généreux. Que la paix soit sur toi, ô mon frère à qui c'est un devoir pour moi de venir en aide, ainsi que la miséricorde et la bénédiction divines !

CORRECTIONS ET ADDITIONS

TRADUCTION

Page 2, note 3 : Al-Ghazzali. — lire : El-Ghazzâli.

Page 8, note 4 : Al-Farabi. — lire : El-Fârâbi.

Page 13, *l.* 6 : qui les examine d'abord avec le regard de son âme, et qui, ensuite, se les entend expliquer par une voix intérieure, — lire : qui les a examinés d'abord avec le regard de son âme, et qui, ensuite, en a entendu l'explication de sa bouche,

Page 14, *l.* 6 : du livre de la *Niche*, — Ajouter en note : Le titre de ce livre est مشكاة الانوار *La Niche aux lumières.*

Page 16, *l.* 4 : d'Açal — lire : d'Açâl

— *l.* 6 : (ولى الاباب) (1), — lire : (اولى الالباب) (1),

Page 22, *l.* 8 : l'*âme* (روح) (1), qui émane de Dieu ; — Mettre ce membre de phrase entre guillemets, et ajouter en note : Cf. Qoran, sourate XVII, verset 87. Ibn Thofaïl semble ici détourner ce passage du sens qu'il a dans le Qoran.

Page 90, *l.* 26 : les cieux, la terre, et ce qui est entre eux, — Mettre ce membre de phrase entre guillemets, et ajouter en note : Qoran, sourate V, versets 20 et 21 ; sourate XV, verset 85 ; et *passim*.

NOTA

Page VIII de l'INTRODUCTION, paragraphe VII, nous avons omis de mentionner un manuscrit du *Hayy ben Yaqdhân*, qui figure, sous le n° CXXXIII 2°, dans le Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne d'Oxford. C'est d'ailleurs ce manuscrit qu'a édité Pocócke, et non celui du British Museum, comme nous l'avait fait croire cette note ambiguë du Catalogue du British Museum, relative au manuscrit du *Hayy ben Yaqdhân* conservé dans cette dernière Bibliothèque: « Arabice editus est opera clarissimi viri Edw. Pócockii sub titulo: *Philosophus autodidactus.* Oxon. 1761. » Pococke, dans sa Préface au lecteur, sans désigner autrement le manuscrit qu'il édite à Oxford, déclare qu'à sa connaissance il n'en existe aucun autre. Or, dans le Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne, l'article CXXXIII 2°, qui reproduit purement et simplement le titre latin complet de l'édition de Pococke, se termine par la mention: [Pocock, 263]. Ce renvoi à un Catalogue de cette Bibliothèque dressé antérieurement par Pócocke lui-même prouve que l'unique manuscrit connu de lui est bien le manuscrit d'Oxford.

Page ۱۲۰ du texte arabe, après Fin de P: : كمل الكتاب والحمد لله وحده nous avons omis de donner la fin du manuscrit d'Oxford, transcrite par Pococke *dans sa Préface :*

كمل كتاب حديث حى بن يقظان واسال وسلامان تاليف الشيخ الامام العالم العارف المدرك الواصل ابى جعفر بن طفيل رحمة الله عليه فى نهار يوم الجمعة مستهل المحرم سنة ثلث وسبعماية على يد الفقير الى الله تعالى ابرهيم بن محمد بن يحيى

NOTA

Les chiffres arabes entre crochets indiquent les pages du manuscrit d'Alger.

Dans les notes au bas des pages :

A. désigne le manuscrit d'Alger ;

P. le texte de Pococke, publié d'après le manuscrit du *British Museum* ;

O. l'édition égyptienne de l'*Idârat-al-Ouathan* ;

N. l'édition égyptienne de Ouady 'n-Nil ;

E. désigne ces deux dernières éditions lorsqu'elles sont d'accord.

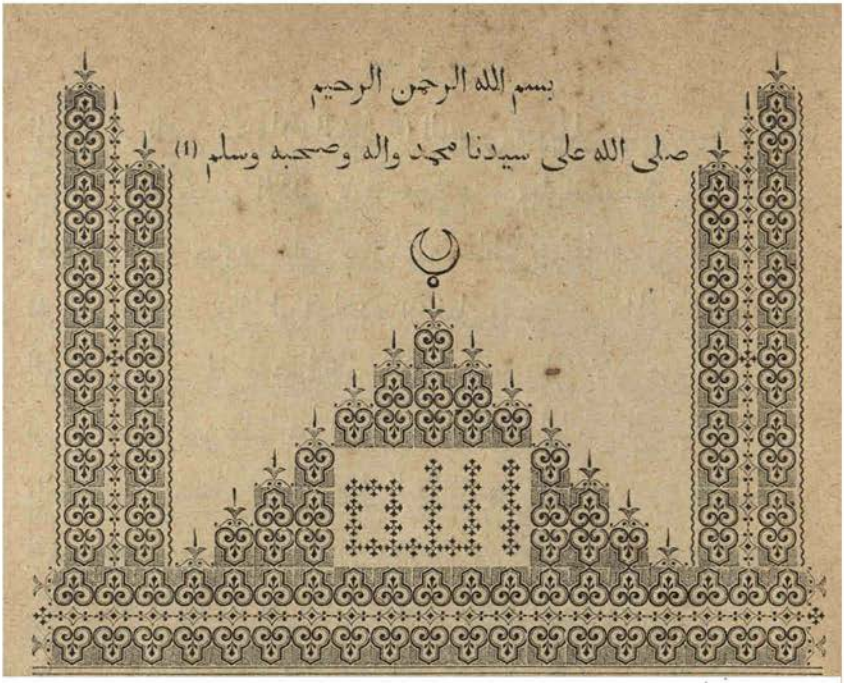
رسالة حى بن يقظان

فى اسرار الحكمة المشرقية

للفيلسوف ابى بكر بن طفيل

رحمة الله عليه

طبع بمطبعة بونسانة وشركائه بالجزائر



سالت ايها الاخ(2) الصفى (3) منحك الله البقاء الابدى واسعدك السعد السرمدى ان ابث اليك ما امكننى بثه من اسرار الحكمة

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(1) P. E. remplacent cette formule préliminaire par le développement suivant :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قال الشيخ الفقيه الامام العالم الفاضل الكامل العارف ابو جعفر بن طفيل رحمة الله عليه الحمد لله العظيم الاعظم القديم الاقدم العليم الاعلم الحكيم الاحكم الرحيم الارحم الكريم الاكرم الحليم الاحلم الذى علم بالقلم علم الانسان ما لم يعلم وكان فضل الله (P. : الفضل الله) عليك (P. : عليه) عظيما اهده على فواضل النعماء واشكره على تتابع الالاء واشهد ان لا (P. : الا) اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له وان محمدا عبده ورسوله صاحب الخلق الطاهر والمعجز الباهر والبرهان القاهر والسيف الشاهر صلوات الله عليه وسلامه وعلى اله واصحابه (P. : وصحبه) اولى الهمم العظائم وذوى المناقب والمعالم وعلى جميع الصحابة والتابعين الى يوم الدين وسلم تسليما كثيرا

(2) P. E. ajoutent الكريم — (3) P. E. ajoutent الحميم

المشرفية التي ذكرها(1) الشيخ(2) الرئيس ابو علي بن سينا فاعلم(3) ان من اراد الكف الذي لا جمجمة فيه فعليه بطلبها واجد في افتنائها ولقد حرك مني سؤالك خاطرا شريفا افضى بي والحمد لله الى مشاهدة حال لم اشاهدها(4) فبل وانتهى بي الى مبلغ هو من الغرابة بحيث لا يصفه لسان ولا يقوم به بيان لانه من طور غير طورها وعالم غير عالمها غير ان تلك الحال لما لها من البهجة والسرور واللذة(5) لا يستطيع من وصل اليها وانتهى الى حد من حدودها ان يكتم امرها او يخفي سرها بل يعتريه من الطرب والنشاط والمرح والانبساط ما يحمله على البوح بها مجملة دون تفصيل وان كان ممن لم تحذفه العلوم قال فيها بغير تحصيل حتى ان بعضهم قال في هذه الحال سبحاني ما اعظم شاني وقال غيره انا الحق وقال الاخر(6) ليس في الثوب الا الله واما الشيخ ابو حامد(7) فقال(8) متمثلا عند وصوله الى هذه الحال بهذا البيت

فكان(9) ما كان مما لست اذكره * فظن خيرا ولا تسال عن الخبر

وانما ادبته المعارف وحذفته العلوم(10) وانظر الى قول ابي بكر بن الصائغ المتصل بكلامه في صفة الاتصال فانه يقول اذا فهم(11) المعنى

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(1) A. ذكر — (2) E. P. interc. الامام — (3) Manque dans A. — (4) P. E. لم اشاهدها — (5) P. E. aj. والحبور — (6) P. اخر; E. غيره — (7) P. E. interc. الغزالي رحمة الله عليه — (8) A. قال — (9) A. فد كان — (10) A. اذبته العلوم وحذفته المعارف — (11) A. تفهم

المقصود (1) [٣] ظهر عند ذلك انه لا يمكن ان يكون معلوم من العلوم المتعاطاة فى مرتبته (2) وحصل متصوره بفهم ذلك المعنى فى رتبة يرى نفسه فيها مباينا لجميع ما تقدم مع (3) اعتقادات (4) اخر ليست هيولانية وهى اجل من ان تنسب الى الحياة الطبيعية بل هى احوال من احوال السعداء مهذبة (5) عن تركيب الحياة الطبيعية (6) خليقة (7) ان يقال لها احوال الهية يهبها الله (8) لمن (9) يشاء من عباده وهذه الرتبة التى اشار اليها ابو بكر ينتهى اليها بطريق العلم (10) النظرى والبحث الفكرى ولا شك انه بلغها ولم يتخطها واما الرتبة التى اشرنا اليها (11) اولا فهى غيرها وان كانت اياها بمعنى انه لا ينكشف فيها امر على خلاف ما انكشف (12) فى هذه وانما تغايرها بزيادة الوضوح ومشاهدتها بامر لا نسميه قوة لا على المجاز اذ لا نجد فى الالفاظ الجمهورية ولا فى الاصطلاحات الخاصية اسماء تدل على الشىء الذى يشاهد به ذلك النوع من المشاهدة وهذه الحال التى ذكرناها وحركنا سؤالك الى ذوق منها هى من جملة الاحوال التى نبه عليها الشيخ ابو على حيث يقول ثم اذا بلغت به الارادة والرياضة حدا ما عنت له خلسات من اطلاع نور الحق عليه (13) لذيذة كانها بروق

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(1) P. E. aj. من كتابة ذلك ÷ (2) P. رتبته ; E. رتبة — (3) A. من — (4) A. interc. اشياء — (5) P. E. منزهة — (6) P. E. interc. بل هى — (7) A. خليق — احوال من احوال السعداء — (8) P. E. aj. سبحانه — (9) E. ممن — (10) A. التعليم — (11) P. E. aj. نحن — وتعالى (12) N. ما الكشف — (13) Manque dans P. E. ; mais Mehren : *Traités mystiques*, d'...Ibn Sina, II, p. 15 du texte arabe, est d'accord avec A.

تومض اليه ثم تخمد عنه ثم انه يكثر (1) عليه هذه الغواشي اذا امعن في الارتياض ثم انه ليوغل في ذلك حتى يغشاه في غير الارتياض فكلما لمح شيا (2) عاج عنه (3) الى جناب (4) القدس يتذكر (5) [٤] من امره امرا فيغشاه غاش (6) فيكاد يرى الحق في كل شيء ثم انه لتبلغ به الرياضة مبلغا ينقلب له وقته سكينة فيصير المخطوب مالوفا والوميض شهابا بينا وتحصل له معارفة (7) مستقرة كانها صحبة مستمرة الى ما وصفه من تدريج المراتب وانتهائها الى النيل بان يصير سره مراة مجلوة محاذى (8) بها شطر الحق وحينئذ تدر عليه اللذات العلى ويفرح بنفسه لما (9) بها من اثر الحق ويكون له في هذه الرتبة نظر الى الحق ونظر الى نفسه وهو بعد متردد (10) ثم انه ليغيب عن نفسه فيلاحظ جناب القدس فقط وان لحظ نفسه فمن حيث هي لاحظة وهناك يحق الوصول فهذه الاحوال التي وصفها (11) انما اراد بها ان تكون له ذوقا لا على سبيل الادراك النظري المستخرج بالمقاييس وتقديم المقدمات وتنتيج (12) النتايج وان اردت مثالا يظهر لك به الفرق

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(1) P. E. تكثر; Mehren, ibid., p. 16 لتكشر — (2) A. اليه شيء, mais Mehren comme P. E. شيا — (3) A. P. E. منه; mais la leçon de Mehren عنه parait être la vraie. — (4) A. جنات — (5) P. E. فيذكر; mais Mehren comme A. يتذكر — (6) Nous rétablissons ce membre de phrase فيغشاه غاش supprimé par A. mais qui se trouve dans P. E. et Mehren; Mehren écrit بغشيه غاش — (7) A. معارفة mais P. E. et Mehren معارفة — (8) Mehren, id.; P. E. يحاذى — (9) Mehren, id.; P. E. interc. يرى — (10) Mehren, id.; A. مترددة — (11) P. E. aj. رضى الله عنه — (12) E. انتاج

بين ادراك هذه الطائفة وادراك سواها فتخيل من ولد (1) مكفوف البصر الا انه جيد الفطرة قوى الحدس ثابت الحفظ مسدد الخاطر فنشا مذ (2) كان فى بلدة من البلدان وما زال يتعرف اشخاص الناس بها وكثيرا من انواع الحيوان والجمادات وسكك المدينة ومسالكها وديارها واسواقها بما له من ضروب الادراكات الاخر حتى صار بحيث (3) يمشى فى تلك المذينة بغير دليل ويعرف كل من يلقاه (4) باول وهلة وكان يعرف الالوان وحدها بشروح اسمائها وبعض حدود تدل (5) عليها ثم انه بعد ان حصل فى هذه الرتبة فتح بصره وحدثت له الروية (6) فمشى فى تلك المدينة كلها وطاف بها (7) فلم يجد امرا على خلاف ما كان [٥] يعتقده ولا انكر من امرها شيا وصادف الالوان (8) على نحو صدق عنده الرسوم (9) التى كانت رسمت له بها غير انه فى ذلك كله حدث له امران عظيمان احدهما تابع للاخر وهما زيادة الوضوح والانبلاج واللذة العظيمة فحال النظار (10) الذين لم يصلوا الى طور الولاية هى حالة الاعمى (11) الاولى (12) والالوان التى هى (13) فى هذه الحال (14) معلومة بشروح اسمائها هى تلك الامور التى قال ابو بكر انها اجل من ان تنسب الى الحياة الطبيعية يهبها الله لمن يشاء من عباده وحال النظار الذين

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(1) P. E. حال من خلق — (2) A. منذ — (3) Manque dans A. — (4) P. E. aj. ويسلم عليه — (5) A. تل — (6) P. aj. بالبصر et E. البصرية — (7) A. واسوافها — (8) A. الاكوان — (9) E. الرسوم عنده — (10) E. الناظرين — (11) A. هى الحال الولى et suppr. الاعمى — (12) O. الاوّلى — (13) Manq. dans P. E. — (14) A. التى هى فى الحال

وصلوا الى طور الولاية ومنحهم الله (1) ذلك الشيء الذى فلنا انه لا يسمى قوة الا مجازا (2) هى الحالة الثانية وقد يوجد فى النادر (3) من كان ابدا ثاقب البصيرة مفتوح البصر غير محتاج الى النظر ولست اعنى كرمك (4) الله بولايته ههنا بادراك اهل النظر ما يدركونه من عالم الطبيعة وبادراك اهل الولاية ما يدركونه مما بعد الطبيعة فان هذين المدركين متباينان جدا بانفسهما ولا يلتبس احدهما بالاخر بل الذى نعنيه (5) بادراك اهل النظر ما يدركونه مما بعد الطبيعة مثل ما ادركه ابو بكر ويشترط فى ادراكهم هذا ان يكون حفا صحيحا وحينئذ يقع التنظير (6) بينه وبين ادراك اهل الولاية الذين يعتنون بتلك (7) الاشياء بعينها مع زيادة وضوح وعظم (8) التذاذ وقد عاب ابو بكر (9) هذا الالتذاذ على القوم وذكر انه للقوة الخيالية ووعد بان يصب كيف (10) ينبغى ان يكون حال السعداء عند ذلك بقول مفسر مبين وينبغى ان يقال له [٦] هاهنا (11) لا تتحل (12) طعم شيء لم تذق ولا تتخط (13) رقاب الصديقين ولم يجعل الرجل شيا من ذلك ولا وفى بهذه العدة ويشبه (14) ان منعه من (15) ذلك ما ذكره من ضيق الوقت واشتغاله بالنزول الى وهران او راى انه ان وصب

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(1) P. E. aj. تعالى — (2) P. E. على سبيل المجاز — (3) P. E. interc. من هو بمنزلة — (4) E. اكرمك — (5) A. نعنى — (6) P. E. النظر — (7) A. الذى نعنى به تلك — (8) P. E. وعظيم — (9) P. E. interc. ذكر — (10) E. ما; manque dans le texte de P. qui, en marge, restitue ما — (11) Manque dans P. E. — (12) E. تستحل; A. تتحلى — (13) A. تتخطى; P. تنخط — (14) P. E. وقد يشبه — (15) P. E. عن

تلك الحال اضطره القول الى اشياء فيها قدح عليه في سيرته وتكذيب لما اثبته من الحث على الاستكثار من المال والجمع له وتصريف وجوه الحيل في اكتسابه وقد خرج بنا الكلام الى غير ما حركتنا اليه بسؤالك بعض خروج بحسب ما دعت الضرورة اليه وظهر بهذا القول ان مطلوبك لم يعد[4] احد غرضين اما ان تسال عما يراه اصحاب المشاهدة والذوق[2] والحضور في طور الولاية فهذا مما لا يمكن اثباته على حقيقة امره في كتاب ومتى حاول احد ذلك وتكلفه بالقول او الكتب استحالت عينه[3] وصار من قبيل القسم الاخر النظري لانه اذا كسي الحروف والاصوات وقرب من عالم الشهادة لم يبق على ما كان عليه بوجه ولا حال واختلفت العبارات فيه اختلافا كثيرا و زلت[4] اقدام قوم عن الصراط السوي[5] وظن باخرين ان اقدامهم زلت وهي لم تزل وانما كان ذلك لانه امر لا نهاية له في حضرة متسعة الاكتناف محيطة غير محاط بها والغرض الثاني من الغرضين اللذين قلنا ان سؤالك لن[6] يعدو[7] احدهما هو ان تبتغي التعريف بهذا الامر على طريقة اهل النظر وهذا كرمك[8] الله بولايته شيء يحتمل ان يوضع في الكتب وتتصرف العبارة فيه[9] ولكنه اعدم من الكبريت الاحمر ولا سيما في هذا الصفع[10] الذي نحن فيه لانه من الغرابة في حد

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(1) E. لم يتعد — (2) P. E. والاذواق — (3) P. E. حقيقته — (4) P. E. aj. به — (5) P. E. المستقيم — (6) N. ان — (7) N. يتعدى ; O. يتعد — (8) E. اكرمك — (9) P. E. فيه العبارات — (10) A. الصنع —

لا يظهر باليسير منه الا [٧] الفرد بعد الفرد ومن ظهر بشيء منه لم يكلم الناس به الا رمزا فان الملة الحنيفية والشريعة الحقيقية (1) قد منعت من الخوض فيه وحذرت عنه ولا تظن (2) ان الفلسفة التي وصلت الينا في كتب ارسطو (3) وابي نصر وفي كتاب الشفاء تفي بهذا الغرض الذي اردته ولا ان احدا من اهل الاندلس كتب فيه شيا فيه كفاية وذلك ان من نشا بالاندلس من اهل الفطرة الفائقة قبل شياع (4) علم المنطق والفلسفة فيها قطعوا اعمارهم بعلوم التعليم وبلغوا فيها مبلغا رفيعا ولم يقدروا على اكثر من ذلك ثم خلف من بعدهم خلف زادوا عليهم بشيء من علم المنطق فنظروا فيه ولم يفض بهم الى حقيقة الكمال فكان فيهم من قال

برح بي ان علوم الورى * اثنان ما ان فيهما من مزيد
حقيقة يعسر (5) تحصيلها * و باطل تحصيله لا (6) يفيد

ثم خلف من بعدهم خلف اخر احذق منهم نظرا وافرب الى الحقيقة ولم يكن فيهم اثقب ذهنا ولا اصح نظرا ولا اصدق رويه من ابي بكر بن الصائغ غير انه شغلته الدنيا حتى اخترمته المنية قبل ظهور خزائن علمه وبث خبايا حكمته واكثر ما يوجد له من التواليف فانما (7) هي غير كاملة ومخترمة (8) من اواخرها ككتابه في

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(1) P. E. المحمدية — (2) P. E. تظنن — (3) E. ارسطوطاليس — (4) E. شيوع — (5) P. E. يعجز — (6) P. E. ما — (7) E. التاليف انما — (8) P. مخرومة ; E. مجرومة

النفس وتدبير المتوحد (1) وما كتبه في المنطق وعلم الطبيعة واما كتبه الكاملة فهي كتب وجيزة ورسائل مختلسة وقد صرح هو نفسه بذلك وذكر ان المعنى المقصود برهانه في رسالة الاتصال ليس يعطيه ذلك القول عطاء بينا الا بعد عسر واستكراه شديد [٨] وان ترتيب عبارته في بعض المواضع على غير الطريق الاكمل ولو اتسع له الوقت مال لتبديلها (2) فبهذا حال ما وصل الينا من علم هذا الرجل ونحن لم نلق شخصه واما من كان معاصرا له ممن (3) يوصف بانه في مثل درجته فلم نر له تاليفا واما من جاء بعدهم من المعاصرين لنا فهم بعد في حد التزيد (4) او الوقوف على غير كمال او ممن لم تصل الينا حقيقة امره واما ما وصل الينا من كتب ابي نصر فاكثرها في المنطق وما ورد منها (5) في الفلسفة فهي كثيرة الشكوك وقد اثبت في كتاب (6) الملة (7) الفاضلة بقاء النفوس الشريرة بعد الموت في لام (8) لا نهاية لها بقاء لا نهاية له ثم صرح في السياسة المدينية بانها منحلة وصائرة الى العدم (9) لا بقاء لا للنفوس الفاضلة (10) الكاملة ثم وصف في شرح (11) كتاب الاخلاق شيا من امر السعادة الانسانية وانها انما تكون في هذه

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(1) A. الموحد — (2) A. ولم يتسع له الوقت فال لتبديلها — (3) P. E. interc. لم — (4) E. التزايد — (5) Manque dans A. — (6) A. كتب — (7) Munk : *Mél. de Phil. juive et arabe*, p. 344, l. 6. : *Al-sira al-fâdhila* (La Bonne Conduite). Cf. ibid., p. 348, note 1. — (8) A. في الامر — (9) P. E. interc. وانه — (10) Manque dans P. E. — (11) Manque dans P. E.

الحياة وبقي[1] هذه الدار ثم قال بغضب[2] ذلك كلاما هذا معناه وكل ما يذكر غير هذا فهو هذيان وخرافات[3] عجائز فهذا قد اياس الناس[4] جميعا من رحمة الله[5] وصير الفاضل والشرير في رتبة واحدة اذ جعل مصير الكل الى العدم وهذه زلة لا تقال وعثرة ليس بعدها جبور[6] هذا الى[7] ما صرح به من سوء معتقده في النبوة وانها للقوة الخيالية بزعمه[8] وتعضيله للفلسفة[9] عليها الى اشياء ليس بنا حاجة الى ايرادها واما كتب ارسطوطاليس فقد تكفل الشيخ ابو علي بالتعبير عما فيها[10] وسلك طريق فلسفته في كتاب الشفاء وصرح في اول الكتاب بان الحق [٩] عنده غير ذلك وانه انما الف[11] ذلك الكتاب على مذهب المشائين وان من اراد الحق الذي لا جمجمة فيه فعليه بكتابه في الفلسفة المشرقية ومن عنى بقراءة كتاب الشفاء وبقراءة كتب ارسطوطاليس ظهر له[12] في اكثر الامور انها تتفق وان كانت[13] في كتاب الشفاء اشياء لم تبلغ الينا عن ارسطو واذا اخذ جميع ما تعطيه كتب ارسطو وكتاب الشفاء على ظاهره دون ان يتبطن لسره وباطنه لم يوصل به الى الكمال حسب ما[14] نبه عليه الشيخ ابو علي في كتاب الشفاء واما كتب الشيخ ابي حامد[15]

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(1) P. E. — التي في (2) P. E. — عقب (3) A. — خرفات (4) P. E. — مع (5) P. E. aj. — تعالى — الخلق (6) E. — خبر (7) P. E. — وانها بزعمه للقوة الخيالية خاصة (8) P. E. ; وانها للقوة الخيالية خاصة بزعمه (9) P. E. — الفلسفة (10) P. E. interc. — الخيالية خاصة وجرى — كان (11) A. — اللف (12) A. — اليه (13) P. E. — على مذهبه (14) N. — حسبما (15) P. E. aj. الغزالي

فهو بحسب مخاطبته للجمهور يربط في موضع ويحل في اخر ويكفر باشياء ثم ينتحلها (1) ثم انه من جملة ما كفر به الفلاسفة في كتاب التهافت انكارهم لحشر الاجساد واثباتهم (2) الثواب والعقاب للنفوس خاصة ثم قال في اول كتاب الميزان ان هذا الاعتقاد هو اعتقاد شيوخ الصوفية على القطع ثم قال في كتاب المنقذ من الضلال والمفصح بالاحوال (3) ان اعتقاده هو كاعتقاد الصوفية وان امره انما وقف على ذلك بعد طول البحث وفي كتبه من هذا النوع كثير يراه من تصفحها وامعن النظر فيها وقد اعتذر عن هذا الفعل في اخر كتاب ميزان العمل حيث وصف ان الراى (4) ثلاثة (5) اقسام راى يشارك به (6) الجمهور فيما هم عليه وراى يكون بحسب ما يخاطب به كل سائل مسترشد (7) وراى يكون (8) بين الانسان وبين نفسه لا يطلع عليه الا من هو شريكه في اعتقاده ثم قال بعد [١٠] ذلك ولو لم يكن في هذه الالفاظ الا ما يشككك (9) في اعتقادك الموروث لكفى بذلك نفعا فان من لم يشك لم ينظر ومن لم ينظر لم يبصر ومن لم يبصر بقي (10) في العمى (11) والحيرة ثم تمثل بهذا البيت

خذ ما تراه ودع شيا سمعت به * في طلعة الشمس ما يغنيك عن زحل

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(1) E. يتحللها — (2) A. ولاثباتهم — (3) Schmölders : *Ess. sur es Ec. philos. chez les Arabes*, titre du texte arabe, عن الاحوال — (4) P. E. الاراء — (5) P. ثلثت — (6) P. E. فيه — (7) P. E. ومسترشد — (8) A. يكون يكون — (9) A. يشككك — (10) A. وقع — (11) O. العما

فهذه صعبة تعليمه واكثره انما هو رمز واشارة لا ينتفع بها (1) الا من وقف عليها ببصيرة نفسه اولا ثم سمعها منه ثانيا او من كان معدا لفهمها فائق الفطرة فهو (2) يكتفي بايسر اشارة وقد ذكر في كتاب الجواهر ان له كتبا مضنونا (3) بها (4) وانه ضمنها صريح الحق ولم يصل الى الاندلس في علمنا شيء منها (5) بل وصلت كتب يزعم بعض الناس انها هي تلك المضنون بها وليس الامر كذلك وتلك الكتب هي كتاب المعارف العقلية (6) وكتاب (7) النفح والتسوية ومسائل مجموعة سواهما (8) وهذه الكتب وان كانت فيها اشارات فانها لا تتضمن عظيم زيادة في الكشف على ما هو مبثوث في كتبه المشهورة وقد يوجد في كتاب المقصد الاسنى ما هو اغمض مما في تلك وقد صرح هو بان كتاب المقصد الاسنى (9) ليس مضنونا (10) به فيلزم من ذلك ان هذه الكتب الواصلة ليست هي المضنون بها وقد توهم بعض المتاخرين من كلامه الواقع في اخر كتاب المشكاة امرا عظيما اوقعه (11) في مهواة لا مخلص له منها وهو (12) قوله بعد ذكر اصناف المحجوبين بالانوار (13) ثم انتقاله الى ذكر الواصلين انهم وقفوا على ان هذا الموجود (14) متصف بصفة تنافي الوحدانية المحضة فاراد ان يلزمه من ذلك

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(1) E. به — (2) Manque dans E. — (3) A. écrit tantôt مظنون tantôt مضنون — (4) P. E. aj. على غير اهلها — (5) P. E. منها — (6) A. والعفلية — (7) كتاب manque dans A. — (8) P. E. شيء — (9) Manque dans A. — (10) A. مضمونا — (11) P. واوقعه — (12) A. P. وهي — (13) N. بالانوار — (14) P. E. aj. العظيم

انه يعتقد [١١] ان الاول (1) الحق سبحانه (2) في ذاته كثيرة ما تعالى الله عما يقول الظالمون علوا كبيرا ولا شك عندنا في ان الشيخ ابا حامد ممن سعد السعادة القصوى ووصل تلك المواصل الشريفة (3) لاكن (4) كتبه المضنون بها المشتملة على علم المكاشفة لم تصل (5) الينا ولم يتخلص لنا نحن الحق الذى انتهينا اليه وكان مبلغنا من العلم الا (6) بتتبع (7) كلامه وكلام الشيخ ابى على وضرب بعضهما الى بعض (8) واضافة ذلك الى الاراء التى نبغت (9) في زماننا هذا ولهج بها قوم من منتحلى الفلسفة حتى استقام لنا الحق اولا بطريق البحث والنظر ثم وجدنا منه الان هذا الذوق اليسير بالمشاهدة وحينئذ راينا انفسنا اهلا لوضع كلام يؤثر عنا وتعين علينا ان تكون (10) اول من اتحفناه بما عندنا واطلعناه على ذلك (11) لصحيح ولائك وزكاء صفائك غير انا ان (12) القينا اليك بغايات ما انتهينا اليه من ذلك (13) فبل ان نحكم مباديه (14) معك لم يفدك ذلك شيا اكثر من امر تقليدى مجمل هذا ان انت حسنت ظنك بنا بحسب المودة والمؤالفة لا بمعنى أنا نستحق ان يقبل قولنا ونحن لا نفنع لك بهذه الرتبة

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(1) Manque dans P. E. — (2) P. سبحنه — (3) P. E. aj. المقدس — (4) P. E. لكن — (5) P. لم يصل — (6) Manque dans E. — (7) P. نتتبع et en marge *f* : بتتبع — (8) A. لبعض — (9) P. نبعث — (10) E. interc. على ما لدينا — (11) P. E. ايها السائل — (12) Manque dans A. — (13) P. E. interc. من — (14) P. E. مبادیها

ولا نرضى لك الا ما هو اعلى منها (1) اذ هى غير كفيلة بالنجاة فضلا عن الفوز باعلى الدرجات وانما نريد ان نحملك على المسالك التى قد تقدم (2) عليها سلوكنا ونسبح بك فى البحر الذى قد غبرناه اولا حتى يفضى (3) بك الى ما افضينا نحن (4) اليه فتشاهد من ذلك ما شاهدناه (5) وتتحفف ببصيرة نفسك كل ما تحققناه وتستغنى عن ربط معرفتك بما عرفناه وهذا يحتاج الى مقدار (6) من الزمان [١٢] غير يسير وفراغ من الشواغل واقبال بالهمة كلها على هذا الفن فان صدق منك هذا العزم وصحت نيتك للتشمير فى هذا المطلب فستحمد (7) عند الصباح مسراك (8) وتنال بركة (9) مسعاك وتكون قد ارضيت ربك وارضاك وانا لك حيث تريد (10) من السلوك بك على اقصد الطرق (11) واثمنها (12) من الغوائل والافات وان عرضت الان الى لمحة يسيرة على سبيل (13) التشويق واحث على دخول الطريق فاناً واصف لك قصة حى بن يقظان (14) واسال (15) وسلامان الذين سماهم الشيخ

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(1) P. ونحن لا نرضى لك الا بما هو اعلى من هذه الرتبة ولا نقنع — A. ونحن لا نرضى لك هذه المنزلة ولا نقنع لك ; لك هذه الرتبة يعظى — (3) A. التى تفدم ; E. التى نفدم — (2) P. بهذه الرتبة — (4) E. افضى بنا — (5) A. شهدناه — (6) P. E. interc. معلوم — (7) P. فتستحمد — (8) A. سراك — (9) A. بركاة — (10) P. E. تريده, puis interc. من املك وتطمع اليه بهمتك وكليتك وارجو ان اصل — (11) P. E. التريق — (12) N. امنها — (13) Manque dans P. E. — (14) A. écrit toujours يفضان — (15) P. E. وابسال ; P. remarque en marge : alias اسال

ابو علي فيما قصصهم عبرة لاولى الالباب وذكرى لمن كان (1) لـه قلب او القى السمع وهو شهيد

ذكر سلفنا الصالح رضى الله عنهم ان جزيرة من جزائر الهند التى تحت خط الاستواء وهى الجزيرة التى يتولد بها الانسان (2) من غير ام ولا اب (3) لانها (4) اعدل بقاع الارض هواء واتمها لشروق النور الاعلى (5) عليها (6) استعدادا وان كان ذلك على خلاف ما يراه جمهور الفلاسفة وكبار الاطباء فانهم يرون ان اعدل ما فى المعمورة الاقليم الرابع فان كانوا قالوا ذلك لانه صح عندهم انه ليس على خط الاستواء عمارة بسبب مانع (7) من الموانع الارضية فلقولهم ان الاقليم الرابع اعدل بقاع الارض الباقية (8) وجه (9) وان كانوا انما ارادوا بذلك ان ما (10) على خط الاستواء شديد الحرارة كالذى يصرح به اكثرهم فهو خطاء يقوم البرهان على خلافه وذلك انه قد تبرهن فى العلوم الطبيعية انه لا سبب لتكون الحرارة الا الحركة او ملاقاة الاجسام الحارة (11) او الاضاءة (12) وتبين فيها ايضا ان الشمس [١٣] بذاتها غير حارة ولا متكيفة بشىء من هذه الكيفيات (13) المزاجية وتبين (14)

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(1) N. قال — (2) A. انسان — (3) P. E. interc. وبها شجر يثمر — (4) P. E. لان تلك الجزيرة — (5) A. نور الحق — (6) P. وافواق عليه — (7) P. لسبب مانع; E. مانع — (8) Manque dans P. E. — (9) P. وجهها — (10) P. انما et en marge : *f* ان ما — (11) Manque dans A. — (12) P. E. والاضاة — (13) P. E. الامور — (14) P. وقد تبين

فيها ايضا ان الاجسام التى تقبل الاضاءة اتم القبول هى الاجسام الصقيلة غير الشفافة ويليها فى قبول ذلك الاجسام الكثيفة غير الصقيلة واما الاجسام الشفافة التى لا شىء فيها من الكثافة فلا تقبل الضوء بوجه وهذا وخده مما برهنه الشيخ ابو على [1] خاصة ولم يذكره [2] من تقدمه فاذا صحت [3] هذه المقدمات فاللازم عنها ان الشمس لا تسخن الارض كما تسخن الاجسام الحارة اجساما اخر تماسها لان الشمس فى ذاتها غير حارة ولا الارض ايضا تسخن بالحركة لانها ساكنة وعلى حال [4] واحدة فى وقت شروق الشمس عليها [5] وفى [6] وقت مغيبها عنها [7] واحوالها فى التسخين والتبريد [8] ظاهرة الاختلاف للحس فى هذين الوقتين ولا الشمس ايضا تسخن الهواء اولا ثم تسخن بعد ذلك الارض بتوسط سخونة الهواء وكيف يكون ذلك ونحن نجد ان [9] ما قرب من الهواء من الارض فى وقت احر اسخن كثيرا من الهواء الذى يبعد منها [10] علوا فبقى ان تسخين الشمس للارض انما هو على سبيل الاضاءة لا غير فان الحرارة تتبع الضوء ابدا حتى ان الضوء اذا افرط فى المرايا المحرقة [11] اشعل ما حاذاها وقد ثبت فى علوم التعليم بالبراهين القطعية ان الشمس كرية الشكل وان الارض كذلك وان الشمس اعظم من الارض كثيرا وان الذى

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(1) A. répète ici وحده — (2) A. ولم يذكر — (3) P. E. فاذا تم — (4) E. حالة — وصحت — (5) P. عليه — (6) A. عليها فى — (7) Manque dans A. — (8) A. التبرد — (9) Manque dans P. E. — (10) P. E. منه — (11) E. فى المراة المفعرة

يستضيء من الارض بالشمس ابدا هو اعظم من نصفها وان هذا النصف المضيء من الارض في كل وقت اشد ما يكون
[١٤] الضوء في وسطه لانه ابعد المواضع من الظلمة وانه (1)
يقابل من الشمس اجزاء اكثر (2) وما قرب من المحيط كان اقل
ضياء (3) حتى ينتهي الى الظلمة عند محيط الدائرة التي هي (4)
ما اضاء (5) من الارض (6) وانما يكون الموضع وسط دائرة الضياء اذا كانت
الشمس على سمت رؤوس (7) الساكنين فيه وحينئذ يكون الحر (8) في
ذلك الموضع اشد ما يكون وان كان الموضع مما تبعد الشمس (9) عن
مسامتة (10) رؤوس اهله كان شديد البرودة جدا وان كان مما تدوم
عليه (11) المسامتة كان شديد الحرارة وقد تبرهن (12) في علم الهيئة ان
بقاع الارض التي على خط الاستواء لا تسامت الشمس رؤوس
اهلها سوى مرتين في العام عند حلولها براس الحمل وعند حلولها
براس الميزان وهي في سائر العام ستة اشهر جنوبا منهم وستة اشهر
شمالا منهم فليس عندهم حر مفرط ولا برد مفرط واحوالهم (13) بسبب
ذلك متشابهة وهذا القول يحتاج الى بيان اكثر من هذا لا يليق
بما نحن بسبيله وانما نبهنا عليه لانه من الامور التي تشهد
بصحة ما ذكر من تجويز تولد الانسان بتلك البقعة من غير ام

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(1) Après الظلمة P. E. interc. — ولانه عند محيط الدائرة puis
(2) P. E. كثيرة — (3) E. ضوءا — (4) E. الذي — (5) E. interc. موقعه
— (6) E. aj. فط — (7) A. écrit رءوس ; P. روس ; N. رؤس ; de même
plus bas. — (8) E. تكون الحرارة — (9) E. aj. فيه — (10) A. مسامتته
— (11) E. فيه — (12) E. ثبت — (13) E. احوالها

ولا اب فمنهم من بت الحكم وجزم القضية بان حى بن يقظان من جملة من تكون فى تلك البقعة من غير ام ولا اب ومنهم من انكر ذلك وروى من (1) امره خبرا نقصه (2) لك (3) فقال انه كان بازاء تلك الجزيرة جزيرة عظيمة متسعة الاكناف كثيرة الفوائد عامرة بالناس يملكها رجل منهم شديد الانفة والغيرة وكانت له اخت عضلها (4) ومنعها الازواج اذ لم يجد لها كفؤا وكان لها (5) قريب يسمى يقظان فتزوجها سرا [١٥] على وجه جائز فى مذهبهم المشهور عندهم وفى (6) زمنهم ثم انها حملت منه ووضعت طفلا فلما خافت ان يفتضح امرها وينكشف سرها وضعته فى تابوت احكمت زمه بعد ان روته (7) من الرضاع وخرجت به فى اول الليل فى جملة من خدمها وثقاتها الى ساحل البحر وقلبها يحترق صبابة به (8) وخوفا عليه ثم انها ودعته وقالت اللهم انك انت (9) خلقت هذا الطفل ولم يكن شيا مذكورا ورزقته فى ظلمات الاحشاء (10) وتكفلت به حتى تم واستوى وانا قد اسلمته (11) الى لطفك ورجوت له فضلك خوفا من هذا الملك الغشوم الجبار العنيد فكن له ولا تسلمه يا ارحم الراحمين ثم قذفت به فى اليم فصادف ذلك جرية (12) الماء بقوة (13) فاحتمله (14) من ليلته الى ساحل

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(1) A. فى — (2) A. نفقضيه — (3) P. E. عليك — (4) P. E. interc. ذات جمال وحسن باهر فعضلها — (5) P. E. له — (6) P. E. المشهور فى — (7) N. اروته — (8) Manque dans P. E. — (9) P. E. قد — (10) A. الاحشاى — (11) E. سلمته — (12) P. E. جرى — (13) P. E. aj. المد — (14) E. احتمله

الجزيرة(1) المتقدم ذكرها وكان المد يصل فى ذلك الوقت الى موضع (2) لا يصل اليه (3) الا بعد عام (4) فادخله الماء (5) الى اجمة ملتفة الخمر(6) عذبة التربة مستورة عن الرياح والمطر محجوبة عن (7) الشمس تزور(8) عنها اذا طلعت وتميل اذا غربت ثم اخذ الماء فى الجزر(9) وبقى التابوت فى ذلك الموضع وعلت الرمال(10) بعد ذلك حتى سدت (11) مدخل الماء الى تلك الاجمة فكان المد لا ينتهى اليها وكانت مسامير التابوت قد فلقت (12) والواحه قد اضطربت عند رمى الماء اياه فى تلك الاجمة فلما اشتد الجوع بذلك الطفل بكى (13) واستغاث وعالج الحركة بوضع صوته فى اذن ظبية (14) فقدت طلاها (15) فتبعت (16) الصوت وهى تتخيل طلاها (17) حتى وصلت الى التابوت فجحصت عنه باظلافها وهو ينوء(18) من داخله حتى طار عن التابوت لوح من

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(1) P. F. interc. الاخرى — (2) P. E. ينتهى الى افصاه فى البر — (3) P. E. الى ذلك المكان — (4) P. E. au lieu de موضع .... يصل — (5) P. E. aj. سنة — (6) P. E. الشجر — (7) A. من — (8) E. تزاور — (9) P. E. interc. فى النفص والجزر عن التابوت — (10) P. E. interc. بهبوب الرياح — الذى فيه الطفل — (11) P. E. interc. باب الاجمة على التابوت وردمت — وتراكمت — (12) E. فلعت — (13) P. بكا — (14) A. écrit génér. ضبية, mais quelquefois ظبية — (15) P. E. puis interc. ولدا لها خرج من كناسه — (16) P. E. فحمله العقاب فلما سمعت الصوت ظنته ولدها فتتبعت — (17) Ce membre de phrase : وهى تتخيل طلاها manque dans P. E. — (18) N. يئن

اعلاه فحنت الظبية (1) و رامت (2) به والقمته حلمتيها (3) [١٦]
و روته لبنا سائغا وما زالت تتعهده وتربيه وتدفع عنه الاذى فهذا (4)
ما كان من ابتداء امره عند من ينكر التولد ونحن نصف بعد
هذا كيف تربى وانتقلت (5) احواله حتى بلغ المبلغ العظيم
واما الذين زعموا انه تولد فقالوا (6) ان بطنا من ارض تلك
الجزيرة تخمرت فيه طينة على مر السنين (7) حتى امتزج فيها الحار
بالبارد والرطب باليابس امتزاج تكافؤ (8) وتعادل فى القوى وكانت
هذه الطينة المتخمرة كبيرة جدا وكان بعضها يفضل بعضا فى اعتدال
المزاج والتهيؤ (9) لتكون الامشاج وكان الوسط منها اعدل ما فيها واتمه
مشابهة بمزاج الانسان فتمخضت تلك الطينة وحدث فيها شبه
نفاخات الغليان لشدة لزوجتها وحدث فى الوسط (10) منها (11) نفاخة

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(1) Après فحنت الظبية A. interc. وحنت عليه — (2) E. ورئمت — (3) P. E. حلمتها — (4) E. هذا — (5) P. E. وكيف انتقل فى — (6) P. E. interc. من الارض فانهم قالوا, addition qui peut paraître nécessaire au sens. Il est difficile néanmoins d'y voir autre chose qu'une glose, et une glose peu judicieuse : 1° parce qu'elle manque dans A. ; 2° parce que, dans la phrase précédente, où il a le même sens, le mot تولد est donné déjà sans aucune addition par tous les textes ; 3° parce qu'au lieu de من الارض il faudrait en tout cas من غير ام ولا اب, car il a été seulement question de naissance « sans mère ni père », et l'auteur, jusqu'ici, n'a pas spécifié que Hayy, suivant l'une des deux versions, ait été formé « du sein de la terre. » — (7) P. E. aj. والاعوام — (8) P. écrit تكافوء — (9) P. écrit التهيوء et A. التهىء — (10) E. للوسط — (11) P. interc. لزوجة بـ et E. لزوجة و

صغيرة جدا منفسحة بفسحين بينهما حجاب رفيق ممتلئة بجسم لطيف هوائى (1) فى غاية من الاعتدال اللايق به فتعلق به عند ذلك الروح الذى هو من امر الله (2) وتشبث (3) به تشبثا يعسر انفصاله عنه عند الحس وعند العقل اذ قد تبين ان هذا الروح دائم الفيضان من عند الله عز وجل وانه بمنزلة نور الشمس الذى هو دائم الفيضان على العالم فمن الاجسام ما لا يستضىء (4) به وهو الهواء الشفاف جدا ومنها ما يستضىء (5) به بعض استضاءة وهى الاجسام الكثيفة غير الصقيلة وهذه تختلف فى قبول الضياء فتختلف بحسب ذلك الوانها ومنها ما يستضىء (6) به غاية الاستضاءة وهى الاجسام الصقيلة كالمرايا (7) ونحوها فاذا كانت هذه المرايا (8) مفعرة على شكل مخصوص حدث فيها النار [١٧] لافراط الضياء وكذلك الروح الذى هو من امر الله (9) فياض ابدا على جميع الموجودات فمنها ما لا يظهر اثره فيه لعدم (10) الاستعداد وهى الجمادات التى لا حياة لها وهذه (11) بمنزلة الهواء (12) فى المثال المتقدم ومنها ما يظهر اثره فيه (13) وهى انواع النبات بحسب استعداداتها وهذه بمنزلة الاجسام الكثيفة فى المثال المتقدم ومنها ما يظهر اثره فيه ظهورا كثيرا

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(1) A. écrit هـواءي et P. هواي — (2) P. E. aj. تعالى — (3) P. تشبثت — (4) P. E. يستضاء — (5) P. E. يستضاء — (6) P. E. يستضاء — (7) E. كالمراة — (8) E. المراة — (9) P. E. aj. تعالى — (10) A. لعدمه — (11) P. هذا — (12) O. الهوى — (13) Tout le passage qui suit, depuis وهى jusqu'à فيه inclusivement, manque dans A.; P. وهذا بمنزلة au lieu de وهذه بمنزلة

وهى انواع الحيوان وهذه بمنزلة الاجسام الصفيلة فى المثال المتقدم ومن هذه الاجسام الصفيلة ما يزيد على شدة قبوله لضياء الشمس انه يحكى صورة الشمس ومثالها فكذلك (1) ايضا من الحيوان ما يزيد على شدة قبوله (2) للروح انه يحكي الروح ويتصور بصورته وهو الانسان خاصة واليه الاشارة بقوله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان الله خلق ادم على صورته فان قويت فيه هذه (3) الصورة حتى تتلاشى (4) جميع الصور فى حفها وتبقى هى وحدها وتحرق سبحات نورها (5) كل ما ادركته (6) كانت حينئذ بمنزلة المراة (7) المنعكسة على نفسها المحرقة لسواها وهذا لا يكون الا للانبياء صلوات الله عليهم (8) وهذا كله مبين فى مواضعه اللايقة به (9) فلنرجع (10) الى تمام ما حكوه من وضع ذلك التخلق فالوا فاما تعلق هذا الروح بتلك الفرارة خضعت له جميع القوى وسجدت (11) بامر الله (12) فى كمالها فتكون (13) بازاء تلك الفرارة نفاخة (14) اخرى منقسمة الى ثلاث (15) فرازات بينها حجب لطيفة ومسالك نافذة وامتلات (16) بمثل ذلك الجسم الهوائى (17) الذى امتلات به (18) الفرارة الاولى الا انه الطف منه وسكن فى هذه

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(1) P. E. وكذلك — (2) N. بقبوله — (3) O. ذه — (4) A. تلاشا — (5) A. سبحاتها — (6) P. ادركه ; A. ادركها — (7) A. P. المرايا — (8) P. E. aj. اجمعين — (9) Manque dans A. — (10) E. فليرجع — (11) P. تعالى — (12) P. E. aj. له وسخرت et E. له وتسخرت interc. — (13) N. فتكون — (14) N. نفاخة — (15) P. ثلث — (16) N. امتلاءت — (17) A. الهواءى ; P. الهواي — (18) P. E. منه

البطون الثلاثة (1) المنقسمة (2) من واحد طائفة من تلك القوى التى خضعت له وتوكلت بحراستها (3) والقيام عليها (4) وانهاء ما يطرا فيها من دفيق [١٨] الاشياء وجليلها الى الروح الاول المتعلق (5) بالفرارة الاولى وتكون ايضا بازاء هذه الفرارة من الجهة المقابلة (6) للفرارة الثانية نفاخة ثالثة مملوءة جسما هوائيا الا انه اغلظ من الاولين وسكن فى هذه الفرارة فريق من تلك القوى الخاضعة وتوكلت (7) بحفظها (8) والقيام عليها (9) وكانت (10) هذه الفرارة الاولى والثانية والثالثة اول ما تخلف من تلك الطينة المتخمرة (11) على الترتيب الذى ذكرناه واحتاج بعضها الى بعض فالاولى منها حاجتها الى الاخريين (12) حاجة استخدام وتسخير والاخريان حاجتهما الى الاولى (13) حاجة المرؤوس (14) الى الرئيس والمدبر الى المدبر وكلاهما لما يتخلق بعدهما من الاعضاء رئيسان (15) لا مرؤوسان (16) واحدهما وهو الثانى اتم رئاسة (17) من الثالث والاول منهما لما تعلق به (18) الروح واشتعلت حرارته تشكل (19) بشكل النار الصنوبرى وتشكل ايضا الجسم الغليظ المحدق به على شكله وتكون جسما صلبا وصار عليه (20) غلاف صفاقى (21) يحفظه ويسمى العضو كله قلبا واحتاج لما يتبع

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(1) P. الثلثت — (2) E. المفسمة — (3) E. بحراسته — (4) E. عليه — (5) N. المتعلة — (6) N. لمقابلة — (7) E. المتوكلة — (8) E. بحفظه — (9) E. عليه — (10) E. فكانت — (11) P. E. aj. الكبرى — (12) P. A. écrit رئيس ; E. الاخرتين — (13) الاول — (14) N. المرؤس — (15) E. راسه — (16) O. مرؤوس ; N. مرؤوس — (17) N. رييسان et P. رءيسان — (18) E: interc. من — (19) O. تشكل — (20) A. وصله عليه — (21) E. غلافا صعيفا

الحرارة من التحليل وابناء الرطوبات الى شيء يمده ويغذوه ويخلف ما تحلل منه على الدوام ولا لم يطل(1) بقاؤه واحتاج ايضا الى ان يحس بما يلائمه فيجتذب به وبما يخالفه فيدفعه فتكفل له العضو الواحد بما فيه من القوى التي اصلها منه بحاجته الواحدة وتكفل له العضو الاخر بحاجته الاخرى (2) وكان المتكفل بالحس هو الدماغ والمتكفل بالغذاء هو الكبد واحتاج كل واحد من هذين اليه في ان يمدهما بحرارته وبالقوى المخصوصة بهما التي اصلها منه فانتسجت بينهما لذلك كله مسالك [١٩] وطرق بعضها اوسع من بعض بحسب ما تدعو(3) اليه الضرورة فكانت الشرايين والعروق ثم ما زالوا يصفون الخلقة كلها والاعضاء بجملتها حسب ما (4) وصفه الطبيعيون في خلقة الجنين في الرحم لم يغادروا من ذلك شيا الى ان كمل خلقه وتمت اعضاؤه وحصل في حد خروج الجنين من البطن واستعانوا في وصف كمال ذلك بتلك الطينة الكبيرة المتخمرة وانها كانت قد تهيات لان يتخلق منها كل ما يحتاج اليه في خلق الانسان من الاغشية المجللة (5) بجملة بدنه وغيرها (6) فلما كمل انشقت عنه تلك الاغشية بشبه المخاض (7) وتصدع بافي الطينة اذ كان قد كفه الجهاز ثم استغاث ذلك الطفل عند فناء مادة غذائه واشتداد جوعه فلبته ظبية اضامت (8) طلاها ثم استوى

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(1) P. E. لم يحصل — (2) E. بما فيه بالاخرى ; P. بما فيه الاخرى — (3) P. A. تدعوا — (4) P. E. على حسب ما — (5) A. المحللة — (6) P. وسوى ذلك ; manque dans A. — (7) E. المخاص — (8) E. فقدت

ما وصفه هولاء بعد هذا الموضع وما وصفته الطائفة الاولى فى معنى التربية فقالوا جميعا ان الظبية التى تكفلت به وافقت خصبا ومرعى (1) اثيثا فكثر لحمها (2) ودر لبنها حتى قام بغذاء (3) ذلك الطفل احسن قيام وكانت معه لا تبعد عنه الا لضرورة الرعى والعب الطفل تلك الظبية حتى كان بحيث اذا (4) ابطات عنه اشتد بكاؤه فطارت اليه ولم يكن بتلك الجزيرة شىء من السباع العادية فتربى الطفل واغتذى بلبن تلك الظبية ونمى (5) الى ان تم له حولان وتدرج فى المشى واثغر فكان يتبع تلك الظبية وكانت هى ترفق به وترحمه (6) وتحمله الى مواضع فيها شجر مثمر فكانت تطعمه ما تساقط من ثمرانها الحاوة النضيجة (7) وما كان منها صلب القشر كسرته له [٢٠] بطواحنها ومتى عاد الى اللبن روته (8) ومتى ظمئ (9) الى الماء اوردته ومتى ضحى (10) ظللته (11) ومتى خصز ادفاته فاذا جن الليل صرفته الى مكانه الاول وجللته بنفسها وبريش كان هنالك (12) مما ملئ به التابوت اولا فى وقت وضع الطفل فيه وكان فى غدوهما ورواحهما فد القهما ربرب يسرح (13) معهما ويبيت حيث مبيتهما فما زال الطفل مع الظباء (14)

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(1) P. مرعا — (2) P. لحمها, mais Pococke a bien lu لحمها puisqu'il traduit : *pinguem evasisse* — (3) A. بعد — (4) P. E. interc. هى — (5) P. E. reportent ونمى avant واغتذى ; N. écrit ونما — (6) A. وترجيه — (7) A. النضجة — (8) N. اروته — (9) A. O. P. ظمأ — (10) N. ضحى — (11) P. ضللته, en marge : ظللته — (12) P. E. الظبية — (13) A. interc. وينعش — (14) E. هناك

على تلك الحال يحكى نغمها (1) بصوته حتى لا يكاد يفرق بينهما وكذلك كان يحكى جميع (2) ما يسمعه من اصوات الطير وانواع سائر الحيوان محاكاة شديدة (3) واكثر ما كانت محاكاته لاصوات الطباء في الاستصراخ (4) والاستغلاب والاستدعاء والاستدفاع اذ للحيوانات في هذه الاحوال المختلفة اصوات مختلفة (5) فالفته الوحوش والفها ولم تنكره ولا انكرها فلما ثبت في نفسه امثلة الاشياء بعد مغيبها عن مشاهدته حدث له نزوع الى بعضها وكراهية الى بعض (6) وكان في ذلك كله ينظر الى جميع الحيوان (7) فيراها كاسية بالاوبار والاشعار والريش (8) وكان يرى ما لها من سرعة العدو وفوة البطش وما لها من الاسلحة المعدة لمدافعة من ينازعها مثل القرون والانياب والحوافر والصياصي والمخالب ثم يرجع الى نفسه فيرى ما به من العرى وعدم السلاح وضعف العدو وقلة البطش (9) عند ما كانت تنازعه الوحوش اكل الثمرات وتستبد بها دونه وتغلبه عليها (10) فلا يستطيع المدافعة عن نفسه ولا الفرار من شيء منها وكان يرى اترابه من اولاد الطباء قد نبتت لها قرون (11) بعد ان لم تكن وصارت قوية بعد ضعفها في العدو (12) ولم ير لنفسه شيا من ذلك (13) [٢٠] فكان يفكر

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(1) P. E. نغمتها — (2) A. reporte جميع après و الطير — (3) P. E. مختلفات — (5) P. استصراح A. — (4) لقوة انفعاله لما يريده aj. — وانواع الريش P. E. — (8) الحيوانات E. — (7) لبعض P. E. — (6) افران A. (11) — تغلبها عليه P. E. — (10) و A. interc. — (9) كله P. E. aj. — (13) وصارت قوتها العدو بعد ضعفها A. (12)

في ذلك ولا يدري [٢١] (1) سببه وكان ينظر الى ذوى العاهات (2) والخلق الناقص (3) فلا يجد لنفسه شبيها فيهم وكان ايضا ينظر الى مخارج الفضول من سائر الحيوان فيراها مستورة اما مخرج اغاط البطانيين فبالاذناب واما مخرج (4) ارفهما (5) فبالاوبار وما اشبهها ولانها كانت ايضا (6) اخفى فضلانا منه فكان ذلك كله يكربه ويسوءه فلما طال همه في ذلك كله وهو قد قارب سبعة اعوام ويئس من ان يكمل له (7) ما قد اضر به نفسه اتخذ من اوراق الشجر العريضة شيا جعل بعضه خلفه وبعضه قدامه وعمل من الخوص والحلفاء حزاما (8) على وسطه علق به تلك الاوراق فلم يلبث الا يسيرا حتى ذوى (9) ذلك الورق ويجف وتسافط (10) فما زال يتخذ غيره ويخصف بعضه على بعض (11) طاقات (12) مضاعفة وربما كان ذلك اطول لبقائه الا انه على كل حال قصير المدة واتخذ من اغصان الشجر عصيا سوى اطرافها (13) وعدل متنها (14) فكان (15) يهش (16) بها على الوحوش المنازعة له فيحمل على الضعيف منها ويقاوم القوى (17) فنبل بذلك قدره عند نفسه بعض نبل (18) ورأى (19) ان ليده فضلا كثيرا على ايديها (20) اذ يمكن (21)

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(1) P. E. interc. ما — (2) A. الهاتات — (3) A. الناقصة — (4) Manque dans P. E. — (5) A. ارفيها — (6) Manque dans P. E. — (7) A. interc. و ذلك — (8) P. E. شبه حزام — (9) E. زوى — (10) P. E. aj. طافاة — (11) P. E. ببعض — عنه — (12) O. طاقاة — (13) N. اطرافها — (14) A. منها — (15) P. E. وكان — (16) A. يمشى — (17) P. E. aj. منها — (18) E. نبالة — (19) P. E. وعلم — (20) A. بديهم — (21) E. امكن

له بها من ستر عورته واتخاذ العصى التى (1) يدافع بها عن حوزته ما استغنى (2) بذلك عن (3) الذنب والسلاح الطبيعى وفى خلال ذلك ترعرع واربى على السبع سنين (4) وطال به العناء فى تجديد الاوراق التى كان يستتر بها فكانت نفسه عند ذلك (5) تنازعه الى اتخاذ ذنب من اذناب الوحوش الميتة ليغلفه على نفسه الا انه كان يرى احياء الوحوش [٢٢] تتحامى (6) ميتها وتفر عنه فلا يتاتى له الاقدام على ذلك الفعل الى ان صادف فى بعض الايام نسرا ميتا فتهدى (7) الى نيل امله (8) واغتنم الفرصة فيه اذ لم ير للوحوش عنه نفرة فاقدم عليه وقطع جناحيه وذنبه صحاحا كما هى وفتح ريشها وسواها وسلخ عنه سائر جلده وفصله على قطعتين ربط احداهما على ظهره والاخرى على سرته وما تحتها (9) وعلق الذنب من خلفه وعلق الجناحين على عضديه (10) فاكتسب ذلك سترا ودفئا (11) ومهابة فى نفوس جميع الوحوش حتى كانت لا تنازعه ولا تعارضه فصار لايدنو (12) اليه شىء منها (13) سوى الطيبة التى كانت ارضعته وربته فانها لم تفارقه ولا فارقها الى ان اسنت وضعفت . فكان يرتاد بها المراعى الخصبة (14) ويجتنى لها الثمرات الحلوة

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(1) P. O. الذى — (2) O. استغنى — (3) P. E. به عما اراده من — (4) A. P. سنة — (5) P. E. suppr. عند ذلك — (6) A. interc. ما — (7) E. فهدى — (8) P. E. aj. منه — (9) Le membre de phrase qui suit, وعلق..... خلفه, manque dans A. — (10) P. E. عضده — (11) P. دفياء — (12) A. P. يدنوا — (13) P. E. منه — (14) P. الخصيبة

ويطعمها وما زال الضعف والهزال (1) يتوالى عليها (2) الى ان ادركها الموت فسكنت حركاتها بالجملة وتعطلت جميع افعالها فلما راها الصبى على تلك الحال (3) جزع جزعا شديدا وكادت نفسه تغيض (4) اسفا عليها فكان يناديها بالصوت الذى كانت عادتها ان تجيبه عند سماعه ويصيح باشد ما يقدر عليه فلا يرى لها عند ذلك حركة ولا تغيرا فكان ينظر الى اذنيها والى عينيها فلا يرى بها اية ظاهرة وكذلك كان ينظر الى جميع اعضائها فلا يرى بشىء منها اية فكان يطمع ان يعثر على موضع الاية ويزيلها (5) عنها فترجع الى ما كانت عليه فلم يثبت له شىء من ذلك ولا استطاعه وكان الذى اوقعه فى هذا (6) الراى ما كان [٢٣] قد اعتبره (7) فى نفسه قبل ذلك لانه كان يرى انه (8) اذا غمض عينيه او حجبهما بشىء لا يبصر شيا حتى يزول ذلك العائق وكذلك يرى انه اذا ادخل اصبعيه فى اذنيه وشدهما (9) لا يسمع شيا حتى يزيل ذلك العارض (10) واذا امسك انفه بيده لا يشم شيا من الروايح (11) حتى يفتح انفه فاعتقد من (12) ذلك ان جميع ما له (13) من الادراكات (14) والافعال قد يكون (15) لها عوائق تعوقها

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(1) P. E. الهزال والضعف — (2) P. E. يستولى عليها ويتوالى
(3) E. الحالة — (4) P. تبيط; E. تغيض — (5) A. فيزيلها
(6) E. ارشده لهذا — (7) A. اعتبر — (8) Manque dans A.
(9) P. E. وسدهما; A. interc. انه — (10) P. E. يزيلهما
(11) A. الجوارح — (12) P. E. interc. اجل — (13) E. لها
(14) O. الادركات — (15) P. E. تكون

فاذا ازيلت تلك العوائق عادت الافعال فيها نظر الى جميع اعضائها الظاهرة ولم ير فيها افة ظاهرة وكان يرى مع ذلك ان [1] العطلة قد شملتها ولم يختص بها عضو دون عضو وقع فى خاطره ان الافة التى نزلت بها انما هى فى عضو غائب عن العيان مستكن فى باطن [2] الجسد وان ذلك العضو لا يستغنى [3] عنه فى فعله شىء من هذه الاعضاء الظاهرة فيها نزلت به الافة عمت المضرة وشملت العطلة وطمع بانه لو عثر على ذلك [4] العضو وازال عنه ما نزل به لاستقامت [5] احواله وفاض على سائر البدن نفعه وعادت الافعال الى ما كانت عليه وكان قد شاهد قبل ذلك فى الاشباح الميتة من الوحوش وسواها ان جميع اعضائها مصمتة [6] لا تجويف فيها الا الفحف [7] والصدر والبطن فوقع فى نفسه ان العضو الذى بتلك الصفة لن يعدو [8] احد هذه المواضع الثلاثة [9] وكان يغلب على ظنه غلبة قوية انه انما هو فى الموضع المتوسط من هذه الثلاثة المواضع [10] اذ كان قد استقر فى نفسه ان جميع الاعضاء محتاجة اليه والواجب [11] بحسب ذلك ان يكون مسكنه فى الوسط وكان [٢٤] ايضا اذا رجع الى ذاته شعر بمثل

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(1) Manque dans P. E. — (2) A. بطن — (3) E. يغنى — (4) P. E. بذلك — (5) A. استفامت ; O. لا استفامت — (6) P. مصمتة et en marge مصمتة ; dans A. le ص de مصمتة porte un point en forme de virgule renversée, c'est-à-dire raturé suivant l'usage du copiste. — (7) P. العجب, mais il a bien lu فحف puisqu'il traduit par *cranium*. — (8) P. يعدوا — (9) P. الثلثة — (10) P. écrit الثلث ; E. المواضع الثلاثة — (11) P. E. وان الواجب

هذا العضو فى صدره ولانه كان يعترض سائر اعضائه كاليد والرجل والاذن والانف والعين (1) ويقدر مفارقتها فيتاتى له انه كان يستغنى عنها (2) فاذا فكر (3) فى الشىء الذى (4) فى صدره لم يتات له الاستغناء عنه طرفة عين وكذلك كان عند محاربته الوحوش (5) اكثر ما يتقى من صياصيها (6) على صدره لشعوره بالشىء الذى فيه فلما جزم الحكم بان العضو الذى نزلت به الافة انما هو فى صدرها اجمع على البحث عليه والتنفير عنه لعله يظفر بافته (7) فيزيلها ثم انه خاف ان يكون نفس فعله هذا اعظم من الافة التى نزلت بها اولا فيكون سعيه عليها ثم انه تفكر هل راى (8) من الوحوش او (9) سواها من صار فى مثل تلك الحال ثم عاد الى مثل حاله الاولى (10) فلم يجد شيا فحصل له من ذلك (11) الياس من رجوعها الى حالها الاول ان هو تركها وبقى له بعض رجاء فى رجوعها الى تلك الحال ان هو وجد ذلك العضو وازال الافة عنه فعزم على شق صدرها وتفتيش ما فيه فاتخذ من كسور الاحجار الصلدة وشفوف القصب اليابسة اشباه (12) السكاكين وشق بها بين اضلاعها حتى قطع اللحم الذى بين الاضلاع وافضى الى الحجاب المستبطن للاضلاع فراه قويا بقوى ظنه ان (13) مثل ذلك الحجاب لا يكون الا لمثل

(1) P. E. aj. والراس ; mais P. aj. en marge : *redundare videtur.* — (2) A. عنه ; P. E. aj. وكان يقدر فى راسه مثل ذلك ويظن انه — (3) P. فاكر — (4) P. E. interc. بجده — (5) A. يستغنى عنه — يظفر به ويرى افته (6) P. E. صياصيهم — (7) P. E. للوحوش — (8) A. رءا — (9) N. و — (10) P. E. الاول — (11) A. بذلك — (12) N. اسباه — (13) P. E. بان

ذلك العضو وطمع بانه اذا تجاوزه الفى مطلوبه فحاول شقه فصعب عليه لعدم الالات ولانها لم تكن الا من الحجارة والقصب فاستجدها (1) واستحدها وتلطف فى خرق الحجاب حتى انخرق له فافضى الى [٢٥] الرئة فظنها اولا (2) مطلوبه فما زال يقلبها ويطلب موضع الافة بها وكان اولا انما وجد (3) نصفها الذى هو فى الجانب الواحد فلما راها مائلة الى جهة واحدة وكان قد اعتقد ان ذلك العضو لا يكون الا فى الوسط فى عرض البدن كما هو فى الوسط فى طوله فما زال يفتش فى وسط الصدر حتى الفى القلب وهو مجلل بغشاء فى غاية القوة مربوط بعلائق (4) فى غاية الوثاقة والرئة مطيفة به من الجهة التى بدا بالشق منها فقال فى نفسه ان كان لهذا العضو من الجهة الاخرى مثل ما له من هذه الجهة فهو فى حفيفة الوسط ولا محالة انه مطلوبى لا سيما مع ما ارى (5) له من حسن الوضع وجمال الشكل وقلة النشتت وقوة اللحم وانه محجوب بمثل هذا الحجاب الذى لم ار (6) مثله لشىء من الاعضاء فبحث من الجانب الاخر من الصدر فوجد فيه الحجاب المستبطن للاضلاع ووجد الرئة كمثل ما وجد (7) من هذه الجهة فحكم بان ذلك العضو هو مطلوبه فحاول هتك حجابه وشق شغافه فبكد واستكراه ما قدر على ذلك بعد استفراغ مجهوده وجرد القلب فراه مضمنا من كل جهة فنظر هل يرى به (8) افة ظاهرة فلم ير به (9) شيا فشد عليه

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(1) P. E. aj. ثانية — (2) P. E. فظن اولا انها — (3) P. E. interc. على ما وجده — (4) A. بمغاليق — (5) A. رءا — (6) A. ير — (7) E. منها — (8) P. E. فيه — (9) E. فيه

يده فتبين له[1] ان فيه تجويفا فقال لعل مطلوبى لا فحسب انما هو فى داخل هذا العضو وانا حتى الان لم اصل اليه فشق عليه فراى[2] فيه تجويفين اثنين احدهما من الجهة اليمنى والاخر من الجهة اليسرى والذى من الجهة اليمنى[3] مملوء[4] بعلق منعقد والذى من الجهة اليسرى خال لا شئ فيه فقال لن يعدو[5] مطلبى ان يكون مسكنه احد هذين البيتين ثم قال اما هذا البيت الايمن [٢٦] فلا ارى فيه غير هذا الدم المنعقد ولا شك انه لم ينعقد حتى صار الجسد كله الى هذا الحال اذ كان قد شاهد ان الدماء[6] متى سالت[7] انعقدت وجمدت ولم يكن[8] هذا الا دما كسائر الدماء وانا ارى هذا الدم موجودا فى سائر الاعضاء لا يختص به عضو دون اخر وانا فليس[9] مطلوبى شيا بهذه الصفة انما مطلوبى الشيء الذى يختص به هذا الموضع الذى اجدنى[10] لا استغنى عنه طرفة عين واليه كان انبعاثى من اول واما هذا الدم فكم مرة جرحتنى الوحوش فى المحاربة[11] فسال منى كثير منه فما[12] ضرنى ذلك ولا افقدنى شيأ من افعالى فهذا بيت ليس لى[13] فيه مطلوب[14] اما هذا[15] البيت الايسر فاراه خاليا لا شيء فيه وما ارى[16] ذلك لباطل[17] فانى رايت كل

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(1) P. E. بـه — (2) P. E. فالقى — (3) P. interc. منهما — (4) P. مملوا — (5) P. يعدوا — (6) P. E. aj. كلها — (7) P. E. aj. وخرجت — (8) P. لـم يكون — (9) E. ليـس — (10) A. اجـد — (11) A. والحجارة au lieu de فى المحاربة — (12) A. ما — (13) E. suppr. لى — (14) E. مطلوبـى — (15) E. suppr. هذا — (16) P. E. interc. ان — (17) E. باطل

عضو من الاعضاء انما هو لفعل يختص به فكيف يكون هذا البيت على ما شاهدت من شربه باطلا ما ارى الا ان مطلوبى كان فيه فارتحل عنه واخلاه وعند ذلك طرا(1) على هذا الجسد من العظمة ما طرا(2) وبفقد الادراك وعدم الحراك فلما راى ان(3) الساكن فى ذلك البيت قد ارتحل قبل انهدام البيت(4) وتركه وهو على شكله(5) راى(6) انه احرى الا(7) يعود اليه بعد(8) ما(9) حدث فيه من الخراب والتخريق ما حدث فصار عنده الجسد كله خسيسا لا قدر له بالاضافة الى ذلك الشىء الذى اعتقد فى نفسه انه يسكنه مدة ويرحل عنه بعد ذلك فافتضر على الفكرة فى ذلك الشىء ما هو وكيف هو وما الذى ربطه بهذا الجسد والى اين صار ومن اى الابواب خرج عند خروجه من الجسد وما السبب الذى ازعجه ان كان خرج [٢٧] كارها(10) او(11) السبب الذى كره اليه الجسد حتى فارقه ان كان خرج مختارا وتشتت فكره فى ذلك كله وسلا عن(12) الجسد واطرحه(13) وعلم ان امه التى عطفت عليه وارضعته(14) انما كانت ذلك الشىء المرتحل وعنه كانت تصدر تلك الافعال كلها لا هذا الجسد العاطل وان هذا الجسد بجملته انما هو كالالة(15) وبمنزلة العصى التى(16) اتخذها هو لقتال الوحوش فانشغلت علاقته

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(1) et (2) P. O. طرى — (3) ان manque dans P. — (4) E. انهدامه — (5) P. E. بحاله — (6) E. تحفق — (7) N. ان لا — (8) A. بعد بعد — (9) E. ان — (10) P. aj. او راضيا — (11) P. E. وما — (12) P. E. interc. ذلك — (13) E. وطرحه — (14) N. وارضعتة — (15) P. E. aj. الذى — (16) A. لذلك

عن الجسد الى صاحب الجسد ومحركه ولم يبق له شوف الا اليه وفي خلال ذلك اصل (1) الجسد وانفصلت عنه (2) روايح كريهة فزادت نفرته (3) وود الا (4) يراه ثم انه سنح لبصره (5) غرابان يقتتلان حتى صرع احدهما (6) الاخر ميتا ثم جعل الحي يبحث في الارض حتى حفر حفرة فواري فيها ذلك الميت بالتراب (7) فقال في نفسه ما احسن (8) هذا الغراب في مواراة جيفة صاحبه (9) وان كان قد اساء (10) في قتله اياه وانا كنت احق بالتهدي (11) الى هذا الفعل بامي (12) فحفر حفرة والقى فيها جسد امه وحثى عليها التراب (13) وبقي يتفكر في ذلك الشيء المضروب للجسد ولا يدري ما هو غير انه كان ينظر الى اشخاص الظباء كلها فيراها على شكل امه وصورتها (14) فكان يغلب على ظنه ان كل واحد منها انما يحركه ويضربه شيء هو مثل الشيء الذي كان يحرك امه ويضربها فكان يالف الظباء ويحن اليها لمكان ذلك الشبه (15) وبقي على ذلك برهة من الزمان يتصفح انواع الحيوان والنبات ويطوف بساحل تلك الجزيرة ويتطلب هل (16) يجد لنفسه شبيها حسب ما يرى لكل واحد من اشخاص الحيوان والنبات اشباها كثيرة فلا يجد شيا من [٢٨]

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(1) P. E. نتن ذلك — (2) P. E. وباحت منه — (3) P. E. aj. عنه — (4) N. لا ووّد ان — (5) P. E. لنظره — (6) P. اهدهما — (7) A. ما صنع — (8) P. E. interc. في الارض ويواري الميت بالتراب — (9) A. اخيه — (10) P. اسى — (11) E. بالاهتداء — (12) Manque dans A. — (13) A. و واراها التراب — (14) P. E. وعلى صورتها — (15) A. الشيء — (16) A. interc. يرى او

ذلك وكان يرى البحر قد احدق بالجزيرة من كل جهة ويعتقد انه ليس في الوجود ارض سوى جزيرته تلك واتفق في بعض الاحيان ان انفدحت نار في اجمة كلخ(1) على سبيل المحاكاة فلما بصر بها راى منظرا هاله وخلقا لم يعهده(2) فبل بتوقف(3) يتعجب منها مليا وما زال(4) يدنو منها شيا فشيا فراى ما للنار من الضوء الثاقب والفعل الغالب حتى(5) لا تعلق بشيء الا(6) اتت عليه واحالته الى نفسها(7) فحمله العجب بها وما ركب الله(8) في طباعه من الجراءة والقوة على ان مد يده اليها واراد ان ياخذ منها شيا فلما باشرها احرقت يده ولم يستطع القبض عليها(9) فتهدى(10) الى ان ياخذ فبسا لم تستول النار على جميعه فاخذ بطرفه السليم والنار في طرفه الاخر فتاني له ذلك وحمله الى موضعه الذي كان ياوي اليه وكان قد خلا(11) في حجر(12) استحسنه للسكنى قبل ذلك ثم ما زال يمد تلك النار بالحشيش والحطب الجزل ويتعهدها ليلا ونهارا استحسانا لها وتعجبا منها وكان يزيد انسه بها ليلا لانها كانت تقوم له مقام الشمس في الضياء والدفء(13) فعظم بها ولوعه واعتقد انها افضل الاشياء التي لديه وكان يراها دائما(14) تتحرك الى جهة فوق وتطلب العلو فغلب على ظنه انها من جملة

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(1) P. كانخ et en marge : *f.* فانخ ; E. فانخ — (2) P. E. لم يعتده — (3) P. E. فوقف — (4) P. E. وما يزال — (5) P. E. حين — (6) N. لا — (7) P. نعسه — (8) P. E. aj. تعالى — (9) P. عليه — (10) E. اهتدى — (11) P. خلى — (12) P. E. interc. كان — (13) P. ولدفو — (14) P. E. دائما يراها

الجواهر(1) السماويـة التى كان يشاهدها وكان يختبر قوتها فى جميع الاشياء بان يلقيها فيها فيراها مستولية عليها(2) اما بسرعة وامّا ببطاء(3) بحسب قوة استعداد الجسم الذى كان يلقيه للاحتراق اوضعفه وكان من جملة ما الفى [٢٩] فيها على معنى(4) الاختبار لقوتها شيا(5) من اصناف الحيوانات البحريـة كان قد القاه البحر الى ساحله فلما اشتوى(6) ذلك الحيوان وسطـع فتاره تحركـت شهوته اليه فاكل منه(7) شيا فاستطابـه واعتاد بذلك اكل اللحم فصرف الحيلـة فى صيـد البحر والبر(8) حتى مهر فى ذلك وزادت محبته للنار(9) اذ تاتى له بها من وجوه الاغتذاء الطيـب شيء لم يتات له قبل ذلك فلما اشتد شغفه بها لما راى من حسن اثارها وقوة اقتدارها وقع فى نفسه ان الشيء الذى ارتحـل مـن قلب(10) الظبية التى انشاته كان من جوهر هذا الموجود او من شيء يجانسه واكد ذلك فى ظنه ما كان يراه من حرارة الحيوان طول مدة حياته و برودته من بعد موتـه وكل هذا دائم لا يختل وما كان يجده فى نفسه من شدة الحرارة عند صدره بازاء الموضـع الذى كان قد شق عليه من الظبية ووقـع فى نفسه انه لو اخذ حيوانا حيا(11) وشق قلبه ونظر الى ذلك البطـن(12) الذى صادفه خاليا عنـد ما شق عليه فى(13) الظبيـة لراه فى هذا الحيوان الحى وهو مملوء

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(1) P. الجاوهر — (2) P. E. عليه — (3) P. بيطو ; E. ببطء — (4) E. سبيـل — (5) A. اشياء — (6) E. انضجت — (7) P. منها — (8) P. E. البر والبحر — (9) P. E. فى النار — (10) P. E. interc. امه — (11) Manq. dans P. E. — (12) E. التجويف — (13) P. E. interc. امـه

بالشيء (1) الساكن فيه وتحقق هل هو من جوهر النار وهل فيه شيء من الضوء والحرارة ام لا (2) فعمد الى بعض الوحوش واستوثق منه كتافا وشقه (3) على الصفة التى شق (4) الطبيب حتى وصل الى القلب فقصد اولا الى الجهة اليسرى منه وشقها فراى ذلك الفراغ مملوا بهواء بخارى شبه (5) الضباب لابيض فادخل اصبعه فيه فوجده من الحرارة فى حد كاد يحرقه ومات (6) الحيوان على الفور فصح عنده ان ذلك البخار الحار (7) هو الذى (8) كان يحرك هذا الحيوان [٣٠] وان فى كل شخص من اشخاص الحيوانات مثل ذلك ومتى انفصل عن الحيوان هلك (9) ثم تحرك فى نفسه الشهوة للبحث عن سائر اعضاء الحيوان وترتيبها واوضاعها وكميانها وكيفية ارتباط بعضها ببعض وكيف تستمد من هذا (10) البخار الحار (11) حتى هى كلها حية (12) به وكيف بقاء هذا البخار المدة (13) التى يبقى (14) ومن اين يستمد وكيف لا تنفد حرارته فتتبع ذلك كله بتشريح الحيوانات الاحياء والاموات ولم يزل ينعم النظر فيها ويجيد الفكرة حتى بلغ فى ذلك (15) مبلغ كبار الطبيعيين فتبين له ان كل شخص من اشخاص الحيوان وان كان كثيرا باعضائه وتفنن حواسه وحركاته فانه واحد بذلك الروح الذى (16) من فرار

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(1) P. E. بذلك الشيء — (2) P. لا au lieu de ام لا — (3) A. وشق
(4) E. aj. بها — (5) E. يشبه — (6) P. E. interc. ذلك — (7) A. P. الرطب
— (8) Manque dans A. — (9) P. E. مات — (10) P. suppr. هذا
— (11) A. P. الرطب — (12) E. حتى تستمر لها الحياة — (13) A. للمدة
(14) A. N. تبغى — (15) P. E. aj. كله — (16) P. E. interc. مبدؤه

واحد وانقسامه في سائر الاعضاء[1] انما هي خادمة له او مؤدية عنه وان منزلة ذلك الروح في تصريف الجسد كمنزلته هو في تصريف الآلات التي يحارب ببعضها الحيوان ويصطاد ببعضها ويشرح ببعضها[2] والتي يحارب بها تنقسم الى ما يدفع بها نكاية غيره والى ما ينكي بها في الغير[3] وكذلك الآلات الصيد تنقسم الى ما يصلح لحيوان البحر والى ما يصلح لحيوان البر وكذلك الاشياء التي يشرح بها تنقسم الى ما يصلح للشحم والى ما يصلح للكسر والى ما يصلح للثقب والبدن واحد وهو يصرف ذلك انحاء من التصريف بحسب ما تصلح له كل آلة وبحسب الغايات التي تلتمس[4] بذلك التصريف كذلك ذلك الروح الحيواني واحد واذا عمل بآلة العين كان فعله ابصارا واذا عمل بآلة الاذن كان فعله سمعا واذا عمل بآلة الانف كان فعله شما [٣١] واذا عمل بآلة اللسان كان فعله ذوقا واذا عمل بالجلد واللحم كان فعله لمسا واذا عمل بالعضو كان فعله حركة واذا عمل بالكبد كان فعله غذاء واغتذاء ولكل واحد من هذه اعضاء تخدمها[5] ولا يتم لشيء من هذه فعل الا بما يصل[6] اليها من ذلك الروح على الطرق التي تسمى عضبا ومتى انقطعت تلك الطرق او انسدت تعطل فعل ذلك

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(1) P. E. interc. منبعث منه وان جميع الاعضاء — (2) Dans P. E. tout ce passage, depuis كمنزلته, est remplacé par le suivant : كمنزلة من يحارب الاعداء بالسلاح التام او يصيد جميع صيد البحر والبر — (3) P. E. بها غيره — (4) A. ويعدّ لكل جنس آلة يصيده بها — (5) E. تخدمه — (6) P. E. يتصل

العضو وهذه الاعصاب انما تستمد الروح من بطون الدماغ والدماغ يستمد الروح من القلب والدماغ فيه ارواح (1) كثيرة لانه موضع تتوزع فيه اقسام كثيرة (2) فاى عضو عدم هذا الروح بسبب من الاسباب تعطل فعله (3) وصار (4) بمنزلة الالة المطرحة التى لا يصرفها الفاعل ولا ينتفع بها فان خرج هذا الروح بجملته عن الجسد او فنى او تجلل بوجه من الوجوه تعطل الجسد كله وصار الى حالة الموت وانتهى به هذا النحو من النظر الى هذا الحد (5) على راس ثلاثة (6) اسابيع من منشائه (7) وذلك احد وعشرون عاما وفى خلال هذه المدة المذكورة تبنت (8) وجوه حيله واكتسى بجلود الحيوانات التى كان يشرحها واتخذ الخيوط من الاشعار وكما قصب (9) الخطمى (10) والخبازى والقنب وكل نبات ذى خيط وكان اصل اهتدائه (11) الى ذلك انه اخذ من الحلباء (12) وعمل مخاصف (13) من الشوك القوى والقصب المحدود (14) على الحجارة وتهدى (15) الى البناء بما راى من فعل الخطاطيف واتخذ (16) بيتا ومخزنا (17) لفضلة غذائه وحصن عليه بباب من القصب المربوط بعضه الى بعض

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(1) P. روح — (2) Manque dans A. — (3) A. فيه — (4) A. وكان — (5) P. E. به النظر الى هذا الحد من النظر — (6) P. ثلثة — (7) N. منشئه — (8) E. تبغن فى — (9) P. E. قصب — (10) P. E. الخطمية — (11) E. اهتداءه — (12) Dans A. ce membre de phr. depuis وكان اصل jusqu'à الحلباء est remplacé par le suivant: وكان تهديه الى ذلك — (13) P. E. خطاطيف; P. aj. en marge : *f.* مخاصف — من الحباء — (14) E. المحدد — (15) E. واهتدى — (16) P. E. فاتخذ — (17) P. E. مخزنا وبيتا

لئلا يصل اليه شيء من الحيوان (1) عند مغيبه عن تلك الجهة في بعض شؤونه (2) واستالف (3) جوارح [٣٢] الطير ليستعين بها في الصيد واتخذ الدواجن لينتفع ببيضها وفراخها واتخذ من صياصي البقر الوحشية شبه الاسنة ركبها (4) في القصب القوي وفي (5) عصي الزان وغيرها واستعان في ذلك بالنار وبحروف الحجارة حتى صارت شبه الرماح واتخذ ترسه من جلود مضاعفة كل ذلك لما راى من عدمه السلاح (6) الطبيعي ولما راى ان يده تعي له بكل ما فاته من ذلك وكان (7) لا يفاومه شيء من الحيوانات على اختلاف انواعها الا انها كانت تفر عنه فتعجزه هربا فبكر (8) في وجه الحيلة في ذلك فلم ير شيا انجح له من ان يتالف بعض الحيوانات الشديدة العدو ويحسن اليها (9) باعداد الغذاء (10) الذي يصلح بها (11) حتى يتاتى له الركوب عليها (12) ومطاردة سائر الاصناف بها (13) وكان بتلك الجزيرة خيل برية وحمر وحشية فاتخذ منها ما يصلح له وراضها حتى كمل له بها غرضه (14) وعمل عليها من الشرك والحبول امثال الشكائم والسروج فتاتى له بذلك ما (15) امله من طرد الحيوانات التي صعبت عليه الحيلة في اخذها (16) وانما

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(1) P. E. الحيوانات — (2) P. écrit شووونه ; A. شئونه ; N. شؤنه — (3) P. E. واستانف — (4) P. E. وركبها — (5) manque dans A. — (6) A. للسلاح — (7) A. فكان — (8) A. P. فكر — (9) A. اليه — (10) P. E. بالغذاء — (11) E. لها ; A. به — (12) A. عليه — (13) A. بحه — (14) P. O. غرضها — (15) P. مما — (16) P. E. اخذه

تفنن في هذه الامور كلها في وقت اشتغاله بالتشريح (1) وشهوته في الوقوف (2) على خصائص اعضاء الحيوانات (3) وبما ذا تختلف وذلك في المدة التي حددنا منتهاها باحد وعشرين عاما ثم انه بعد ذلك اخذ في مآخذ اخر (4) فتصفح جميع الاجسام التي في عالم الكون والفساد من الحيوانات على اختلاف انواعها والنبات والمعادن واصناف الحجارة والتراب والماء والبخار والجمد (5) والثلج والبرد والدخان (6) واللهيب والجمر (7) فراى لها اوصافا كثيرة وافعالا مختلفة وحركات متفقة ومتضادة وانعم [٣٣] النظر في ذلك والتشبث (8) فراى انها تتفق ببعض الصفات وتختلف ببعض وانها من الجهة التي تتفق بها واحدة ومن الجهة التي تختلف فيها متغايرة ومتكثرة فكان تارة ينظر خصائص الاشياء وما ينفرد (9) به بعضها عن بعض فتكثر عنده كثرة تخرج عن الحصر وينتشر له الوجود انتشارا لا يضبط وكانت تتكثر عنده ايضا ذاته لانه كان ينظر الى اختلاف اعضائه وان كل واحد منها منفرد بفعل وصفة تخصه وكان ينظر الى كل عضو منها فيرى (10) انه يحتمل القسمة الى اجزاء كثيرة جدا فيحكم على ذاته انها كثيرة (11) وكذلك على ذات كل شيء ثم كان يرجع الى نظر اخر من

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(1) A. استعماله التشريح — (2) P. E. وفوقه — (3) P. E. الحيوان — (4) P. E. من النظر au lieu de اخر — (5) Manque dans E. — (6) P. E. interc. والجليد — (7) P. E. والجمر — (8) P. والتثبت — (9) E. يتفرد — (10) A. فيرا — (11) P. E. انها كثيرة au lieu de بالكثرة

طريق ثان فيرى ان اعضاءه وان كانت كثيرة فهى متصلة كلها (1) بعضها ببعض لا انفصال بينها (2) بوجه فهى (3) فى حكم الواحد وانها لا تختلف الا بحسب اختلاف افعالها وان ذلك الاختلاف انما هو بسبب ما يصل اليها من قوة الروح الحيوانى الذى انتهى اليه نظره اولا وان ذلك الروح واحد (4) فى ذاته وهو ايضا حقيقة الذات وسائر الاعضاء كلها كالالات فكانت تتحد عنده ذاته بهذا الطريق ثم كان ينتقل الى جميع انواع الحيوان فيرى كل شخص منها واحدا بهذا النوع من النظر ثم كان ينظر الى نوع نوع منها (5) كالظباء والخيل والحمر واصناف الطير صنفا صنفا فكان يرى اشخاص كل نوع يشبه بعضه بعضا فى الاعضاء الظاهرة والباطنة والادراكات والحركات والمنازع ولا (6) يرى بينها (7) خلافا (8) الا فى اشياء يسيرة بالاضافة الى [٣٤] ما اتفقت فيه وكان يحكم بان (9) الروح الذى لجميع ذلك النوع شىء واحد وانه لم يختلف الا انه (10) انقسم على قلوب كثيرة وانه لو امكن ان يجمع جميع الذى افترق فى تلك القلوب منه ويجعل فى وعاء واحد لكان كله شيا واحدا بمنزلة ماء واحد او (11) شراب واحد يفرق (12) على اوان كثيرة ثم يجمع بعد ذلك فهو فى حالتى تفريقه وجمعه شىء واحد وانما عرض له التكثر بوجه ما فكان يرى النوع كله بهذا النظر واحدا و يجعل

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(1) A. كلها متصل — (2) A. P. بينهما — (3) P. فهم — (4) A. واحد
(5) E. الى نوع منها — (6) manque dans A. و — (7) P. بينهما — واحد
(8) E. اختلافا — (9) P. ان ; A. الى — (10) E. لانه — (11) P. E. و —
(12) P. E. تفرق —

كثرة اشخاصه بمنزلة كثرة اعضاء الشخص الواحد التى لم تكن كثرة (1) فى الحقيقة ثم كان يحضر انواع الحيوان كلها فى نفسه ويتاملها فيراها تتفق فى انها تحس وتغتذى وتتحرك بالارادة الى اى جهة شاءت وكان قد علم ان هذه الافعال هى اخص افعال الروح الحيوانى به (2) وان سائر الاشياء التى تختلف بها بعد هذا الاتفاق ليست شديدة الاختصاص بالروح الحيوانى فظهر له (3) بهذا التامل ان الروح الحيوانى الذى لجميع جنس الحيوان واحد بالحقيقة وان كان فيه اختلاف يسير اختص به نوع دون نوع بمنزلة ماء واحد مقسوم على اوان كثيرة بعضه ابرد من بعض وهو فى اصله واحد وكل ما كان فى طبقة واحدة من البرودة (4) فهو بمنزلة ما يختص بذلك (5) الروح الحيوانى بنوع واحد وبعد ذلك فانه كما (6) ان ذلك الماء كله واحد فكذلك الروح الحيوانى واحد وان عرض له التكثر بوجه ما فكان يرى جنس الحيوان كله واحدا بهذا النوع من النظر ثم كان يرجع الى انواع النبات على اختلافها فيرى [٣٥] كل نوع منها تشبه اشخاصه بعضها بعضا فى الاغصان والورق والزهر والثمر والافعال فكان يقيسها بالحيوان ويعلم ان لها شيا واحدا اشتركت فيه (7) هو لها بمنزلة الروح للحيوان وانها بذلك الشىء واحد وكذلك كان ينظر الى جنس

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(1) P. E. — كثيرة (2) Manque dans A. — (3) A. اليه — (4) A. التبردة — فكما E. (6) — بمنزلة اختصاص ذلك E. ; من ذلك A. (5) — به A. (7)

النبات كله فيحكم باتحاده بحسب ما يراه[1] من اتفاق فعله في انه يغتذي وينمو[2] ثم كان يجمع في نفسه جنس الحيوان[3] وجنس النبات فيراهما[4] جميعا متفقين[5] في الاغتذاء والنمو الا ان الحيوان يزيد على النبات بفضل الحس والادراك والتحرك وربما[6] ظهر في النبات شيء شبيه به مثل تحول وجوه الزهر الى جهة الشمس وتحرك عروقه الى جهة الغذاء واشباه ذلك فظهر له بهذا التامل ان النبات والحيوان شيء واحد بسبب شيء واحد مشترك بينهما[7] هو في احدهما اتم واكمل وفي الاخر فاقد عافه عايق ما وان ذلك بمنزلة ماء واحد قسم بقسمين احدهما جامد والاخر سيال فيتحد عنده النبات والحيوان ثم ينظر الى الاجسام التي لا تحس ولا[8] تغتذي ولا تنمو من الحجارة والتراب والماء والهواء واللهيب[9] فيرى انها اجسام مقدرة[10] لها طول وعرض وعمق وانها لا[11] تختلف الا ان بعضها ذو لون وبعضها لا لون له وبعضها حار وبعضها بارد ونحو ذلك من الاختلافات[12] وكان يرى ان الحار منها يصير باردا والبارد[13] حارا وكان يرى الماء يصير بخارا والبخار[14] ماء والاشياء المحترقة تصير[15] جمرا ورمادا ولهيبا ودخانا

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(1) A. يرى — (2) A. P. ينمي — (3) N. لحيوان — (4) A. فيراها — (5) A. متفقتين — (6) A. وادراك ربما ; P. بفضل حس وادراك ربما — (7) A. P. لهما — وادراك ربما (en marge : *l.* حس) جنس — (8) manque dans A. — (9) P. E. واللهب — (10) A. اجساما مقدرة — (11) Manque dans A. — (12) P. E. من الاختلاف — (13) P. E. interc. يصير — (14) P. E. interc. يصير — (15) P. يصير

والدخان اذا وافق في صعوده قبة حجر انعقد فيه وصار بمنزلة (1) بعض(2) الاشياء [٣٦] الارضية فيظهر له بهذا التامل ان جميعها شيء واحد في الحقيقة وان لحقتها الكثرة بوجه ما فذلك مثل ما لحقت الكثرة للحيوان والنبات ثم نظر(3) الى الشيء الذى اتحد به عنده النبات والحيوان فراى(4) انه جسم ما(5) مثل هذه الاجسام له طول وعرض وعمق وهو اما حار(6) واما بارد كواحد من هذه الاجسام التى لا تحس ولا تتغذى وانما خالفها بافعاله التى تظهر عنه بالالات الحيوانية والنباتية لا غير ولعل تلك الافعال ليست ذاتية وانما تسرى اليه من شيء اخر ولو سرت الى هذه الاجسام الاخر لكانت مثله فكان ينظر اليه بذاته مجردا عن هذه الافعال التى تظهر ببادى الراى انها صادرة عنه فكان يرى انه ليس الا جسما من هذه الاجسام فيظهر له بهذا التامل ان الاجسام كلها شيء واحد حيها وجمادها متحركها وساكنها الا انه يظهر ان لبعضها افعالا بالات ولا يدرى هل تلك الافعال ذاتية لها او سارية اليها من غيرها وكان في هذه الحال لا يرى شياء غير الاجسام فكان بهذا الطريق يرى الموجود(7) كله شيا واحدا وبالنظر الاول يرى الموجود كثيرا كثرة(8) لا تنحصر ولا تتناهى وبقى بحكم هذه الحالة(9) مدة ثم انه تامل جميع الاجسام حيها وجمادها وهى التى هى عنده تارة شيء واحد

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(1) O. بمنزلـه — (2) P. E. سائر — (3) P. E. ينظر — (4) P. E. فيرى — (5) ما manque dans E.; P. جمسا ما — (6) N. جار — (7) A. الوجود — (8) P. E. للموجود كثرة — (9) A. يحكم بهذا الحال

وتارة كثيرة (1) لا نهاية لها فيراى ان كل واحد منها لن(2) يخلو من احد امزيدن اما ان يتحرك الى جهة العلو مثل الدخان واللهيب والهواء اذا حصل تحت الماء واما ان يتحرك الى الجهة المضادة (3) لتلك الجهة وهى جهة السفل مثل الماء واجزاء [٢٧] الارض واجزاء النبات والحيوان(4) وان كل جسم من هذه الاجسام لن يعرى عن احدى (5) هاتين الحركتين وانه لا يسكن الا اذا منعه مانع يقطع به(6) عن طريقه مثل الحجر النازل يصادف وجه الارض صلبا فلا يمكنه ان يخرقه ولو امكنه ذلك لما انثنى عن حركته فيما يظهر ولذلك اذا رفعته وجدته (7) يتحامل عليك بميله الى جهة السفل طالبا للنزول وكذلك الدخان فى صعوده (8) لا ينثنى الا ان يصادف قبة صلبة تحبسه فحينئذ ينعطف يمينا وشمالا ثم اذا تخلص من تلك القبة خرق الهواء صاعدا لان الهواء لا يمكنه ان يحبسه وكان يرى ان الهواء اذا ملىء به زق (9) جلد وربط ثم غوص تحت الماء طلب الصعود وتحامل على من يمسكه تحت الماء ولا يزال (10) يفعل ذلك حتى يوافى (11) موضع الهواء وذلك بخروجه (12) من تحت الماء فحينئذ يسكن ويزول (13) ذلك التحامل والميل الى جهة فوق (14) الذى كان يوجد منه

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(1) P. E. كثيرة — (2) E. لا — (3) A. المتضادة — (4) P. E. الحيوان والنبات — (5) Manque dans P. E. — (6) E. يعوقه au lieu de يقطع به — (7) A. تجده — (8) P. O. صعود — (9) Manque dans A. — (10) A. يطعى — (11) A. لخروجه — (12) P. E. aj. عنه — (13) ولا زال — (14) E. العلو

فبل ذلك وطلب[1] هل يجد جسما يعرى عن كلتى[2] هاتين الحركتين او الميل اليهما[3] فى وقت ما فلم يجد ذلك فى الاجسام التى لديه وانما طلب ذلك لانه طمع ان يجده فيرى طبيعة الجسم من حيث هو جسم دون ان يقترن[4] به وصف من الاوصاف التى هى منشا[5] التكثر فلما اعياه ذلك ونظر الى الاجسام التى هى اقل الاجسام حلا للاوصاف فلم يرها تعرى عن احد هذين الوصفين[6] بوجه وهما اللذان يعبر عنهما بالثقل والخفة فنظر الى الثقل[7] والخفة هل هما للجسم من حيث هو جسم او هما لمعنى زائد على الجسمية فظهر له انهما لمعنى زائد على الجسمية لانهما لو كانا للجسم من حيث هو جسم لما وجد جسم لا وهما [٣٨] له ونحن نجد الثقيل لا توجد فيه الخفة والخفيف لا يوجد فيه الثقل وهما لا محالة جسمان ولكل واحد منهما معنى[8] ينفرد[9] به عن الاخر زائد على جسميته وذلك المعنى هو الذى به غاير كل واحد منهما الاخر ولو لا ذلك لكانا شيا واحدا من جميع الوجوه فتبين له ان حقيقة كل واحد من الثقيل والخفيف مركبة من معنيين احدهما ما يقع فيه الاشتراك منهما جميعا وهو معنى الجسمية والاخر ما تنفرد به حقيقة كل واحد منهما عن الاخر وهو اما الثقل فى احدهما واما الخفة فى الاخر المقترنان بمعنى الجسمية اى المعنى الذى

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(1) E. ونظر — (2) E. احدى — (3) N. الى احداهما O. الى احدهما
(4) A. يفترق — (5) P. منشاة — (6) A. الوضعيين — (7) N.
(8) P. معنا — (9) E. منفرد

يتحرك بسر(1) احدهما علوا والاخر سفلا وكذلك نظر الى سائر الاجسام من الجمادات والاحياء فراى ان حقيقة (2) وجود كل واحد منهما مركبة من معنى الجسمية ومن شيء اخر زائد على الجسمية اما واحد واما (3) اكثر من واحد فلاحت له صور الاجسام على اختلافها وهو اول ما لاح له من العالم (4) الروحانى اذ هى صور (5) لا تدرك بالحس (6) وانما تدرك بضرب ما (7) من النظر (8) ولاح له فى جملة ما لاح من ذلك ان الروح الحيوانى الذى مسكنه القلب وهو الذى تقدم شرحه اولا لا بد له ايضا (9) من معنى زائد على جسميته يصلح بذلك المعنى (10) لان يعمل هذه الاعمال الغريبة التى تختص به من ضروب الاحساسات وفنون الادراكات واصناف الحركات وذلك المعنى هو صورته وفصله الذى انفصل به عن سائر الاجسام وهو الذى يعبر عنه النظار بالنفس الحيوانية وكذلك ايضا للشيء (11) الذى يقوم للنبات مقام الكار الغريزى للحيوان شيء يخصه هو صورته (12) [٣٩] وهو الذى يعبر عنه النظار بالنفس النباتية وكذلك ايضا (13) لجميع اجسام (14) الجمادات (15) وهى ما عدا (16) الحيوان والنبات مما (17) فى عالم

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(1) Manque dans P. ; E. يتحرك — (2) N. حقيقتها — (3) A. او اما
(4) N. interc. الى — (5) A. صورة — (6) A. بالحين — (7) Manque dans E. — (8) P. E. aj. العقلى — (9) له ايضا manq. dans A. — (10) P. الشيء ; A. P. — (11) بذلك المعنى صلح ; A. بذلك المعنى يصلح E. — (12) E. فصله — (13) Manque dans E. — وكذلك للشيء
(14) A. الاحسام (*sic*) — (15) Manque dans A. — (16) P. A. عدى
(17) Manque dans P. A.

الكون والفساد شيء يخصها به يفعل كل واحد منها فعله الذى يختص به مثل صنوف الحركات وضروب[1] الكيفيات المحسوسة عنها وذلك الشيء هو صورة[2] كل واحد منها وهو الذى يعبر النظار عنه بالطبيعة فلما[3] وقف بهذا[4] النظر على ان حقيقة ذلك[5] الروح الحيوانى الذى كان تشوفه[6] ابدا اليه[7] مركب[8] من معنى الجسمية ومعنى[9] اخر زائد على الجسمية وان معنى[10] الجسمية مشترك له ولسائر الاجسام والمعنى الآخر المقترن به ينفرد بأنه هو وحده هان عنده معنى الجسمية فاطرحه وتعلق باله[11] بالمعنى الثانى وهو المعبر[12] عنه بالنفس فتشوق الى التحقيق[13] به فالتزم الفكرة فيه وجعل مبدا النظر فى ذلك ان[14] تصفح الاجسام كلها لا من جهة ما هى اجسام بل من جهة ما هى ذوات صور تلزم عنها خواص ينفصل[15] بها بعضها عن بعض فتتبع ذلك وحصره فى نفسه فراى[16] جملة من[17] الاجسام تشترك فى صورة ما يصدر عنها فعل ما او افعال ما[18] وراى فريقا من تلك الجملة مع انه

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(1) E. وصدور ; P. — وصروب — (2) E. فصل — (3) P. interc. ان
(4) A. هذا — (5) Manque dans E. — (6) P. تشوفة — (7) P. E. اليه ابدا — (8) E. مركبة ; P. A. vocalisent évidemment
(9) P. E. — أنّ حقيقةَ ذلك الروحِ et E. أنّ حقيقةَ ذلك الروحَ
(10) P. E. interc. هذه — (11) E. فكره — (12) P. E. ومن معنى — (13) P. E. التحفى — (14) Manque au lieu de المعبر الذى يعبر dans E. — (15) P. E. وينفصل — (16) E. interc. ان — (17) Manque dans E. — (18) E. فى صور تصدر عنها الافعال

يشارك الجملة بتلك(4) الصورة يزيد عليها بصورة اخرى تصدر عنها افعال ما(2) وراى طائفة من ذلك الفريق مع انه يشارك الفريق(3) في الصورة الاولى والثانية يزيد عليه(4) بصورة ثالثة تصدر عنها افعال ما(5) مثال ذلك ان الاجسام الارضية كلها مثل التراب(6) والحجارة والمعادن والنبات والحيوان وسائر الاجسام الثقيلة هي جملة واحدة تشترك في صورة واحدة تصدر [٤٠] عنها الحركة الى اسفل ما لم يعقها عائق عن النزول ومتى حركت الى جهة فوق(7) بالقسر ثم تركت تحركت بصورتها الى اسفل وفريق من هذه الجملة وهو النبات والحيوان مع انه يشارك(8) الجملة المتقدمة في تلك الصورة يزيد عليها بصورة(9) اخرى يصدر عنها التغذى والنمو والتغذى هو ان يخلف المتغذى(10) بدل ما تحلل(11) منه(12) بان يحيل الى التشبه(13) بجوهره مادة قريبة منه

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(1) E. مع انه.... بتلك au lieu de — مع مشاركته لها في تلك — (2) E. خاصة به au lieu de ما — (3) E. مع شاركته له — (4) E. يغير عنه *vel pot.* يعبر عنها P. ; تزيد عنه mais en marge : *f.* يزيد عليه *ut inf.* — (5) E. خاصة بها au lieu de ما — (6) A. التربة — (7) E. العلو — (8) E. مع مشاركته — (9) E. صورة — (10) P. E. المغتذى — (11) E. interc. بالبعل — (12) Le passage qui suit, depuis بهذان البعلان est remplacé dans E. par le jusqu'à بان يحيل développement que voici : بواسطة القوة الغاذية التي تحيل ما حصل له كمال استعداد بسبب القوة الهاضمة من الغذاء بالقوة الواصل بواسطة الجاذبة الى مشاكلة جوهر المغتذى حفظا لشخصه وتكميلا لمقداره والنمو هو الزيادة بواسطة القوة النامية وهي التي تزيد في اقطار الجسم اعني الطول والعرض والعمق على التناسب الطبعي بما تدخل في اجزائه من الغذاء — (13) P. الشبه ; E. » »

والنمو هو الحركة في الافطار الثلاثة (1) على نسبة محفوظة في الطول والعرض والعمق فهذان الفعلان عامان للنبات والحيوان وهما لا محالة صادران عن صورة مشتركة لهما وهي (2) المعبر عنها بالنفس النباتية (3) وطائفة من هذا الفريق وهو الحيوان خاصة مع انه يشارك (4) الفريق (5) في الصورة الاولى والثانية يزيد (6) عليه بصورة ثالثة يصدر عنها الحس والتنقل من مكان الى مكان (7) ورأى ايضا (8) كل نوع من انواع الحيوان له خاصية ينحاز بها عن سائر الانواع وينفصل بها متميزا (9) عنها فعلم ان ذلك صادر عن صورة له (10) تخصه هي زائدة على (11) معنى الصورة المشتركة له ولسائر الحيوان وكذلك لكل واحد من انواع النبات مثل ذلك فتبين له ان هذه الاجسام المحسوسة (12) التي في عالم الكون والفساد بعضها تلتئم حقيقته من معان كثيرة زائدة على معنى الجسمية وبعضها من معان اقل وعلم ان (13) معرفة الاقل اسهل من معرفة الاكثر فطلب اولا الوقوف على حقيقة (14) الشيء الذي تلتئم حقيقته من اقل الاشياء ورأى ان الحيوان والنبات لا تلتئم [٤١] حقائقها الا من معان كثيرة لتفنن افعالهما

(1) P. الثلثة ; E. » » — (2) P. وهو — (3) Manque dans E. — (4) E. مع مشاركته — (5) E. aj. المتقدم — (6) E. تزيد — (7) E. متحيزا — (8) Manque dans P. E. — (9) A. من حيز الى اخر — (10) P. E. صادر له عن صورة ; A. portait d'abord صادر له عن صورة, mais le premier له a été gratté, probablement par le copiste — (11) P. E. عن — (12) P. E. المحسوسات — (13) Manque dans A. — (14) A. P. interc. صورة

فاخر البكرة (1) في صورهما وكذلك راى ايضا (2) اجزاء الارض بعضها ابسط من بعض فقصد منها الى (3) ابسط ما قدر عليه (4) وكذلك ايضا راى الماء انه امر (5) قليل التركيب لقلة ما يصدر عن صورته من الافعال وكذلك راى النار والهواء وقد كان سبق الى ظنه اولا ان هذه الاربعة تستحيل (6) بعضها الى بعض وان لها شيا واحدا تشترك فيه هو معنى الجسمية وان ذلك الشيء ينبغى ان يكون خلوا من المعانى التى تميز بها كل واحد من هذه (7) الاربعة عن الاخر فلا يمكن ان يتحرك الى فوق ولا الى اسفل ولا ان يكون حارا ولا باردا ولا ان يكون رطبا ولا يابسا لان كل واحد من هذه الاوصاف لا يعم جميع الاجسام فليست اذا (8) الجسم بما هو جسم فاذا (9) امكن وجود جسم لا صورة فيه زائدة على الجسمية فليس يكون (10) فيه صفة من هذه الصفات ولا يمكن ان يكون (11) فيه صفة لا وهى تعم سائر الاجسام المتصورة بضروب الصور فنظر هل يجد وصفا واحدا يعم جميع الاجسام حيها وجامدها (12) فلم يجد شيا يعم الاجسام كلها الا معنى الامتداد (13) الى الاقطار الثلاثة

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(1) E. التبكر — (2) P. ايضا راى ; E. راى ان — (3) Manque dans E. — (4) Manque dans A. — (5) E. وكذلك راى ان — (6) P. E. يستحيل — (7) Manque dans N. — الماء شيء — (8) E. اذن — (9) A. interc. ان — (10) P. E. تكون — (11) P. E. تكون — (12) P. E. جامدها — (13) Le passage qui suit, depuis الامتداد jusqu'à بالطول, devient dans E. الامتداد الموجود فى جميعها فى الافطار الثلاثة التى يعبر عنها بالطول ; P. écrit toujours ثلثة sans *alif* ; A. الموجودة au lieu de الموجود.

الموجود في جميعها وهو الذى يعبر عنه بالطول والعرض والعمق فعلم ان هذا المعنى هو للجسم من حيث هو جسم لاكنه [1] لم يتات له باحس وجود جسم بهذه الصفة وحدها حتى لا يكون فيه معنى زائد [2] على الامتداد المذكور ويكون باكملة خلوا من سائر الصور ثم تفكر في هذا الامتداد الى الاقطار الثلاثة هل هو معنى الجسم بعينه وليس ثم معنى اخر ام [3] [٤٢] ليس الامر [4] كذلك فراى ان وراء هذا الامتداد معنى اخر هو الذى فيه يوجد [5] هذا الامتداد وان الامتداد وحده لا يمكنه [6] ان يقوم بنفسه كما ان ذلك الشيء الممتد [7] لا [8] يمكن ان يقوم بنفسه دون امتداد واعتبر ذلك ببعض هذه [9] الاجسام المحسوسة ذوات الصور كالطين مثلا فراى انه اذا عمل منه [10] شكل ما [11] كالكرة مثلا كان له طول وعرض وعمق على قدر ما [12] ثم ان تلك الكرة بعينها لو اخذت وردت الى شكل مكعب او بيضى لتبدل [13] ذلك الطول وذلك العرض وذلك العمق وصارت [14] على قدر اخر غير الذى كانت عليه والطين واحد بعينه لم يتبدل غير انه لا بد

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(1) P. E. écr. toujours لكنه — (2) A. زائدا — (3) E. او — (4) Manque dans E. — (5) P. E. يوجد فيه — (6) E. لا يمكن — (7) Au lieu de الممتد A. donne ان biffé d'un trait avec la même encre — (8) Manque dans N. — (9) Manque dans E. — (10) P. به — (11) Manque dans E. — (12) E. على قدره — (13) Au lieu de ثم انه توخذ تلك الكرة (الكره A.) بعينها A. P. ثم ان ..... لتتبدل وتصير A. P. (14) — ويرد منها شكل مكعب او بيضى فيتبدل

له من طول وعرض وعمق على اى قدر كان ولا يمكن ان يعرى (1) عنها غير انها لتعاقبها عليه تبين (2) له انها معنى على حياله ولكونه لا يعرى بالجملة عنها تبين له انها من حقيقته فلاح له بهذا الاعتبار ان الجسم بما هو جسم مركب على الحقيقة من معنيين احدهما يقوم منه مقام الطين للكرة فى هذا المثال والاخر يقوم مقام طول الكرة وعرضها وعمقها او المكعب او اى شكل كان له (3) وانه لا يفهم الجسم الا مركبا من هذين المعنيين وان احدهما لا يستغنى عن الاخر لاكن الذى يمكن ان يتبدل ويتعاقب (4) على اوجه كثيرة وهو (5) معنى الامتداد يشبه الصورة التى لسائر الاجسام ذوات الصور والذى يثبت على حال واحدة وهو الذى يتنزل (6) منزلة الطين فى المثال المتقدم (7) يشبه معنى الجسمية التى لسائر الاجسام ذوات الصور وهذا الشىء الذى هو بمنزلة (8) الطين فى هذا المثال هو الذى يسميه النظار [٤٣] المادة والهيولى وهى عارية عن الصور جملة فلما انتهى نظره الى هذا الحد وفارق المحسوس بعض مفارقة واشرف على تخوم العالم العقلى استوحش وحن الى ما الفه من عالم الحس فتفهقر قليلا وترك الجسم على الاطلاق اذ هو امر لا يدركه الحس ولا يقدر على تناوله فاخذ (9) ابسط الاجسام المحسوسة التى شاهدها وهى تلك الاربعة التى كان قد وقف نظره عليها فاول ما نظر الى الماء فراى انه اذا خلى وما تقتضيه صورته ظهر

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(1) A. يعرا — (2) A. يبيـن — (3) E. بـه — (4) A. او يتعاقب — (5) A. portait, ce semble, وهـو, mais le و a été gratté — (6) E. ينزل — (7) E. الطين المتقدم — (8) O. بمنزله — (9) E. واخذ

منه برد محسوس وطلب النزول الى اسفل فاذا سخن اما بالنار واما بحر[1] الشمس[2] زال عنه البرد اولا وبقي فيه طلب النزول فاذا افرط عليه بالتسخين زال عنه طلب النزول الى اسفل وصار يطلب[3] الصعود الى فوق فزال عنه بالجملة الوصفان اللذان كانا ابدا يصدران[4] عن صورته ولم يعرف من صورته اكثر من صدر[5] هذين الفعلين عنها فلما زال هذان الفعلان[6] بطل حكم الصورة فزالت الصورة المائية عن ذلك الجسم عند ما ظهرت منه افعال من شانها ان تصدر عن صورة اخرى وحدثت له صورة اخرى بعد ان لم تكن وصدر عنه بها افعال لم يكن[7] من شانها ان تصدر عنه وهو بصورته الاولى فعلم بالضرورة ان كل حادث فلا[8] بد له من محدث فارتسم في نفسه بهذا الاعتبار فاعل للصورة ارتساما على العموم دون تفصيل ثم انه تتبع الصور التي كان قد عاينها[9] فبل ذلك صورة صورة فراى انها كلها حادثة وانها لا بد لها من [٤٤] فاعل ثم انه نظر الى ذوات الصور فلم ير انها شيء اكثر من استعداد الجسم لان يصدر عنه ذلك الفعل مثل الماء فانه اذا افرط عليه التسخين استعد للحركة الى فوق وصلح لها فذلك الاستعداد هو صورته اذ ليس هاهنا[10] الا جسم واشياء تحس عنه بعد ان لم تكن[11] مثل الكيفيات والحركات وفاعل يحدثها بعد ان لم تكن فصلوح[12] الجسم لبعض الحركات دون

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(1) E. بحرارة — (2) A. النار — (3) A. تطلب — (4) P. E. interc. عنه و — (5) E. صدور — (6) A. interc. اذن — (7) P. E. لم تكن — (8) E. لا — (9) P. E. علمها — (10) E. écrit ههنا — (11) P. لم يكن — (12) A. فطرح

بعض هو استعداده وصورته[1] ولاح له مثل ذلك فى جميع الصور[2] فتبين له ان الافعال الصادرة عنها ليست فى الحقيقة لها وانما هى لفاعل يفعل بها الافعال المنسوبة اليها وهذا المعنى الذى لاح له هو قول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كنت سمعه الذى يسمع به وبصره الذى يبصر به وفى محكم التنزيل فلم تقتلوهم ولكن الله قتلهم[3] وما رميت اذ رميت ولاكن الله رمى فلما لاح له من امر هذا الفاعل ما لاح على الاجمال دون تفصيل حدث له شوق حثيث الى معرفته على التفصيل ولانه[4] بعد لم يكن فارق عالم الحس جعل[5] يطلب هذا الفاعل[6] من جهة المحسوسات وهو لا يعلم[7] هل هو واحد او كثير فتصفح جميع الاجسام التى لديه وهى التى كانت فكرته ابدا فيها فراها كلها تتكون تارة وتفسد اخرى وما لم يقف على فساد جملته وقف على فساد اجزائه مثل الماء والارض فانه راى[8] اجزاءهما تفسد بالنار[9] وكذلك سائر الاجسام التى كانت لديه لم ير منها شيا برئا[10] عن الحدوث والافتقار الى الفاعل[11] فاطرحها كلها وانتفلت فكرته [٤٥] الى الاجسام السماوية وانتهى الى هذا النظر على راس اربعة اسابيع من منشئه[12] وذلك

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(1) E. بصورته — (2) N. الصورة — (3) Ce début du verset ..... فلم تقتلوهم, manque dans A. — (4) A. وانه ; N. وهو — (5) N. فجعل — (6) P. E. aj. المختار — (7) P. E. interc. بعد — (8) A. رءا — (9) P. E. interc. وكذلك الهواء راه يفسد بشدة البرد حتى يتكون منه (يفسد بشدة البرد au lieu de يفسده شدة البرد P.) ثلج فيسيل ماء — (10) A. P. بريا ; E. بريئا — (11) P. E. aj. المختار — (12) A. P. منشأه ; O. منشايه

ثمانية وعشرون عاما فعلم ان السماء وما فيها من الكواكب اجسام لانها ممتدة فى الاقطار الثلاثة الطول والعرض والعمق لا ينفك شيء منها عن هذه الصفة وكل ما لا ينفك عن هذه الصفة فهو جسم فاذن هى[1] كلها اجسام ثم تفكر هل هى ممتدة الى غير نهاية وذاهبة ابدا فى الطول والعرض والعمق الى غير نهاية ام[2] هى متناهية محدودة بحدود تنقطع عندها ولا يمكن ان يكون وراءها شيء من الامتداد فتحير فى ذلك بعض حيرة ثم انه بفوة فطرته[3] وذكاء خاطره راى[4] ان جسما لا نهاية له امر[5] باطل وشيء لا يمكن ومعنى لا يعقل وتفوى هذا الحكم عنده بحجج كثيرة سنحت له بينه وبين نفسه وذلك انه قال ان[6] هذا الجسم[7] متناه من الجهة التى تلينى والناحية التى وقع عليها حسى فهذا لا اشك فيه لانى[8] ادركه ببصرى[9] واما الجهة التى تقابل هذه الجهة وهى التى يداخلنى فيها الشك فانى ايضا اعلم انه من المحال ان تمتد الى غير نهاية لانى ان تخيلت[10] خطين اثنين يبتدئان[11] من هذه الجهة المتناهية ويمران فى سمك الجسم الى غير نهاية حسب امتداد الجسم ثم تخيلت ان احد هذين الخطين قطع منه جزء[12] كبير من ناحية طرفه المتناهى ثم اخذ ما بقى منه واطبق[13] طرفه[14]

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(1) E. فهى اذن ; P. فهى اذا — (2) E. او — (3) P. E. نظره — (4) A. رءا — (5) Manque dans P. E. — (6) P. E. اما — (7) P. E. aj. بالمشاهدة (8) P. E. لاننى — (9) A. السماوى ; puis E. interc. فهو — (10) E. interc. ان — (11) A. P. écrivent يبتديان et E. يبتدآن — (12) P. جزو — (13) E. وطبق — (14) N. طرفة

الذى كان فيه موضع القطع على طرف الخط الذى لم يقطع منه شىء (1) واطبق (2) الخط المقطوع منه على الخط الذى لم يقطع منه شىء وذهب الذهن كذلك معهما الى الجهة التى يقال انها غير متناهية واما ان تجد (3) الخطين ابدا يمتدان الى غير نهاية ولا ينقص احدهما عن الاخر فيكون الذى قطع منه (4) مساويا للذى لم يقطع منه شىء وهو محال (5) واما ان لا (6) يذهب (7) الناقص معه ابدا بل ينقطع دون مذهبه ويقف عن الامتداد معه فيكون متناهيا فاذا رد عليه القدر الذى قطع منه اولا وقد كان متناهيا صار كله ايضا (8) متناهيا وحينئذ لا يقصر عن الخط (9) الذى لم يقطع منه شىء ولا يفضل عليه فيكون اذا (10) مثله وهذا (11) متناه فذلك (12) متناه فالجسم الذى تفرض فيه هذه الخطوط متناه وكل جسم فيمكن (13) ان تفرض فيه هذه الخطوط (14) فاذا ان فرضنا (15) جسما غير متناه فقد فرضنا باطلا ومحالا فلما صح عنده بفطرته الفائقة التى تنبهت (16) لمثل هذه الحجة ان جسم السماء متناه اراد ان يعرف على اى شكل هو وكيف (17) انقطاعه بالسطوح التى تحده فنظر اولا الى الشمس

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(1) Tout le membre de phrase qui suit : شىء ..... واطبق manque dans A. — (2) E. وطبق — (3) O. تجد; on attendrait plutôt اجد كما ان الكل مثل الجزء (*sic*) محال.. A. aj. — (4) E. aj. جزء — (5) A. aj. — (6) A. لا — (7) E. يمد — (8) Manque dans P. E. — (9) P. E. aj. الاخر — (10) E. écrit اذن — (11) P. E. وهو — (12) P. E. interc. ايضا (13) E. يمكن — (14) P. aj. متناه, puis aj. encore le membre de phrase suivant : وكل جسم فيمكن ان تفرض فيه هذه الخطوط ; E. aj. فكل ينبهها ; A. نبهها (15) E. فاذا فرضنا ان — (16) P. جسم متناه — (17) E. وكيفية

والقمر وسائر الكواكب جراها كلها تطلع من جهة المشرق وتغرب من جهة المغرب فما كان منها يجوز[1] على سمت راسه راه يقطع دائرة[2] عظمى وما مال عن سمت راسه الى الشمال او الى الجنوب راه يقطع دائرة اصغر من تلك وكل ما[3] كان ابعد عن سمت الراس الى احد الجهتين[4] كانت دائرته اصغر من دائرة ما هو اقرب حتى كانت اصغر الدوائر التى تتحرك عليها الكواكب دائرتين اثنتين احداهما[5] حول القطب الجنوبى وهى مدار سهيل والاخرى حول القطب الشمالى وهى مدار الفرقدين ولما كان مسكنه على خط الاستواء كالذى[6] وصفناه[7] لولا كانت هذه الدوائر كلها قائمة على سطح افقه ومتشابهة الاحوال فى الجنوب والشمال وكان القطبان[8] معا ظاهرين له وكان يرتقب[9] [٤٧] اذا طلع كوكب من الكواكب على دائرة كبيرة وطلع كوكب اخر على دائرة صغيرة وكان طلوعهما معا فكان يرى غروبهما[10] معا واطرد له ذلك فى جميع الكواكب وفى جميع الاوقات فتبين له بذلك ان الفلك على شكل الكرة وقوى ذلك فى اعتقاده ما راه من رجوع[11] الشمس والقمر وسائر الكواكب الى المشرق بعد مغيبها بالمغرب وما راه ايضا من انها تظهر الى بصره[12] على قدر واحد من العظم فى حال طلوعها

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(1) E. يمر — (2) A. saute une ligne et passe de ce premier دائرة au second. — (3) E. وما ; P. écrit وكلما — (4) P. E. الجانبين — (5) P. الفطيان — (6) A. وصفنا — (7) P. E. الذى — (8) احدهما لبصره (9) E. يترقب — (10) P. غروبها — (11) N. من جوع — (12) E.

وتوسطها وغروبها وانها لو كانت حركتها على غير شكل الكرة لكانت لا محالة في بعض الاوقات اقرب الى بصره منها في وقت اخر ولو كان ذلك (1) لكانت مقاديرها واعظامها (2) تختلف عند بصره فكان يراها (3) في حال القرب اعظم مما يراها في حال البعد (4) ولما لم يكن شيء من ذلك تحققت (5) عنده كرية الشكل وما زال يتصفح حركة القمر لاخذة (6) من المغرب الى المشرق (7) وحركات الكواكب السيارة كذلك حتى تبين له (8) فدر كبير من علم (9) الهيئة (10) وظهر له (11) ان حركاتها لا تكون الا بافلاك كثيرة كلها مضمنة (12) في فلك واحد هو اعلاها وهو الذي يحرك الكل من المشرق الى المغرب في اليوم والليلة وشرح كيفية انتقاله في (13) معرفة ذلك يطول وهو مبثوث (14) في الكتب ولا يحتاج منه في غرضنا الا القدر (15) الذي اوردناه فلما انتهى الى هذه المعرفة ووقف على ان الفلك بجملته وما يحتوي عليه كشيء واحد متصل بعضه ببعض وان جميع الاجسام التي كان ينظر فيها قديما (16) كالارض والماء (17) والهواء والنبات والحيوان وما شاكلها هي (18) كلها في ضمنه وغير خارجة عنه وانه

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(1) E. كذلك — (2) A. واعظاها — (3) E. فيراها — (4) E. aj. et من المشرق الى المغرب (5) E. — لاختلاف ابعادها عن مركزه حينئذ بخلافها على الاول — (6) P. E. فيراها اخذة — (7) P. تحفق en marge : f. حتى ظهر له وتبين — (8) A. من المغرب الى المشرق — (9) E. عالم — (10) E. الهيئة et P. الهيأة — (11) A. اليه — (12) A. مضمنه — (13) E. و — (14) O. مثبوت ; N. مثبت — (15) E. للقدر — (16) E. اولا — (17) A. كالماء والارض — (18) Manque dans A.

كله اشبه شيء بشخص من اشخاص [٤١ظ] الحيوان[1] وما فيه من الكواكب المنيرة هي بمنزلة حواس الحيوان وما فيه من ضروب الافلاك المتصل بعضها ببعض هي[2] بمنزلة اعضاء الحيوان وما في داخله من عالم الكون والفساد هي بمنزلة ما في جوف الحيوان من اصناف الفضول والرطوبات التي كثيرا ما يتكون فيها ايضا حيوان كما يتكون في العالم الاكبر قبلما تبين له انه كله كشخص واحد في الحقيقة[3] واتحدت عنده اجزاؤه الكثيرة بنوع من النظر الذي[4] اتحدت عنده به[5] الاجسام التي في عالم الكون والفساد تفكر في العالم بجملته هل هو شيء حدث بعد ان لم يكون وخرج الى الوجود بعد العدم ام[6] هو امر لم يزل[7] موجودا فيما سلف ولم يسبقه العدم بوجه من الوجوه فتشكك في ذلك ولم يترجح عنده احد الحكمين على الاخر وذلك انه مهما[8] ازمع على اعتقاده[9] القدم اعترضته عوارض كثيرة من استحالة وجود ما[10] لا نهاية له بمثل القياس الذي استحال له عنده[11] وجود جسم لا نهاية له وكذلك ايضا[12] كان يرى انه[13] لا يخلو[14] من الحوادث ولا[15] يمكن تقدمه عليها وما لا يمكن ان

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(1) A. saute une ligne et passe du premier وما فيه من au second — (2) Manque dans A. — (3) P. E. aj. فائم محتاج الى فاعل مختار — (4) N. الذي الذي — (5) P. E. به عنده — (6) E. او — (7) P. E. كان مهما كان اذا P.; كان اذا E.; مهمى A. écrit au lieu de لم يزل — (8) E. اعتقاد — (9) E. عنده به — (10) Manque dans E. — (11) P. E. — (12) Manque dans E. — (13) E. ان هذا الوجود P.; انه ما — (14) A. P. فهو محدث واذ لا E.; فهو لا — (15) لا يخلوا écr.

يتقدم على الحوادث فهو اذا حادث [1] وحين ايضا كان يزعم [2] على اعتقاده [3] الحدوث تعترضه [4] عوارض اخر وذلك انه كان يرى ان معنى حدوثه بعد ان لم يكن لا يفهم الا على معنى ان الزمان تقدمه والزمان هو [5] من جملة العالم وغير منفك عنه واذا [6] لا يفهم تاخر العالم عن الزمان وكذلك ايضا كان [7] يقول اذا كان حادثا فلا بد له من محدث وهذا المحدث الذى احدثه لم احدثه الان ولم يحدثه قبل ذلك الطارئ طرا [8] عليه ولا شيء هنالك غيره ام لتغير حدث فى ذاته [9] فما الذى احدث ذلك التغير وما زال يتفكر فى ذلك عدة سنين فتتعارض عنده الحجج ولا [٤٩] يترجح عنده [10] احد الاعتقادين على الاخر فلما اعياه ذلك جعل يتفكر ما الذى يلزم عن كل واحد من الاعتقادين فلعل اللازم عنهما يكون شيا واحدا فراى انه ان اعتقد حدوث العالم وخروجه الى الوجود بعد العدم فان اللازم [11] عن ذلك ضرورة انه لا يمكن ان يخرج الى الوجود بنفسه وانه لا بد له من فاعل يخرجه الى الوجود وان ذلك الفاعل لا يمكن ان يدرك بشيء من الحواس لانه لو ادرك بشيء من الحواس لكان جسما من الاجسام ولو كان جسما [12] لكان من جملة العالم وكان حادثا واحتاج الى محدث ولو

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(1) P. E. وحين ايضا كان محدث فهو ايضا — (2) Au lieu de يزعم E. واذا ازمع — (3) E. اعتقاد — (4) E. اعترضته — (5) Manque dans E. — (6) E. فاذن — (7) Manque dans E.; P. كان ايضا — (8) P. لطار طري — (9) P. E. interc. فان كان — (10) N. فنسده — (11) E. فاللازم — (12) P. E. aj. من الاجسام

كان ذلك المحدث الثاني ايضا جسما لاحتاج الى محدث ثالث والثالث الى رابع ويتسلسل ذلك الى غير نهاية فبطل[1] فاذن لا بد للعالم من فاعل ليس بجسم واذا لم يكن جسما فليس[2] الى ادراكه بشيء من الحواس سبيل[3] لان الحواس الخمس لا يدرك الا الاجسام او ما يلحق الاجسام واذا لم يمكن[4] ان يحس فلا يمكن ان يتخيل لان التخيل ليس شيا الا احضار صور المحسوسات بعد غيبها واذا لم يكن جسما فصفات الاجسام كلها تستحيل عليه واول صفات الاجسام هو[5] الامتداد في الطول والعرض والعمق وهو منزه عن ذلك وعن جميع ما يتبع هذا الوصف من صفات الاجسام واذا[6] كان فاعلا للعالم فهو لا محالة قادر عليه وعالم به لا يعلم من خلق وهو اللطيف الخبير و راى ايضا انه ان اعتقد قدم العالم وانه لم يزل كما هو وان العدم لم يسبقه[7] فان اللازم عن ذلك ان حركته قديمة لا نهاية لها من جهة الابتداء اذ[8] لم يسبقها سكون يكون مبدوها[9] منه وكل حركة فلا[10] بد لها من محرك ضرورة والمحرك اما ان يكون قوة [٥٠] سارية في جسم من الاجسام اما جسم المحرك[11] نفسه او[12] جسم اخر خارج عنه واما ان يكون[13] قوة ليست سارية ولا شائعة في جسم

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(1) Manq. dans A.; E. aj. وهو باطل — (2) et (3) P. E. فلا سبيل au lieu de فليس et suppr. سبيل après من الحواس — (4) E. فاذن — (5) A. P. هذا — (6) P. واذ — (7) E. وان العدم لم يسبقه — (8) P. اذا هي — (9) A. écr. مبداها — (10) E. لا — (11) P. E. المتحرك — (12) P. E. واما — (13) E. تكون

وكل قوة سارية في جسم وشائعة فيه (1) فانها تنفسم بانفسامه (2) وتتضاعف بتضاعفه مثل الثقل في الحجر (3) وهو يحركه (4) الى اسفل فانه ان فسم الحجر بنصفين (5) انفسم ثقله بنصفين (6) وان زيد عليه اخر مثله زاد في الثقل اخر مثله فان امكن ان يتزيد (7) الحجر ابدا الى غير نهاية كان تزيد (8) هذا الثقل الى غير نهاية وان وصل الحجر الى حد ما من العظم ووقف وصل الثقل ايضا الى حد ما (9) ووقف لاكنه قد تبرهن ان كل جسم فانه (10) لا محالة متناه فاذن كل قوة في جسم فهي (11) لا محالة متناهية فان وجدنا قوة تفعل فعلا لا نهاية له فهي قوة ليست في جسم ووجدنا (12) الفلك يتحرك ابدا حركة لا نهاية لها ولا انقطاع اذ فرضناه قديما لا ابتداء له فالواجب عن (13) ذلك ان تكون القوة التي تحركه ليست في جسمه ولا في جسم خارج عنه فهي اذن لشيء بريء (14) عن الاجسام وغير موصوف بشيء من اوصاف الجسمانية (15) وقد كان لاح له في نظره الاول في عالم الكون والفساد ان حقيقة وجود كل جسم انما هي من جهة صورته التي هي استعداده لضروب الحركات وان وجوده الذي له من جهة مادته وجود ضعيف

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(1) A. ليست سارية في جسم وشايعة فيه c. à d. qu'il saute du premier سارية au second — (2) A. بانفسامه — (3) P. E. aj. مثلا — (4) E. المحرك له au lieu de وهو يحركه — (5) et (6) E. نصفين — (7) E. يتزايد — (8) E. تزايد — (9) E. الى ذلك الحد — (10) Manq. dans E. — (11) Manq. dans E. — (12) E. وقد وجدنا — (13) P. E. على (14) A. ريء (*sic*) — (15) P. E. الجسمية

لا يكاد يدرك فاذن وجود العالم كله انما هو من جهة استعداده لتحريك هذا المحرك البرئ عن المادة وعن صفات الاجسام المنزه عن كل ما[1] يدركه حس او يتطرق اليه خيال[2] واذا كان فاعلا لحركات الفلك على اختلاف انواعها فعلا[3] لا تفاوت[4] فيه [٥١] ولا فتور ولا فطور[5] فهو لا محالة قادر عليها[6] وعالم بها[7] فانتهى نظره بهذا الطريق الى ما انتهى اليه بالطريق الاول ولم يضره في ذلك تشككه في قدم العالم او حدوثه وصح له على الوجهين جميعا وجود فاعل غير جسم ولا متصل بجسم ولا منفصل عنه ولا داخل فيه ولا خارج عنه اذ الاتصال والانفصال والدخول والخروج هي كلها من صفات الاجسام وهو منزه عنها ولما كانت المادة في[8] كل جسم مفتقرة الى الصورة[9] اذ لا تقوم الا بها ولا تثبت لها حقيقة دونها وكانت الصورة لا يصح وجودها الا من قبل هذا الفاعل[10] تبين له افتقار جميع الموجودات في وجودها الى هذا الفاعل وانه لا قيام لشيء منها الا به فهو اذن علة لها وهي معلولة له سواء كانت محدثة الوجود بعد ان سبقها العدم او كانت لا ابتداء لها من جهة الزمان ولم يسبقها العدم فط فانها على كلا الحالين معلولة ومفتقرة الى الفاعل ومتعلقة[11] الوجود به

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(1) E. عن ان — (2) E. aj. سبحانه ; P. aj. سبحنه et en marge : سبحانه — (3) Manq. dans P. — (4) A. écrit تعاوة — (5) P. ولا فطور ولا فتور ; dans E. ولا فطور manq. — (6) P. E. عليه — (7) P. E. به — (8) P. E. من — (9) A. الصور — (10) P. E. aj. المختار — (11) manq. dans N.

ولو لا دوامه لم تدم ولو لا وجوده لم توجد ولو لا قدمه لم تكن قديمة وهو في ذاته غني عنها وبريء منها وكيف لا يكون كذلك وقد تبرهن ان قوته وقدرته (1) غير متناهية وان جميع الاجسام وما يتصل بها او يتعلق (2) ولو بعض تعلق (3) فهو (4) متناه منقطع فاذن العالم كله بما فيه من السموات والارض (5) والكواكب وما بينها (6) وما فوقها (7) وما تحتها (8) فعله وخلقه ومتاخرة (9) عنه بالذات وان كانت غير متاخرة بالزمان كما انك اذا اخذت في قبضتك جسما من الاجسام ثم حركت يدك فان ذلك (10) الجسم لا محالة يتحرك تابعا لحركة يدك حركة [٥٢] متاخرة عن حركة يدك تاخرا بالذات وان كانت لم تتاخر بالزمان عنها بل كان ابتداءهما معا فكذلك العالم كله معلول ومخلوق لهذا الفاعل بغير زمان انما امره اذا اراد شيا ان يقول له كن فيكون فلما راى ان (11) جميع الموجودات فعله تصفحها من ذي قبل (12) تصفحا اخر (13) على طريق الاعتبار في قدرة فاعلها والتعجب من غريب صنعته ولطيف حكمته ودقيق علمه فتبين له في اقل الاشياء الموجودة فضلا عن اكثرها من اثار الحكمة وبدائع الصنعة ما فضى منه كل العجب وتحقق عنده ان ذلك لا يصدر الا عن فاعل (14) في غاية الكمال

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(1) P. E. فدرته وفوته — (2) E. aj. بها — (3) P. aj. بها — (4) E. هو — (5) Manque dans E. — (6) P. بينهما — (7) P. فوقهما — (8) P. تحتهما — (9) E. متاخر — (10) Manq. dans A. — (11) Manq. dans A. — (12) E. من قبل ذا — (13) Manque dans P. E. — (14) P. E. aj. مختار

وفوق الكمال[1] لا يعزب عنه مثقال ذرة في السموات ولا في الارض ولا اصغر من ذلك ولا اكبر ثم تامل في جميع اصناف الحيوان كيف اعطى كل شيء خلقه ثم هداه لاستعماله فلو لا انه هداه لاستعمال تلك الاعضاء التي خلقت[2] له في وجوه[3] المنافع المقصودة بها[4] لما انتفع بها الحيوان وكانت كلا عليه فعلم بذلك انه اكرم الكرماء وارحم الرحماء[5] ثم انه مهما نظر شيا من الموجودات له حسن او بهاء[6] او كمال او قوة او فضيلة من الفضائل اي فضيلة كانت تفكر وعلم انها من فيض ذلك الفاعل[7] ومن وجوده[8] وفعله[9] فعلم ان الذي له هو في ذاته اعظم منها واكمل واتم واحسن وابهى[10] واجمل[11] وادوم وانه[12] لا نسبة لهذه الى تلك فما زال يتتبع صفات الكمال كلها فيراها له وصادرة عنه ويرى انه احق بها من كل من يوصف بها دونه[13] ويتتبع[14] صفات النقص كلها فيراه برئا منها ومنزها عنها وكيف لا يكون برئا عنها وهل[15] معنى النقص الا العدم المحض [٥٣] اوما يتعلق بالعدم وكيف يكون للعدم تعلق او التباس[16] بمن هو الموجود المحض الواجب الوجود بذاته المعطي[17] لكل ذي وجود وجوده فلا وجود الا هو فهو

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(1) وفوق الكمال manq. dans E. — (2) A. P. خلق — (3) P. في — (4) E. به — وجوده — (5) O. الراحماء — (6) A. وفاء au lieu de او بهاء — (7) P. E. aj. المختار جل جلاله — (8) E. جوده — (9) P. E. ومن فعله — (10) A. P. وابهها — (11) Manq. dans P. E. — (12) A. ولانه — (13) A. انه احق بها دونه c. à d. qu'il saute du premier بها au second — (14) N. وتتبع — (15) E. وليس — (16) A. والتباس ; E. او تلبس — (17) P. للعطى

الوجود وهو الكمال وهو التمام وهو الحسن وهو البهاء وهو القدرة وهو العلم وهو هو كل (1) شيء هالك الا وجهه فانتهت به المعرفة الى هذا الحد على راس خمسة اسابيع من منشئه (2) وذلك خمسة وثلاثون عاما وقد رسخ في قلبه من امر هذا الفاعل ما شغله عن الفكرة في كل شيء الا فيه وذهل عما كان فيه من تصفح الموجودات والبحث عنها حتى صار بحيث لا يقع بصره على شيء (3) الا ويرى فيه اثر الصنعة من حينه (4) فينتقل بفكره على الفور الى الصانع ويترك المصنوع حتى اشتد شوقه اليه وانزعج قلبه بالكلية عن العالم (5) المحسوس وتعلق بالعالم (6) المعقول فلما حصل له العلم بهذا الموجود (7) الذى لا سبب لوجوده وهو سبب لوجود جميع الاشياء اراد ان يعلم باى شيء حصل له هذا العلم وباى قوة ادرك هذا الموجود فتصفح حواسه كلها وهى السمع والبصر والشم والذوق واللمس فراى انها كلها لا تدرك شيا الا جسما او ما هو في جسم وذلك ان السمع انما يدرك الاصوات (8) وهى ما يحدث من تموج الهواء عند تصادم الاجسام والبصر انما يدرك الالوان والشم يدرك الروائح والذوق يدرك (9) الطعوم واللمس يدرك الامزجة والصلابة (10) واللين (11) والخشونة والملاسة وكذلك

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(1) P. E. وكل — (2) A. منشاه ; P. O. منشاييه — (3) P. E. aj. الادنى — من الاشياء manq. dans E. — (4) من خينه — (5) P. interc. الرفيع الثابت الوجود — (6) P. E. interc. الارفع — (7) P. E. aj. (8) N. المسموعات ; manq. dans O. — (9) P. يذوق — (10) E. يدرك الصلابة — (11) Manq. dans A.

القوة الخيالية لا تدرك شيأ الا ان[1] يكون له طول وعرض وعمق وهذه المدركات كلها من صفات الاجسام وليس لهذه الحواس ادراك شيء سواها وذلك لانها قوى شائعة [٥٤] في الاجسام ومنقسمة بانقسامها فهي لذلك لا تدرك الا جسما منقسما لان هذه القوة اذا كانت شائعة في شيء منقسم فلا محالة انها اذا[2] ادركت شيا من الاشياء فانه ينقسم بانقسامها فاذن كل قوة في جسم فانها لا تدرك الا جسما او ما هو في جسم وقد تبين ان هذا الموجود الواجب الوجود برئ[3] عن[4] صفات الاجسام من جميع الجهات فاذن لا سبيل الى ادراكه الا بشيء ليس بجسم ولا هو قوة في جسم ولا تعلق له بوجه من الوجوه بالاجسام ولا هو داخل فيها ولا خارج عنها ولا متصل بها[5] ولا منفصل عنها وقد كان تبين له[6] انه ادركه بذاته و رسخت المعرفة به عنده فتبين له بذلك ان ذاته التي ادركه بها امر غير جسماني لا[7] يجوز عليه شيء من صفات الاجسام وان كل ما يدركه من ظاهر ذاته من الجسمانية[8] فانها[9] ليست حقيقة ذاته وانما حقيقة ذاته ذلك الشيء الذي ادرك به الموجود[10] الواجب الوجود فلما علم ان ذاته ليست هي[11] هذه المتجسمة التي يدركها بحواسه ويحيط بها ادبه[12] هان عنده باجملة جسمه وجعل يتفكر في تلك الذات الشريفة التي

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(1) P. بان — (2) Manq. dans N. — (3) P. بريا — (4) P. E. من — (5) Manq. dans A. — (6) Manq. dans E. — (7) P. E. ولا — (8) E. من الجسميات المطلق — (9) Manq. dans E. — (10) P. E. interc. — (11) Manq. dans P. E. — (12) P. اديمة

ادرك بها ذلك الموجود الشريف الواجب الوجود ونظر فى ذاته تلك (1) الشريفة هل يمكن ان تبيد او (2) تفسد وتضمحل ام (3) هى دائمة البقاء فراى ان الفساد والاضمحلال انما هو من صفات الاجسام بان تخلع صورة وتلبس اخرى مثل الماء اذا صار هواء والهواء اذا صار ماء والنبات اذا صار ترابا او رمادا والتراب اذا صار نباتا فهذا هو معنى الفساد واما الشىء الذى ليس بجسم ولا يحتاج فى قوامه [٥٥] الى جسم (4) وهو منزه بالجملة عن الجسمانية (5) فلا يتصور فساده بتة (6) فلما ثبت له ان ذاته الحقيقية لا يمكن فسادها اراد ان يعلم كيف يكون (7) حالها اذا اطرحت البدن وتخلصت عنه وقد كان تبين له انها لا تطرحه الا اذا لم يصلح لها عن آلة (8) فتصفح جميع القوى المدركة فراى ان (9) كل واحدة منها تارة تكون مدركة (10) بالقوة وتارة تكون مدركة بالفعل مثل العين فى حال تغميضها او اعراضها عن المبصر فانها تكون مدركة بالقوة ومعنى مدركة بالقوة اى هى (11) الان لا تدرك (12) وتدرك فى المستقبل وفى حال فتحها واستقبالها للمبصر تكون مدركة بالفعل ومعنى مدركة بالفعل اى هى (13) الان تدرك وكذلك كل واحدة (14) من هذه (15) القوى تكون (16) مدركة (17) بالقوة وتكون (18)

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(1) P. E. وظر بذاته فى تلك الذات — (2) A. و — (3) E. او — (4) P. E. الى الجسم — (5) P. E. الجسميات — (6) E. البتة — (7) A. كون — (8) A. لها غزالة ; E. الة لها — (9) Manq. dans P. E. — (10) P. مدركه — (11) E. انها au lieu de اى هى — (12) P. E. لا تدرك — (13) E. انها au lieu de اى هى — (14) P. واحد — (15) Manq. dans A. — (16) P. يكون — (17) Manq. dans P. E. — (18) P. ويكون

بالفعل وكل واحدة من هذه القوى ان كانت لم تدرك قط بالفعل فهي ما دامت بالقوة لا تتشوق الى ادراك الشيء المخصوص بها (1) لانها لم تتعرف بعد به (2) مثل من خلق مكفوف البصر وان كانت قد ادركت بالفعل تارة ثم صارت بالقوة فانها ما دامت بالقوة تشتاق الى الادراك بالفعل لانها قد تعرفت بذلك المدرك وتعلقت به وحنت اليه مثل من كان بصيرا ثم عمى فانه لا يزال يشتاق الى المبصرات وبحسب ما يكون (3) الشيء المدرك اتم وابهى واحسن يكون التشوق (4) اليه اكثر والتالم لفقده (5) اعظم ولذلك (6) تالم من يفقد بصره بعد الروية اعظم من تالم من يفقد شمه اذ الاشياء التي يدركها البصر اتم واحسن من التي يدركها الشم فان كان في الاشياء شيء لا نهاية لكماله ولا غاية لحسنه وجماله (7) وبهائه وهو (8) فوق الكمال والحسن والبهاء (9) وليس في الوجود [٥٦] كمال ولا حسن ولا بهاء ولا جمال الا صادر من جهته وفائض من قبله فمن فقد ادراك ذلك الشيء بعد ان تعرف به فلا محالة انه ما دام فاقدا له يكون في الام لا نهاية لها كما ان من كان مدركا له على الدوام فانه يكون في لذة لا انفصام لها وغبطة لا غاية وراءها وبهجة وسرور لا نهاية لهما وقد كان تبين له ان الموجود الواجب الوجود متصف باوصاف الكمال كلها ومنزه عن صفات النقص وبرئ منها وتبين له ان

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(1) Manq. dans P. E. — (2) E. به بعد — (3) A. تكون — (4) P. E. الشوق — (5) A. ببعده — (6) E. interc. كان — (7) Manq. dans A. فوق البهاء والحسن (9) P. E. — فهو A. (8) —

الشيء الذى به يتوصل الى ادراكه امر لا يشبه الاجسام ولا يفسد بفسادها (1) فظهر له بذلك ان من كانت له مثل هذه الذات المعدة لمثل هذا الادراك فانه اذا اطرح البدن بالموت فاما ان يكون قبل ذلك فى مدة (2) تصريفه للبدن لم يتعرف بهذا الموجود الواجب الوجود ولا اتصل به ولا سمع عنه فهذا اذا فارق البدن لا يشتاق الى ذلك (3) الموجود ولا يتالم لفقده (4) واما جميع القوى الجسمانية فانها تبطل ببطلان الجسم ولا تشتاق ايضا الى مقتضيات (5) تلك القوى ولا تحن اليها ولا تتالم بفقدها وهذه حال (6) البهايم غير الناطقة كلها سواء كانت على صورة الانسان او لم تكن واما ان يكون قبل ذلك فى مدة تصريفه للبدن قد تعرف بهذا الموجود وعلم ما هو عليه من الكمال والحسن (7) الا انه اعرض عنه واتبع هواه حتى واقته منيته وهو على تلك الحال فيحرم المشاهدة وعنده (8) الشوق اليها فيبقى فى عذاب طويل وآلام لا نهاية لها واما ان يتخلص من تلك الآلام بعد جهد طويل ويشاهد ما تشوق اليه (9) واما ان يبقى فى الامه بقاء سرمديا بحسب استعداده لكل واحد من الوجهين فى حياته (10) الجسمانية واما [٥٧] من تعرف بهذا الموجود الواجب الوجود قبل ان يفارق البدن واقبل بكليته عليه والتزم الفكرة فى جلاله وحسنه وبهائه ولم يعرض عنه حتى واقته منيته

— (1) P. E. لفسادها — (2) Manq. dans P. — (3) P. E. لا يتصل — (4) A. بفقده — (5) O. مقتضياة — (6) P. E. حالة — (7) P. E. من الكمال والعظمة والسلطان والقدرة — (8) A. عند — (9) P. E. aj. قبل ذلك — (10) P. interc. فى

وهو على حال من الاقبال والمشاهدة بالفعل فهو (1) اذا فارق البدن يبقى فى لذة لا نهاية لها وغبطة وسرور وفرح دائم لاتصال مشاهدته لذلك الموجود الواجب الوجود (2) وسلامته تلك المشاهدة من الكدر والشوب (3) ويزول عنه ما تقتضيه (4) هذه القوى الجسمانية من الامور الحسية التى هى بالاضافة الى تلك الحال الام وشرور وعوائق فلما تبين له ان كمال ذاته ولذتها انما هو فى مشاهدة (5) ذلك الموجود الواجب الوجود على الدوام مشاهدة بالفعل ابدا (6) حتى لا يعرض عنه طرفة عين لكى توافيه منيته وهو فى حال المشاهدة بالفعل فتصل لذته دون ان يتخللها الم (7) جعل يتفكر كيف يتاتى (8) له دوام هذه المشاهدة بالفعل حتى لا يقع منه اعراض فكان يلازم الفكرة فى ذلك الموجود ساعة فما (9) هو الا ان يسنح (10) لبصره محسوس ما من المحسوسات او يخرق سمعه صوت بعض الحيوان او يعترضه خيال من الخيالات او ينالـه الم فى احد اعضائه او يصيبه الجوع او العطش او الحر او البرد (11) او يحتاج الى القيام لدفع فضوله فتختل فكرته ويزول عما كان فيه ويتعذر عليه الرجوع الى ما كان عليه من حال المشاهدة الا بعد جهد وكان يخاف ان تفجاه منيته وهو فى حال الاعراض فيمضى

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(1) A. بهذا — (2) Ces deux mots manq. dans A. — (3) E. والشوائب — (4) A. وتنزول et suppr. — (5) P. E. بمشاهدة — (6) N. واليها (واليه N.) اشار الجنيد شيخ الصوفية — (7) P. E. aj. ابد وامامهم عند موته بقوله لاصحابه هذا الوقت يوخذ منه الله (P. interc. فاعلم) ثم — (8) P. تتاتى — (9) E. اكبر واحرم للصلاة — (10) P. سنح — (11) P. E. او البرد او الحر — كل ساعة كما

الى الشفاء الدائم (1) والم الحجاب فساءه حاله ذلك واعياه الدواء فجعل يتصفح انواع الحيوانات كلها وينظر افعالها وما تسعى (2) فيه لعله ينظر فى بعضها انها شعرت بهذا الموجود وجعلت تسعى [٥٨] نحوه فيتعلم منها ما يكون سبب نجاته فراها كلها انما تسعى فى تحصيل غذائها ومقتضى شهواتها من المطعوم والمشروب والمنكوح والاستظلال والاستدفاء وتجد فى ذلك ليلها ونهارها الى حين مماتها وانقضاء مدتها ولم ير شيا منها ينحرف عن هذا الراى ولا يسعى لغيره فى وقت من الاوقات فبان له بذلك انها لم تشعر بذلك الموجود ولا اشتاقت اليه ولا تعرفت به بوجه من الوجوه وانها كلها صائرة الى العدم او الى حال شبيه بالعدم فلما حكم بذلك على الحيوان علم ان احكم به (3) على النبات اولى اذ ليس للنبات من الادراكات الا بعض ما للحيوان واذا كان الاكمل ادراكا لم يصل الى هذه المعرفة فالانقص ادراكا احرى ان لا يصل ومع (4) انه راى ايضا ان افعال النبات كلها لا تتعدى الغذاء والتوليد ثم نظر بعد ذلك (5) الى الكواكب والافلاك فراها كلها منتظمة الحركات جارية على نسق وراها شفافة ومضيئة (6) بعيدة عن قبول التغير (7) والفساد فحدس حدسا قويا ان لها ذوات سوى اجسامها تعرف ذلك الموجود الواجب الوجود وان تلك الذوات العارفة (8)

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(1) Manq. dans A. — (2) A. يسعى — (3) P. E. له — (4) E. مع — (5) E. ثم انه بعد ذلك نظر — (6) P. écrit ومضية ; E. مضيئة — (7) A. P. التغييير — (8) P. interc. هى مثل ذاته هو العارفة

ليست باجسام ولا منطبعة فى اجسام (1) وكيف لا يكون لها مثل تلك الذوات البرئة عن الجسمانية ويكون (2) لمثله هو على ما (3) به من الصعب وشدة الاحتياج الى الامور المحسوسة وانه من جملة الاجسام الفاسدة ومع ما به من النقص فلم يعفه ذلك عن ان يكون ذاته برئة (4) عن الاجسام لا تفسد فتبين له بذلك ان الاجسام السماوية اولى بذلك وعلم انها تعرف ذلك الموجود [٥٩] الواجب الوجود (5) وتشاهده على الدوام بالفعل لان العوائق التى قطعت به هو عن دوام المشاهدة من العوارض المحسوسة لا يوجد مثلها للاجسام السماوية ثم انه تفكر لم اختص هو (6) من (7) سائر انواع الحيوان بهذه الذات التى اشبه بها الاجسام السماوية وقد كان تبين له اولا من (8) امر العناصر واستحالة بعضها الى بعض ان (9) جميع ما على وجه الارض (10) لا يبقى على صورته بل الكون والفساد متعاقبان عليه ابدا وان اكثر هذه الاجسام مختلطة مركبة من اشياء (11) متضادة ولذلك تؤول الى الفساد وانه لا يوجد شىء منها (12) صرفا وما كان منها قريبا من ان يكون صرفا (13) خالصا لا شوب (14) فيه فهو بعيد عن (15) الفساد جدا مثل (16) الذهب

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(1) E. aj. مثل ذاته هو العارفة — (2) A. وتكون — (3) P. E. interc. هو — (4) A. شيا برئا — (5) Ces deux mots manquent dans A. — (6) Manq. dans P. E. — (7) P. E. interc. بين — (8) A. P. فديما من اشياء (11) — فانه — (9) A. وان — (10) P. interc. اولا من au lieu de manq. dans A. — (12) P. E. منها شي — (13) من ان يكون صرفا manq. dans A. — (14) E. لا شائبة — (15) A. على — (16) P. E. interc. جسد

واليافوت وان الاجسام السماوية بسيطة صرفة ولذلك هى بعيدة عن الفساد والصور لا تتعاقب عليها وتبين له (1) ايضا ان جميع الاجسام التى فى عالم الكون والفساد منها ما تتقوم حقيقته بصورة واحدة زائدة على معنى الجسمية وهذه هى الاسطقسات (2) الاربعة ومنها ما تتقوم حقيقته (3) باكثر من ذلك كالنبات والحيوان (4) فما كان قوام حقيقته بصور افل كانت افعاله افل وبعده عن (5) الحياة اكثر فان عدم الصورة جملة لم يكن فيه الى الحياة طريق وصار فى حالة (6) شبيهة بالعدم وما كان قوام حقيقته بصور اكثر كانت افعاله اكثر ودخوله فى (7) الحياة ابلغ وان كانت تلك الصورة بحيث لا سبيل الى مفارقتها لمادتها التى (8) اختصت بها كانت الحياة حينئذ فى غاية الظهور والدوام والقوة بالشىء العديم للصورة جملة (9) هى الهيولى والمادة ولا شىء من الحياة فيها وهى شبيهة بالعدم [٦٠] والشىء المتقوم بصورة واحدة هى الاسطقسات الاربع وهى فى انزل (10) مراتب الوجود فى عالم الكون والفساد ومنها تتركب الاشياء ذوات الصور الكثيرة وهذه الاسطقسات ضعيفة الحياة جدا اذ ليست تتحرك الا حركة واحدة وانما كانت ضعيفة الحياة لان لكل واحد منها مضادا (11) ظاهر العناد يخالفه فى مقتضى

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(1) A. P. interc. هنالك — (2) E. écrit toujours اسطغصات par un — (3) A. P. حقيقتها — (4) E. P. كالحيوان والنبات — ص (5) P. E. من — (6) P. E. حال — (7) P. E. interc. حال — (8) P. الذى et en marge : *f.* التى — (9) Manq. dans A. — (10) A. P. اول — (11) P. مضاد ; E. ضدا

طبيعته ويطلب ان ينزه (1) صورته فوجوده لذلك غير متمكن وحياته ضعيفة والنبات اقوى حياة منها (2) والحيوان اظهر حياة منه وذلك ان ما كان من هذه المركبات يغلب (3) عليه طبيعة اسطقس واحد فلقوته فيه يغلب (4) طبائع الاسطقسات الباقية و يبطل قواها ويصير ذلك المركب فى حكم الاسطقس الغالب فلا يستاهل لاجل ذلك من الحياة الا شيا يسيرا كما ان ذلك الاسطقس لا يستاهل من الحياة الا يسيرا ضعيفا (5) وما كان من هذه المركبات لا يغلب (6) عليه طبيعة اسطقس (7) منها فان الاسطقسات تكون فيه متعادلة متكافئة فاذن لا يبطل احدها قوة صاحبه (8) باكثر مما يبطل ذلك الاخر قوته بل يفعل بعضها فى بعض فعلا متساويا فلا يكون فعل احد الاسطقسات اظهر فيه (9) ولا يستولى عليه احدها فيكون بعيد الشبه من كل واحد من الاسطقسات فكانه لا مضاد (10) لصورته فيستاهل الحياة (11) بذلك ومتى (12) زاد هذا الاعتدال (13) وكان اتم وابعد من الانحراف كان بعده عن ان يوجد له ضد اكثر وكانت حياته اكمل فلما (14) كان الروح الحيوانى الذى مسكنه القلب شديد الاعتدال لانه الطف من الارض [٦١] والماء واغلظ من النار والهواء صار فى حكم الوسط ولم يضاده شيء (15)

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(1) P. يبتنزه ; E. يغير — (2) P. E. منه — (3) P. E. تغلب — (4) A. interc. عليه — (5) A. لا امرا عظيما — (6) P. E. لا تغلب — (7) E. interc. واحد — (8) E. الاخر — (9) Manque dans P. E. — (10) P. E. لا مضادة — (11) E. للحياة — (12) A. وما — (13) O. هذا — (14) P. E. ولما — (15) P. E. ولم يضاد شيا — لاعتدال

من الاسطقسات مضادة بينة فاستعد بذلك لصورة الحيوانية فراى ان الواجب على ذلك ان يكون اعدل ما فى هذه الارواح الحيوانية مستعدا لانم ما يكون من الحياة فى عالم الكون والفساد وان يكون ذلك الروح قريبا من ان يقال انه لا ضد لصورته فيشبه لذلك (1) الاجسام السماوية التى لا ضد لصورها ويكون روح ذلك الحيوان لانه وسط باكفيفة بين الاسطقسات (2) لا يتحرك (3) الى جهة العلو على الاطلاق ولا الى جهة السفل بل لو امكن ان يجعل فى وسط المسافة التى بين المركز واعلى ما تنتهى (4) اليه النار فى جهة العلو ولم يطرأ عليه فساد لثبت هنالك ولم يطلب الصعود ولا النزول ولو تحرك فى المكان لتحرك حول الوسط كما تتحرك الاجسام السماوية ولو تحرك فى الموضع لتحرك على نفسه وكان كرى الشكل اذ لا يمكن غير ذلك فاذن هو شديد الشبه بالاجسام السماوية ولما كان قد اعتبر احوال الحيوان ولم ير فيها ما يحدس عليه (5) انه شعر بالوجود الواجب الوجود وقد كان علم من ذاته انها قد شعرت به قطع بذلك على انه هو (6) الحيوان المعتدل الروح الشبيه بالاجسام السماوية (7) وتبين له انه نوع مباين لسائر انواع الحيوان وانه انما خلق لغاية اخرى واعد لامر عظيم لم يعد له شىء من انواع الحيوان وكفى به شرفا ان يكون اخس جزءيه (8) وهو الجسمانى

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(1) P. É. interc. هذه — (2) P. É. interc. التى — (3) P. E. لا تتحرك — (4) P. E. ينتهى — (5) E. يظن به — (6) Manq. dans A. — (7) P. E. aj. كلها — (8) N. écr. جزايه ; O. جزئيه ; P. جزويه

اشبه الاشياء [1] بالجواهر السماوية الخارجة عن عالم الكون والفساد المنزهة عن [٦٢] حوادث النفص والاستحالة والتغير واما اشرف جزيه [2] فهو الشيء الذى به عرف الموجود الواجب الوجود وهذا الشيء العارف امر ربانى الهى [3] لا يلحقه الفساد ولا يوصف بشيء مما توصف به الاجسام ولا يدرك بشيء من الحواس ولا يتخيل ولا يتوصل الى معرفته بالة سواه بل يتوصل [4] اليه به فهو العارف والمعروف والمعرفة وهو العالم والمعلوم والعلم [5] لا تباين فى شيء من ذلك اذ التباين والانفصال من صفات الاجسام ولواحقها ولا جسم هناك ولا صفة جسم ولا لاحق جسم [6] فلما تبين له الوجه الذى اختص به من بين سائر اصناف الحيوان بمشابهة الاجسام السماوية راى ان الواجب عليه ان يتفيلها [7] ويحاكى افعالها ويتشبه بها جهده وكذلك ايضا راى [8] انه بجزئه الاشرف الذى به عرف الموجود الواجب الوجود فيه شبه ما منه من حيث هو منزه [9] عن صفات الاجسام كما ان الواجب الوجود منزه عنها فراى [10] ايضا انه يجب عليه ان يسعى فى تحصيل صفاته لنفسه من اى وجه امكن وان [11] يتخلق باخلاقه ويقتدى بافعاله ويجد فى تنفيذ ارادته ويسلم لامره [12] ويرضى بجميع حكمه رضى من قلبه ظاهرا وباطنا [13]

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(1) A. interc. بالاجسام — (2) N. écr. جزاييه ; O. جزئيه ; P. جزويه — (3) P. E. interc. و لا يستحيل — (4) P. O. يوصل ; — (5) P. E. والعلم والمعلوم — (6) P. E. بجسم — N. وصل — (7) E. يتفيلها — (8) P. وكذلك راى ايضا ; manq. dans E. ايضا — (9) A. saute de ce premier منزه au second — (10) E. وراى — (11) A. امكنه ان — (12) A. لامره — (13) A. او باطنا

بحيث يسر به وان كان مولما لجسمه وضارا به ومتلفا لبدنه بالجملة وكذلك ايضا راى (1) ان (2) فيه شبها من سائر انواع الحيوان بجزئه الخسيس الذى هو من عالم الكون والفساد وهو البدن المظلم الكثيف الذى يطالبه بانواع المحسوسات من المطعوم والمشروب والمنكوح فراى ايضا(3) ان ذلك البدن لم يخلق له عبثا ولا فرن به لامر باطل وانه واجب (4) عليه ان يتفقده ويصلح من [٦٣] شانه وهذا التفقد لا يكون منه الا بفعل يشبه افعال سائر الحيوان فانجهت عنده الاعمال التى يجب عليه ان يفعلها نحو ثلاثة اغراض (5) اما عمل يتشبه به بالحيوان غير الناطق (6) واما عمل يتشبه به بالاجسام السماوية واما عمل يتشبه به بالموجود الواجب الوجود فالتشبه الاول يجب عليه من (7) حيث له البدن المظلم ذو (8) الاعضاء المنقسمة والقوى المختلفة والمنازع المتضادة والتشبه الثانى يجب عليه من حيث له الروح الحيوانى الذى مسكنه القلب وهو مبدا لسائر البدن ولما فيه من القوى والتشبه الثالث يجب عليه من حيث هو هو اى من حيث هو الذات التى بها عرف (9) ذلك الموجود الواجب الوجود وكان اولا قد وقف على ان سعادته وفوزه من الشقاء انما هى فى دوام المشاهدة لهذا الموجود الواجب الوجود حتى يكون بحيث لا يعرض عنه طرفة عين ثم انه نظر

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(1) P. راى ايضا ; ايضا manq. dans E. — (2) Manq. dans A. — (3) E. وراى et suppr. ايضا — (4) E. يجب — (5) A. اعراض — (6) Ces deux mots manq. dans A. — (7) Manq. dans P. — (8) O. ذوا — (9) P. E. الذى عرف به

فى الوجه الذى به يتاتى له (1) هذا الدوام فاخرج له النظر انه يجب عليه الاعتمال (2) فى هذه الثلاثة الاقسام (3) من التشبهات واما (4) التشبه الاول فلا يحصل له به شىء من هذه (5) المشاهدة بل هو صارف عنها وعائق دونها اذ هو تصرف (6) فى الامور المحسوسة والامور المحسوسة كلها حجب معترضة دون تلك المشاهدة وانما احتيج الى هذا التشبه لاستدامة هذا الروح الحيوانى الذى يحصل به التشبه الثانى بالاجسام (7) السماوية فالضرورة تدعو اليه من هذا الطريق وان (8) كان لا يخلو من تلك المضرة واما التشبه الثانى فيحصل له به (9) حظ عظيم من المشاهدة على الدوام [٦٤] لكنها مشاهدة (10) يخالطها شوب اذ من يشاهد ذلك النحو من المشاهدة على الدوام فهو مع تلك المشاهدة يعقل ذاته ويلتفت اليها حسب ما يتبين بعد هذا واما التشبه الثالث فيتحصل به المشاهدة الصرفة ولاستغراق المحض الذى لا التفات فيه بوجه من الوجوه لا الى الموجود الواجب الوجود والذى يشاهد هذه المشاهدة قد غابت عنه ذات نفسه وغيب وتلاشت وكذلك سائر الذوات كثيرة كانت (11) او قليلة لا ذات الواحد الحق الواجب الوجود جل وتعالى وعز فلها تبين له ان مطلوبه الاقصى هو

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(1) P. E. rejett. بـه après له — (2) A. الاعمال — (3) E. فى هذه الاقسام الثلاثة — (4) E. اما — (5) Manq. dans A. — (6) P. تصورفى (*sic*), et en marge : *m.* تصرف — (7) O. بالاجسام — (8) P. E: ولو — (9) Manq. dans A. — (10) A. مشاهدات — (11) A. كانت كثيرة ; P. التى كانت كثيرة

هذا التشبه الثالث وانه لا يحصل له الا بعد التمرن والاعتمال مدة طويلة في التشبه الثاني وان هذه المذة لا تدوم له الا بالتشبه الاول (1) وعلم ان التشبه الاول وان كان ضروريا فانه عائق بذاته وان كان معينا بالعرض فالزم نفسه لا يجعل (2) لها حظا من هذا التشبه الاول الا بقدر الضرورة وهي الكفاية التي لا بقاء للروح الحيواني بافل منها ووجد ما تدعو اليه الضرورة في بقاء هذا الروح امرين احدهما ما يمده (3) من داخل ويخلف عليه بدل ما يتحلل (4) منه وهو (5) الغذاء والاخر ما يقيه من خارج ويدفع عنه وجوه (6) الاذى من البرد والحر والمطر ولفح الشمس والحيوانات المؤذية ونحو ذلك ورأى انه ان تناول ضرورية من هذه جزافا كيف (7) اتفق ربما وقع في الشرف واخذ فوق الكفاية فكان سعيه على نفسه من حيث لا يشعر (8) فرأى ان الحزم له ان يفرض لنفسه فيها حدودا لا يتعداها ومقادير لا يتجاوزها وبان له (9) ان هذا الفرض يجب ان يكون في جنس ما يغتذى (10) به اى (11) شيء [٦٥] يكون وفي مقداره وفي المدة التي تكون بين العودات (12) اليه فنظر اولا في اجناس ما به يغتذى فراها ثلاثة اصناف اما

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(1) A. saute de ce premier الاول au second; le passage qui suit, depuis وعلم jusqu'à فالزم devient dans E. وعلم ان التشبه الاول وان كان عائقا بذاته معينا بالعرض لا بالذات لكنه ضروري الزم — (2) A. لا يعجل — (3) E. aj. به — (4) E. تحلل — (5) P. E. من au lieu de منه وهو — (6) A. وجود — (7) E. interc. ما — (8) A. لا يسعر — (9) Manq. dans A. — (10) E. يتغذى — (11) P. E. واى — (12) P. العودتين E. ; العودان

نبات لم يكمل بعد (4) ولم ينته الى غاية تمامه وهى اصناف البقول الرطبة التى (2) يمكن الاغتذاء بها واما ثمرات النبات الذى (3) قد تم وتناهى واخرج بزره ليتكون منه اخر من نوعه وهذه هى (4) اصناف البواكه رطبها ويابسها (5) واما حيوان من الحيوانات التى يغتذى بها (6) اما البرية واما البحرية وكان قد صح عنده ان هذه الاجناس كلها من فعل ذلك الموجود الواجب الوجود الذى تبين له ان سعادته فى القرب منه وطلب التشبه به ولا محالة ان الاغتذاء بها مما يقطع بها (7) عن كمالها ويحول بينها وبين الغاية القصوى (8) المقصودة بها فكان ذلك اعتراضا (9) على فعل الفاعل وهذا الاعتراض مضاد لما يطلبه من القرب منه والتشبه به فراى ان الصواب كان (10) له لو امكن ان يمتنع عن الغذاء جملة واحدة لكنه (11) لم يمكنه ذلك لانه (12) ان امتنع عنه ال (13) ذلك الى فساد جسمه فيكون ذلك اعتراضا على فاعله اشد من الاعتراض الاول اذ هو اشرب من تلك الاشياء الاخر التى (14) يكون فسادها سببا لفنائه فاستسهل ايسر (15) الضررين وتسامح فى اخف الاعتراضين وراى ان ياخذ من هذه الاجناس ان (16) عدمت ايها تيسر له بالقدر الذى يتبين له بعد هذا واما (17) ان

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(1) E. نضجه — (2) A. interc. لم — (3) A. P. O. التى — (4) E. رطبا ويابسا — (5) A. وهذه هى au lieu de حفظا له وهى (6) P. به — (7) E. يقطعها — (8) Manq. dans P. E. — (9) A. P. اعتراض — (10) Manq. dans E. — (11) A. P. interc. لما — (12) A. P. اذا (16) E. — احد (15) A. — الذى (14) A. — يؤل (13) E. — وراى انه — (17) E. اما —

كانت كلها موجودة فينبغى له حينئذ (1) ان يتثبت ويتخير منها ما لم يكن فى اخذه كبير اعتراض على فعل الفاعل وذلك مثل لحوم الفواكه التى قد تناهت فى الطيب وصلح ما فيها من البزر (2) لتوليد المثل على شرط التحفظ بذلك البزر لا (3) ياكله ولا يفسده ولا يلقيه فى موضع لا يصلح للنبات . [٦٦] مثل الصبا (4) والسبخة ونحوهما (5) فان تعذر عليه وجود مثل هذه الثمرات ذات اللحم الغاذى كالتفاح والكمثرى والاجاص ونحوها كان له عند ذلك ان ياخذ (6) اما من الثمرات التى لا يغذو منها لا (7) نفس البزر كالجوز والفسطل واما من البقول التى لم تصل بعد (8) حد كمالها والشرط عليه فى هذين ان يفصد اكثرها وجودا وافواها توليدا لا يستاصل اصولها ولا يفنى بزرها فان عدم هذه فله ان ياخذ من الحيوان او من (9) بيضه والشرط عليه فى الحيوان ان ياخذ من اكثره وجودا (10) ولا يستاصل منه نوعا باسره فهذا (11) ما راه فى جنس ما يغتذى به واما المقدار (12) فراى ان يكون بحسب ما يسد خلة الجوع ولا يزيد عليها واما الزمان الذى بين العودات (13) فراى انه اذا (14) اخذ حاجته من الغذاء ان يقيم عليه ولا يتعرض (15)

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(1) Manq. dans A. — (2) E. البذر — (3) N. بان لا ; O. لا بان — (4) P. الصبى ; N. الصباة ; O. الصفواء — (5) P. E. ونحوها — (6) Au lieu de ces deux mots ان ياخذ, A. porte le signe suivant ↄ — (7) N. لا — (8) Manq. dans E. — (9) Manq. dans A. — (10) A. وجوبا — (11) E. هذا — (12) N. المقداز — (13) E. بين كل عودتين ; A. ان — (14) P. اذ — (15) P. ولا يعترض

لسواه حتى يلحقه ضعف يقطع به عن بعض الاعمال التى تجب (1) عليه فى التشبه الثانى وهى التى ياتى ذكرها (2) بعد هذا واما (3) ما تدعو اليه الضرورة (4) فى بقاء الروح الحيوانى مما يفيه من خارج فكان الخطب فيه عليه يسيرا اذ كان مكتسبا بالجلود وقد كان له مسكن يفيه مما يرد عليه من خارج فاكتفى بذلك ولم ير (5) الاشتغال به والتزم (6) فى غذائه الفواتين التى رسمها لنفسه وهى التى تقدم شرحها ثم اخذ فى العمل الثانى وهو التشبه بالاجسام (7) السماوية والاقتداء بها والتنفيل (8) لصفاتها وتتبع اوصافها فانحصرت عنده فى ثلاثة اضرب الضرب الاول اوصاف لها بالاضافة الى ما تحتها من عالم الكون والفساد وهى ما تعطيه اياه من التسخين بالذات [٦٧] والتبريد (9) بالعرض والاضاءة (10) والتلطيف (11) والتكثيف الى سائر ما تفعل فيه من الامور التى بها يستعد (12) لفيضان الصور الروحانية عليه من عند (13) الفاعل الواجب الوجود والضرب الثانى اوصاف لها فى ذاتها مثل انها (14) شفافة ونيرة وطاهرة (15) منزهة عن الكدر وضروب الرجس ومتحركة بالاستدارة بعضها على مركز نفسها وبعضها على مركز غيرها والضرب الثالث اوصاف لها بالاضافة الى الموجود الواجب الوجود مثل انها (16) تشاهده مشاهدة دائمة ولا تعرض عنه

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(1) A. تحب — (2) E. وهو الذى ياتى ذكره — (3) E. واما — (4) A. الضرورة — (5) N. ولم يرى — (6) P. والتزم — (7) A. والاضافة — (8) E. والتنفيل — بالاسماء (9) A. او التبريد — (10) A. والتلطيف — (11) N. يستعمل — (12) A. (13) Manque dans E. — (14) E. كونها — (15) A. وظاهرة — (16) E. كونها

وتتشوق اليه وتتصرف بحكمه وتتسخر(1) فى تتميم ارادته ولا تتحرك الا بمشيته وفى قبضته (2) فجعل يتشبه بها جهده فى كل واحد من هذه الثلاثة الاضرب (3) واما (4) الضرب الاول فكان تشبهه (5) بها فيه ان الزم نفسه ان لا يرى ذا حاجة او عاهة او مضرة او (6) عائق من الحيوان او النبات (7) وهو يقدر على ازالتها عنه الا ويزيلها حتى وقع بصره على نبات قد حجبه عن الشمس حاجب او تعلق به نبات اخر يوذيه او عطش عطشا يكاد يفسده ازال عنه ذلك الحاجب ان كان مما يزول (8) وفصل بينه وبين النبات (9) الموذى بفاصل لا يضر الموذى وتعهده بالسقى ما امكنه ومتى وقع بصره على حيوان قد ارهقه سبع (10) او نشب فى انشوطة (11) او تعلق به شوك او سقط فى عينيه او اذنيه شىء يوذيه او مسه ظما او جوع تكفل بازالة ذلك كله عنه جهده واطعمه وسقاه ومتى وقع بصره على ماء يسيل الى سقى نبات او حيوان وقد عافه عن ممره ذلك (12) عائق من حجر سقط فيه او جرف انهار عليه ازال ذلك كله عنه وما زال يمعن فى هذا النوع من [٦٨] ضروب التشبه (13) حتى بلغ فيه الغاية واما الضرب الثانى فكان تشبهه بها فيه ان الزم نفسه دوام الطهارة وازالة (14) الدنس والرجس عن

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(1) E. تسخر — (2) A. فبصته — (3) E. الاضرب الثلاثة — (4) E. اما — (5) A. يتشبه — (6) E. interc. اذا — (7) Ces deux mots manq. dans A. — (8) E. يزال — (9) P. E. ذلك — (10) A. ضبع — (11) E. او نشب به ناشط — (12) Manq. dans E. — (13) A. P. التشبيه — (14) P. وازاله

جسمه والاغتسال بالماء في اكثر الاوقات وتنظيف ما كان من اظفاره واسنانه ومغابن بدنه وتطييبها بما امكنه من طيب النبات وصنوف (1) الادهنة (2) العطرة وتعهد لباسه بالتنظيف والتطييب حتى كان كله يتلالا حسنا وجمالا ونظافة وطيبا والتزم مع ذلك ضروب الحركة على الاستدارة فتارة كان يطوف بالجزيرة (3) ويدور على ساحلها ويسيح باكنافها وتارة كان يطوف ببيته او ببعض الكدى (4) ادوارا معدودة اما مشيا واما هرولة وتارة (5) يدور على نفسه حتى يغشى عليه واما الضرب الثالث فكان تشبهه (6) بها فيه ان (7) كان يلازم الفكرة في ذلك الموجود الواجب الوجود ويقطع (8) علائق المحسوسات ويغمض عينيه ويسد اذنيه ويضرب جهده عن تتبع الخيال ويروم بمبلغ طاقته ان لا يفكر في شيء سواه ولا يشرك به احدا ويستعين على ذلك بالاستدارة (9) على نفسه والاستحثاث فيها فكان اذا اشتد في الاستدارة غابت عنه (10) المحسوسات وضعف الخيال وسائر القوى التي تحتاج الى الالات الجسمانية وقوى فعل ذاته التي هي برئة من (11) الجسم فكانت فكرته في بعض الاوقات (12) تخلص عن الشوب ويشاهد بها الموجود الواجب الوجود ثم تكر عليه القوى الجسمانية فتفسد عليه

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(1) A. وصروف corrigé, d'une encre plus récente, en وصنوف — (2) A. الادحنة corrigé en الادهنة d'une encre plus récente; P. الادخنة; E. الدوافن — (3) A. بجزيرته — (4) A. الكدا — (5) Manq. dans A. — (6) P. تشبيهه — (7) A. P. بان — (8) P. E. ثم يقطع — (9) N. الاستدارة — (10) P. E. interc. جميع — (11) Manq. dans A. — (12) P. E. فد فكانت في بعض الاوقات فكرته

حاله وترده الى اسفل سافليـن [1] فيعود من ذى قبل [2] فان كفه ضعف يقطع به عن غرضـه تناول بعض الاغذيـة على [3] الشرائط المذكورة ثم [٦٩] ، انتقل الى شانه من التشبه بالاجسام السماوية بالثلاثة الاضرب [4] المذكورة وداب على ذلـك مدة وهو يجاهـد فواه الجسمانية وتجاهده وينازعها وتنازعه وفـى [5] الاوقات التى يكون له عليها الظهور وتتخلص فكرته عـن الشوب يلوح له شىء من احوال اهل التشبه الثالث ثم جعل [6] يطلب التشبه الثالـث ويسعى فى تحصيله بنظر [7] فـى صفات الموجود الواجـب الوجود وقد كان تبين له فى حين [8] نظره العلمى قبل الشروع فـى العمل انها على ضربين اما صفـة [9] اثبات [10] كالعلم والقدرة والحكمـة واما صفة سلب كتنزهه [11] عن الجسمانية [12] وعن الاجسام [13] ولواحقها وما يتعلـق بها ولو على بعـد وان صفات الاثبات [14] يشتـرط فيها هذا التنزيـه حتى لا يكون فيها شىء من صفات الاجسام التى من جملتها الكثرة فلا تتكثر ذاته بهذه الاوصاف الاثباتية [15] بل ترجع كلها الى معنى واحد هى حقيقة ذاته فجعل يطلب كيف يتشبه به فى كل واحد من هذين الضربين فاما [16] صفات الايجاب فلما علم انها كلها راجعة الى حقيقة ذاته وانـه لا كثرة فيها بوجه من الوجوه اذ الكثرة

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(1) E. السافليـن — (2) E. من قبل ذى — (3) A. عـن — (4) A. الضروب ; E. بالاضرب الثلاثة — (5) A. P. فى (P., en marge, *f.* وفى) اثناء — (6) E. يدعوه لان au lieu de — (7) E. فينظر — ثم جعل — (8) E. صفة — (9) P. صفت et en marge *f.* صفة — (10) E. فى حين au lieu de — (11) P. كتبرية — (12) P.E. الجسميات — (13) Ces deux mots manq. dans P.E. — (14) E. الثبوت — (15) E. الصفات الثبوتية — (16) E. اما

من صفات الاجسام وعلم ان علمه بذاته (1) هو ذاته فتبين (2) له انه ان امكنه هو ان يعلم ذاته فليس ذلك العلم الذى علم به ذاته معنى زائدا على ذاته بل هو هو فرأى ان التشبه به فى صفات (3) الايجاب هو ان يعلمه فقط دون ان يشرك به (4) شيا من صفات الاجسام فاخذ نفسه بذلك واما صفات النبق (5) فانها كلها راجعة الى التنزه عن الجسمانية (6) فجعل يطرح اوصاف الجسمانية (7) [٧٠] عن ذاته وقد كان (8) اطرح منها كثيرا فى رياضته المتقدمة التى كان يتحو بها التشبه بالاجسام السماوية الا انه بقى منها بقايا كثيرة (9) كحركة الاستدارة والحركة من اخص صفات الاجسام وكالاعتناء بامر الحيوان والنبات والرحمة لهما والتهمم (10) بازالة عوائقهما فان هذه ايضا من صفات الاجسام اذ لا يراها اولا الا بقوة هى (11) جسمانية ثم يكدح فى امرها بقوة جسمانية ايضا (12) فجعل يطرح (13) ذلك كله عن نفسه اذ هى بجملتها مما لا يليق بهذه الحال (14) التى يطلبها الان وما زال يقتصر على السكون فى قعر مغارته مطرقا غاضا بصره معرضا عن جميع المحسوسات والقوى الجسمانية مجتمع الهم والفكرة فى الموجود

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(1) P. E. interc. على ذاته (P. زايد) ليس معنى زائدا — (2) P. E. تبين — بل ذاته هى (P. هو) علمه بذاته وعلمه بذاته — (3) P. E. صفة — (4) A. بذلك — (5) E. السلب — (6) E. الجسمية ; P. الجسميات — (7) E. الجسمية — (8) P. E. وكان قد — (9) Manq. dans E. — (10) E. والاهتمام — (11) Manq. dans A. — (12) A. place ايضا après امرها — (13) P. فجعل ياخذ — (14) E. الجالة — فاخذ فى طرح .E فى طرح

الواجب الوجود وحده دون شركة فمتى سنح لخياله سانح سواه طرده عن خياله جهده ودافعه وراض نفسه على ذلك وداب فيه مدة طويلة فربما (1) تمر عليه عدة ايام (2) لا يتغذى فيها ولا يتحرك وفى خلال شدة مجاهدته هذه ربما كانت تغيب عن ذكره وفكره جميع الاشياء (3) الا ذاته فانها كانت لا تغيب عنه فى وقت استغراقه بمشاهدة الموجود (4) الحق الواجب الوجود فكان يسومه ذلك ويعلم انه شوب فى المشاهدة المحضة وشركة فى الملاحظة وما زال يطلب الفناء عن نفسه والاخلاص فى مشاهدة الحق حتى تاتى له ذلك فغابت (5) عن ذكره وفكره السموات والارض وما بينهما وجميع الصور الروحانية والقوى الجسمانية وجميع القوى المعارفة للمواد التى هى (6) الذوات العارفة بالموجود وغابت ذاته فى جملة تلك (7) [٧١] وتلاشى الكل واضمحل وصار هباء منبثا (8) ولم يبق الا الواحد الحق الموجود الثابت الوجود وهو يقول بقوله الذى ليس معنى زائدا على ذاته لمن الملك اليوم لله الواحد القهار فبهم كلامه (9) ولم يمنعه عن فهمه كونه لا يعرف الكلام ولا يتكلم واستغرق فى حاله تلك (10) وشاهد ما لا عين رات (11) ولا اذن سمعت (12) ولا خطر على قلب بشر ولا تعلق فلبك (13) بوصف (14) امر لم يخطر

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(1) E. بحيث — (2) A. الايام — (3) P. E. الذوات — (4) P. E. interc. الاول — (5) E. وغابت — (6) E. وهى — (7) Manq. dans P. E. — (8) P. E. منثورا — (9) P. E. aj. (P. O. نداه) وسمع نداءه — (10) E. فى حالته هذه — (11) A. راته — (12) A. سمعته — (13) A. بالك — (14) A. لوصف

على قلب بشر فان كثيرا من الامور التى [1] تخطر على قلوب البشر فد [2] يتعذر وصفها بكيف بامر لا سبيل الى خطوره على القلب ولا هو من عالمه ولا من طوره ولست اعنى بالقلب جسم القلب ولا الروح الذى [3] فى تجويفه بل اعنى به صورة ذلك [4] الروح الفائضة بقواها على بدن الانسان فان كل واحد من هذه الثلاثة فد [5] يقال له قلب ولا [6] سبيل الى خطور [7] ذلك الامر على واحد [8] من هذه الثلاثة ولا تتاتى العبارة [9] الا عما خطر عليها ومن رام التعبير عن تلك الحال فقد رام مستحيلا وهو بمنزلة من يريد [10] ان يذوق الالوان [11] من حيث هى الوان ويطلب ان يكون السواد مثلا [12] حلوا او حامضا لكنا مع ذلك لا نخليك عن اشارات نومى بها الى ما شاهده [13] من عجائب ذلك المقام على سبيل ضرب المثال لا على سبيل فرع باب الخفيفة اذ لا سبيل الى التحقق بما [14] فى ذلك المقام الا بالوصول اليه فاصغ [15] الان بسمع قلبك وحدق [16] ببصر عقلك الى ما اشير به اليك [17] لعلك ان [18] تجد [19] منه هديا يلفيك على جادة الطريق وشرطى عليك الا تطلب منى فى هذا الوقت مزيد بيان بالمشافهة

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(1) P. E. interc. فد — (2) Manq. dans E. — (3) N. التى — (4) P. E. تلك — (5) Manq. dans E. — (6) E. ولكن لا — (7) P. E. لخطور — (8) N. وحد — (9) E. يتاتى التعبير — (10) manq. dans A. من يريد — (11) P. E. aj. المصبوغة — (12) P. E. فاصغ — (15) A. P. — (13) A. شاهدها — (14) A. عما — (16) E. واحدق — (17) P. E. اشير اليه — (18) Manq. dans E. — (19) A. تجد

على ما اودعه[1] هذه الاوراق [٧٢] فان المجال ضيق والتحكم بالالفاظ على امر ليس من شانه ان يلفظ به خطر بافول[2] انه لما فني عن ذاته وعن جميع الذوات[3] ولم ير في الوجود إلا الواحد[4] الفيوم وشاهد ما شاهد ثم عاد الى ملاحظة الاغيار عند ما افاق من حاله تلك التي هي شبيهة بالسكر خطر بباله انه لا ذات له يغاير بها ذات الحق[5] وان حقيقة ذاته هي ذات الحق وان الشيء الذي[6] كان يظن اولا انه[7] ذاته المغايرة لذات الحق ليس[8] شيا في الحقيقة بل ليس ثم شيء الا ذات الحق وان ذلك بمنزلة نور الشمس الذي يقع على الاجسام الكثيفة فتراه يظهر[9] فيها فانه وان نسب الى الجسم الذي ظهر فيه فليس هو في الحقيقة شيا سوى نور الشمس واذا[10] زال ذلك الجسم زال نوره وبقي نور الشمس بحسبه[11] لم ينقص عند حضور ذلك الجسم ولا زاد[12] عند مغيبه ومتى حدث جسم يصلح لقبول مثل[13] ذلك النور قبله فاذا عدم الجسم عدم ذلك القبول ولم يكن له معنى[14] وتفوى عنده[15] هذا الظن بما قد[16] كان بان له من ان ذات الحق عز وجل لا تتكثر بوجه من الوجوه وان علمه بذاته

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(1) A. porte اودعته, mais le ت, d'une encre plus récente, a été intercalé après coup. — (2) Manq. dans A.; P. ثم افول — (3) A. الذات — (4) P. interc. الحي — (5) P. E. aj. تعالى — (6) A. التي — (7) A. انها — (8) A. P. O. ليست — (9) A. فنظر au lieu de فتراه يظهر — (10) P. E. وان — (11) E. بحاله — (12) E. ولم يزد — (13) Manq. dans E. — (14) P. معنا — (15) N. عنده — (16) Manq. dans P. E.

هو ذاته بعينها فلزم عنده من هذا ان من حصل عنده العلم بذاته (1) فقد حصلت (2) عنده ذاته وقد كان حصل عنده العلم فحصلت (3) عنده الذات وهذه الذات لا تحصل الا عند ذاتها ونفس حصولها هو الذات فاذن هو الذات بعينها وكذلك جميع الذوات المعارفة للمادة العارفة بتلك الذات الخفة التى كان يراها اولا كثيرة (4) وصارت عنده بهذا الظن شيا واحدا وكادت هذه الشبهة [٧٣] ترسخ (5) فى نفسه لو لا ان تداركه الله برحمته وتلافاه بهدايته فعلم ان هذه الشبهة انما ثارت عنده من بقايا ظلمة الاجسام وكدورة المحسوسات فان الكثير والقليل والواحد والوحدة والجمع والاجتماع والافتراق هى كلها من صفات الاجسام وتلك الذوات المعارفة العارفة بذات الحق عز وجل لبراءتها عن المادة لا يجب (6) ان يقال انها كثيرة ولا واحد لان الكثرة انما هى مغايرة (7) الذوات بعضها لبعض والوحدة ايضا لا تكون الا بالاتحاد (8) ولا يفهم شىء من ذلك الا فى المعانى المركبة الملتبسة (9) بالمادة غير ان العبارة فى هذا الموضع قد تضيق جدا لانك ان عبرت عن تلك الذوات المعارفة بصيغة الجمع حسب لفظنا هذا اوهم ذلك معنى الكثرة فيها وهى برئة عن الكثرة وان انت عبرت بصيغة الافراد اوهم ذلك (10) معنى الاتحاد وهو مستحيل فيها (11) وكانى بمن يقف على هذا الموضع من

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(1) A. علم ذاته — (2) P. E. حصل — (3) E. فحصل — (4) A. كثيرا — (5) A. ترشح — (6) A. لا تجب — (7) P. E. ملغايرة — (8) P. E. بالاتصال — (9) E. المتلبسة — (10) Manq. dans A. — (11) P. E. عليها

الكفافيش الذين تظلم الشمس [1] فى اعينهم يتحرك [2] فى سلسلة جنونه ويقول لقد افرطت فى تدقيقك حتى انك قد انخلعت عن غريزة العقلاء واطرحت حكم المعقول فان من احكام العقل ان الشيء اما واحد واما كثير فليتئد فى غلوائه وليكف من غرب لسانه وليتهم نفسه وليعتبر فى العالم [3] المحسوس الخسيس الذى هو بين اطباقه [4] بنحو ما اعتبر به حى بن يقظان حيث كان ينظر فيه بنظر [5] فيراه كثيرا كثرة [6] لا تنحصر ولا تدخل [7] تحت حد ثم ينظر فيه [8] بنظر اخر فيراه واحدا وبقى فى ذلك مترددا ولم يمكنه ان [9] يقطع عليه باحد [٧٤] الوصفين دون الاخر هذا والعالم [10] المحسوس منشأ الجمع والافراد وفيه تفهم حقيقتهما [11] وفيه الانفصال والاتصال [12] والتحيز والمغايرة والائتلاف والاختلاف فما ظنه بالعالم الالهى الذى لا يقال فيه كل ولا بعض ولا ينطق فى امره بلفظة [13] من الالفاظ المسموعة الا وتوهم فيه شيء [14] على خلاف الحقيقة فلا يعرفه الا من شاهده ولا تثبت حقيقته الا [15] عند من حصل فيه واما قوله حتى انخلعت عن غريزة العقلاء واطرحت حكم المعقول فنحن نسلم له ذلك ونتركه مع

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(1) Dans A., le mot الشمس, primitivement laissé en blanc, est rétabli d'une encre plus récente — (2) A. يتحرك يتحرى — (3) E. بالعالم — (4) E. طبافه — (5) P. نظرا ما ; A. بنظر اخر — (6) Manq. dans A. — (7) A. ولا يدخل — (8) Manq. dans P. E. — (9) N. وان — (10) E. وهذا العالم — (11) E. حقيقته ; P. حقيقتة — (12) A. الاتصال والانفصال — (13) P. E. بلفظ — (14) A. شيا — (15) A. الا على خلاف الحقيقة et saute tous les mots intermédiaires.

عقله وعقلائه فان العقل الذى يعنيه هو وامثاله انما هو القوة الناطقة التى تتصفح اشخاص الموجودات المحسوسة وتفتنص منها المعنى الكلى والعقلاء الذين يعنيهم هم الذين ينظرون بهذا النظر والنمط الذى كلامنا فيه هو (1) فوق هذا كله فليسد عنه سمعه من لا يعرف سوى المحسوسات وكلياتها وليرجع الى فريقه الذين يعلمون ظاهرا من الحياة الدنيا وهم عن الاخرة هم غافلون فان كنت ممن يقنع (2) بهذا النوع من التلويح والاشارة الى ما فى العالم الالهى ولا تحمل الفاظنا (3) على (4) ما جرت العادة (5) فى تحميلها (6) اياه فنحن نزيدك شيا مما شاهده حى بن يقظان فى مقام اولى (7) الصدق الذى تقدم ذكره وذلك (8) انه بعد الاستغراق المحض والفناء التام وحقيقة الوصول شاهد للفلك (9) الاعلى الذى لا جسم (10) وراءه (11) ذاتا برئة عن المادة ليست هى ذات الواحد الحق ولا هى نفس الفلك ولا هى غيرهما وكانها صورة الشمس التى تظهر فى مراة من المرايا (12) الصقيلة فانها ليست هى [٧٥] الشمس ولا المراة ولا هى غيرهما ورای لذات ذلك الفلك المعرفة من الكمال والبهاء والحسن ما يعظم عن ان يوصف بلسان ويضيق عن ان يكسى بحرف او صوت وراه

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(1) Manq. dans P. E. — (2) P. تقنع — (3) P. E. interc. من — (4) Manq. dans A.; P. لا et en marge : *f.* على — المعانى (5) P. E. interc. بها — (6) A. بتحميلها — (7) Manq. dans A. — (8) E. فنقول — (9) A. الفلك — (10) A. E. interc. له — (11) N. المراءى ; O. المراء — ورءا O. ; ورأى (12) N.

فى غاية من اللذة والسرور والغبطة والفرح بمشاهدة ذات الحق جل جلاله [1] وشاهد ايضا للفلك [2] الذى يليه وهو فلك الكواكب الثابتة ذاتا برئة عن المادة ايضا ليست هى ذات الواحد الحق ولا ذات الفلك الاعلى المعارفة ولا نفسه ولا هى غيرها [3] وكانها صورة الشمس التى تظهر فى مراة قد انعكست اليها الصورة من مراة اخرى مقابلة للشمس وراى لهذه الذات ايضا من البهاء والحسن واللذة مثل ما راى لتلك التى للفلك الاعلى وشاهد ايضا للفلك الذى يلى هذا وهو فلك زحل ذاتا معارفة للمادة ليست هى شيا من الذوات التى شاهدها [4] قبلها [5] ولا هى غيرها وكانها صورة الشمس التى تظهر [6] فى مراة قد انعكست اليها الصورة من مراة قد انعكست اليها الصورة من مراة [7] مقابلة للشمس [8] وراى لهذه الذات ايضا مثل ما راى لما قبلها من البهاء واللذة وما زال يشاهد لكل فلك ذاتا معارفة برئة عن المادة ليست هى شيا من الذوات التى قبلها ولا هى غيرها وكانها صورة الشمس التى تنعكس من مراة الى [9] مراة على رتب مرتبة بحسب ترتيب الافلاك وشاهد لكل ذات من هذه الذوات من الحسن والبهاء واللذة والفرح ما لا عين رات [10] ولا اذن

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(1) A. جل وعز — (2) A. الفلك — (3) A. غيرهما — (4) A. P. شاهد — (5) O. فلبها ; N. قلبه — (6) A. يظهر — (7) P. E. négligent de répéter ce membre de phrase, mais P. conjecture cette répétition en marge de sa traduction — (8) E. aj. المراة — (9) N. على — (10) A. راته

سمعت[1] ولا خطر على قلب بشر الى ان[2] انتهى الى عالم الكون والفساد وهو جميع[3] حشو فلك [٧٦] القمر فراى له ذاتا برئة عن المادة لبست شيا من الذوات التى شاهدها[4] قبلها[5] ولا هى سواها ولهذه الذات سبعون الف وجه فى كل وجه سبعون الف فم فى كل فم سبعون الف لسان يسبح بها ذات الواحد الحق ويقدسها ويمجدها لا يعتر وراى لهذه الذات التى توهم[6] فيها الكثرة وليست كثيرة من الكمال واللذة مثل الذى راه[7] لما قبلها وكان هذه الذات صورة الشمس[8] التى تظهر فى ماء مترجرج قد انعكست اليها الصورة من اخر المرايا التى انتهى اليها الانعكاس على الترتيب المتقدم من المراة الاولى التى قابلت الشمس بعينها ثم شاهد لنفسه ذاتا معارفة لو جاز ان تتبعض ذات[9] السبعين الف وجه لقلنا انها بعضها ولو لا ان هذه الذات حدثت بعد ان لم تكن لقلنا انها هى ولو لا[10] اختصاصها ببدنه[11] عند حدوثه لقلنا انها لم تحدث وشاهد فى هذه الرتبة ذواتا مثل ذاته لاجسام[12] كانت ثم اضمحلت ولاجسام لم تزل[13] معه فى الوجود وهى من الكثرة فى حد بحيث[14] لا تتناهى ان

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(1) A. سمعته — (2) Manq. dans P. — (3) E. جميعه — (4) A. P. شاهد — (5) O. قلبها — (6) A. يتوهم — (7) A. مثل — (8) O. لشمس — (9) A. interc. ذى — (10) Manq. dans N. ما راى — (11) P. بندنه et en marge : *l.* ببدنه — (12) A. P. لا بد ان au lieu de ولاجسام — (13) A. P. ولا بد ان هى au lieu de لاجسام — (14) A. بحيث بحيث *(sic)* au lieu de فى حد بحيث — لم تزل

جاز ان يقال لها كثيرة (1) او هى كلها واحد (2) ان جاز ان يقال لها واحدة (3) وراى لذاته ولتلك الذوات التى فى رتبته من الحسن والبهاء واللذة غير المتناهية ما لا عين رات ولا اذن سمعت ولا خطر على قلب بشر ولا (4) يصفه الواصفون ولا يعقله الا الواصلون العارفون وشاهد ذواتا (5) كثيرة معارفة (6) للمادة كانها مرايا صديئة قد ران عليها الخبث وهى مع ذلك مستدبرة للمرايا الصقيلة التى ارتسمت فيها صورة الشمس ومولية عنها بوجوهها وراى لهذه الذوات (7) من القبح والنقص ما لم يقم فط بباله وراها فى الام لا تنقضى وحسرات لا تنمحى (8) قد احاط [٧٧] بها سرادق العذاب احرفها (9) نار الحجاب ونشرت بمناشير بين الانزعاج والانجذاب وشاهد ههنا ذواتا (10) سوى هذه المعذبة تلوح ثم (11) تضمحل وتنعدم ثم تتحل وتثبت فيها وانعم النظر اليها فراى هولا عظيما وخطبا جسيما وخلقا حثيثا واحكاما بليغا وتسوية ونفخا وانشاء ونسخا (12) وما هو الا ان تثبت قليلا وعادت اليه (13) حواسه وتنبه من حاله تلك التى كانت شبيهة بالغشى وزلت قدمه عن ذلك المقام ولاح له العالم المحسوس وغاب عنه العالم الالهى اذ لم يمكن اجتماعهما فى

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(1) A. P. كثرة — (2) E. متحدة — (3) A. P. واحد — (4) Ce *hadits qodsi*, deux fois cité déjà, manq. ici dans A., qui porte seulement يصفه ما لا — (5) N. ذوات غير المتناهية — (6) O. معارفه — (7) A. الذات — (8) A. P. O. لا تنمحى — (9) E. احرفتها — (10) N. ذوات — (11) A. و — (12) E. ونسخا — (13) A. عليه

حال واحدة (1) اذ الدنيا والاخرة كضرتين (2) ان ارضيت احداهما اسخطت الاخرى (3) فان قلت يظهر مما حكيته من هذه المشاهدة ان الذوات المفارقة ان كانت لجسم دائم الوجود لا يفسد كالافلاك كانت هى ايضا (4) دائمة الوجود وان كانت لجسم يؤول (5) الى الفساد كالحيوان الناطق فسدت هى ايضا (6) واضمحلت وتلاشت حسب ما مثلت به فى مرايا الانعكاس فان الصورة لا ثبات لها الا بثبات المراة فاذا فسدت المراة صح فساد الصورة واضمحلت (7) هى فاقول (8) لك ما اسرع ما نسيت العهد وحلت عن الربط الم نقدم (9) اليك ان (10) مجال العبارة هنا ضيق وان الالفاظ على كل حال (11) توهم غير الحقيقة وذلك الذى توهمته انما اوقعك فيه ان جعلت المثال والممثل به على حكم واحد من جميع الوجوه ولا ينبغى ان يفعل ذلك فى اصناف المخاطبات (12) المعتادة فكيف ههنا والشمس ونورها وصورتها وشكلها (13) والمرايا والصور الحاصلة فيها كلها امور غير مفارقة للاجسام (14) ولا قوام لها [٧٨] الا بها وفيها فلذلك افتقرت (15) فى وجودها اليها وبطلت ببطلانها واما الذوات الالهية والارواح الربانية فانها كلها برئة عن الاجسام ولواحقها ومنزهة غاية التنزيه عنها فلا (16) ارتباط ولا تعلق لها بها وسواء بالاضافة اليها بطلان

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(1) E. واحد — (2) A. كالضرتين — (3) A. ان اسخطت احداهما ارضيت الاخرى — (4) Manq. dans E. — (5) P. écr. يوول ; A. يئول ; N. يؤل — (6) Manq. dans E. — (7) صح فساد الصورة و manq. dans A. — (8) E. اقول — (9) P. يتقدم ; A. اتقدم — (10) A. بان — (11) Manq. dans A. — (12) P. المخاطابات — (13) P. E. وتشكلها — (14) P. الاجسام — (15) A. افترقت — (16) E. ولا

الاجسام او ثباتها (1) ووجودها او عدمها وانما ارتباطها وتعلقها (2) بذات الواحد الحق الموجود الواجب الوجود الذى هو اولها ومبدؤها وسببها وموجدها وهو يعطيها الدوام ويمدها بالبقاء والتسرمد ولا حاجة بها الى الاجسام بل الاجسام محتاجة اليها ولو كان (3) عدمها لعدمت الاجسام فانها هى مباديها كما انه لو جاز ان تعدم ذات الواحد الحق تعالى وتقدس عن ذلك لا اله الا هو لعدمت هذه الذوات كلها ولعدمت الاجسام ولعدم العالم الحسى باسره ولم يبق موجود اذ الكل مرتبط بعضه ببعض والعالم المحسوس وان كان تابعا للعالم الالهى شبيه الظل له والعالم الالهى مستغن عنه وبرئ منه فانه مع ذلك قد يستحيل فرض عدمه اذ هو (4) تابع للعالم الالهى وانما فساده ان يبدل لا ان يعدم بالجملة (5) وبذلك نطق الكتاب العزيز حيث ما وقع هذا المعنى منه (6) فى تسيير (7) الجبال وتصييرها (8) كالعهن والناس كالفراش وتكوير الشمس والقمر (9) وتفجير البحار يوم تبدل الارض غير الارض والسموات فهذا القدر هو (10) الذى امكننى الان ان اشير اليك به (11) مما (12) شاهده حتى ابن يفظان فى ذلك المقام الكريم فلا تلتمس الزيادة عليه من جهة الالفاظ فان ذلك كالمتعذر واما تمام خبره فساتلوه عليك (13)

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(1) P. E. ثبوتها — (2) Manq. dans A. — (3) P. E. جاز — (4) A. interc. لا محالة — (5) Manq. dans A. — (6) Manq. dans P. E. — (7) E. فى تصيير; A. فى تغيير — (8) Manq. dans E. — (9) Manq. dans A. — (10) Manq. dans P. E. — (11) A. اليه, au lieu de اليك به — (12) E. فيما — (13) P. aj. ان شاء الله et E. ان شاء الله تعالى

وهو انه (1) لما عاد الى العالم المحسوس (2) بعد جولانه حيث جال
سئم [٧٩] تكاليف الحياة الدنيا (3) واشتد شوقه الى الحياة
القصوى فجعل يطلب العود الى ذلك المقام بالنحو الذى طلبه
اولا حتى وصل اليه بايسر من السعى الذى وصل به أولا ودام
فيه (4) مدة اطول من الاولى ثم عاد الى عالم الحس ثم تكلف
الوصول (5) الى مقامه بعد ذلك فكان ايسر عليه من الاولى والثانية
وكان دوامه فيه اطول وما زال الوصول الى ذلك المقام الكريم يزيد
عليه سهولة والدوام فيه يزيد طولا مدة بعد مدة حتى صار بحيث
يصل اليه متى (6) شاء ولا ينفصل عنه الا متى شاء فكان يلازم مقامه
ذلك ولا يثنى (7) عنه الا لضرورة بدنه التى كان قد فللها حتى
كاد (8) لا يوجد اقل منها وهو فى ذلك كله (9) يتمنى ان
يريحه الله عز وجل من كل بدنه الذى يدعوه الى مفارقة مقامه (10)
ذلك فيتخلص الى لذته تخلصا دائما ويبرا مما يجده من الالم عند
الاعراض عن مقامه ذلك الى ضرورة (11) البدن وبقى على حالته
تلك حتى اناف على سبعة اسابيع من منشئه وذلك خمسون
عاما وحينئذ اتفقت له صحبة اسال وكان من قصته معه ما يانى
ذكره بعد هذا ان شاء الله (12) ذكروا ان (13) الجزيرة التى ولد بها حى

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(1) P. وانه et A. انه, au lieu de وهو انه — (2) P. E. interc. وذلك
للوصول A. (5) — ثانيا — (3) Manq. dans P. E. — (4) P. E. interc.
فى كل ذلك A. (9) — كان E. (8) — يثنى A. (7) — التى N. (6) —
— (10) Manq. dans A. — (11) P. صورة et en marge: *f.* ضرورة
(12) P. E. aj. تعالى — (13) P. E. interc. جزيرة فريبة من

ابن يقظان على احد القولين المختلفين فى صفة مبدئه انتقلت اليها ملة من الملل الصحيحة الماخوذة عن بعض الانبياء المتقدمين صلوات (1) الله عليهم وكانت ملة محاكية لجميع الموجودات الحقيقية بالامثال المضروبة التى تعطى خيالات تلك الاشياء وتثبت رسومها فى النفوس حسب ما جرت به العادة فى مخاطبة [٨٠] الجمهور فما زالت تلك الملة تنتشر بتلك الجزيرة وتتقوى وتظهر حتى قام بها ملكها (2) وحمل الناس على التزامها (3) وكان قد نشأ بتلك الجزيرة فتيان من اهل الفضل والرغبة فى الخير يسمى احدهما اسالا والاخر سلامان (4) فتلقيا تلك الملة وقبلاها احسن قبول واخذا انفسهما بالتزام جميع شرائعها والمواظبة على جميع (5) اعمالها واصطحبا على ذلك وكانا يتفقهان فى بعض الاوقات فيما ورد من الفاظ تلك الشريعة فى صفة الله عز وجل (6) وملائكته وصفة (7) المعاد والثواب والعقاب فاما اسال منهما (8) فكان اشد غوصا (9) على الباطن واكثر عثورا على المعانى الروحانية واطمع (10) فى التاويل واما سلامان (11) فكان اكثر احتفاظا بالظاهر واشد بعدا عن التاويل ووقف عن التصرف والتامل وكلاهما مجد (12) فى الاعمال الظاهرة ومحاسبة النفس ومجاهدة الهوى وكان فى تلك الشريعة اقوال تحمل على العزلة والانفراد

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(1) A. صلى — (2) A. مليكهـا — (3) A. الزامهـا — (4) سلامانـا — (5) Manq. dans P. E. — (6) O. وجسـل — (7) P. E. وصـفـات — (8) Manq. dans E. — (9) A. غوضـا — (10) A. واطبـع — (11) P. E. aj. يجـد (12) A. — صاحبه

وتدل على ان النجاة والفوز (1) فيهما واقوال اخر تحمل (2) على المعاشرة وملازمة الجماعة فتعلق اسال بطلب العزلة ورجح القول فيها (3) لما كان فى طباعه من دوام الفكرة وملازمة العبرة والغوص (4) على المعانى واكثر ما كان يتاتى له امله من ذلك بالانفراد وتعلق سلامان بملازمة الجماعة ورجح القول فيها (5) لما كان فى طباعه من الجبن عن الفكرة والتصرف فكانت ملازمة (6) الجماعة عنده مما يدرا (7) الوسواس ويزيل الظنون المعترضة ويعيذ (8) من همزات الشياطين وكان اختلافهما فى هذا الراى سبب افتراقهما وكان اسال قد سمع عن الجزيرة التى ذكر [٨١] ان حى ابن يقظان تكون بها وعرف ما بها من الخصب والمرافق والهواء المعتدل وان الانفراد بها يتاتى لملتمسه فاجمع على ان يرتحل اليها ويعتزل الناس بها بقية عمره فجمع ما كان له من المال (9) واكترى ببعضه مركبا تحمله (10) الى تلك الجزيرة وفرق باقيه على المساكين وودع صاحبه (11) وركب متن البحر فحمله الملاحون الى تلك الجزيرة ووضعوه بساحلها وانفصلوا عنه فبقى اسال بتلك الجزيرة يعبد الله عز وجل ويعظمه ويقدسه ويفكر فى اسمائه

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(1) P. E. الفوز والنجاة — (2) A. يحمل — (3) P. E. بها — (4) A. الغوض mais le point du ض, en forme de virgule renversée, doit être considéré comme raturé, suivant l'usage du copiste — (5) P. E. بها — (6) A. ملازمته — (7) E. يدرء ; P. يذرا — (8) A. يعيد — (9) A. من مال — (10) A. يحمله — (11) P. صاجه ; P. E. aj. سلامان

الحسنى وصفاته العليا (1) فلا ينقطع خاطره ولا تتكدر (2) فكرته واذا احتاج الى الغذاء تناول من ثمرات تلك الجزيرة وصيدها ما يسد (3) جوعته واقام على تلك الحال مدة وهو في اتم غبطة واعظم انس بمناجاة ربه وكان فى (4) كل يوم يشاهد من الطافه ومزايا تحفه وتيسيره عليه في مطالبه وغذائه ما يثبت يقينه ويقر عينه وكان في تلك المدة (5) حى بن يقظان شديد الاستغراق في مقاماته الكريمة فكان لا يبرح (6) مغارته الا مرة في الاسبوع لتناول ما سنح له (7) من الغذاء فلذلك لم يعثر عليه اسال باول وهلة بل كان يتطوف باكناف تلك الجزيرة ويسيح في ارجائها فلا يرى انسيا ولا يشاهد اثرا فيزيد بذلك انسه وتنبسط نفسه لما كان قد عزم عليه من التناهى فى طلب العزلة والانفراد الى ان اتفق في بعض (8) الاوقات ان خرج حى بن يقظان لالتماس غذائه واسال قد الم (9) بتلك الجهة فوقعت عين (10) كل واحد منهما على [٨٢] الاخر فاما اسال فلم يشك انه من العباد المنقطعين وصل الى تلك الجزيرة لطلب العزلة (11) كما وصل هو اليها فخشى ان هو تعرض له وتعرف به ان يكون ذلك سببا لفساد حاله وعائقا بينه وبين امله واما حى بن يقظان فلم يدر ما هو لانه لم يره على صورة شيء من الحيوانات التى

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(1) A. العلى — (2) P. ولا تنكدر — (3) P. E. ما يسد به — (4) Manq. dans E. — (5) A. الجزيرة — (6) P. E. intere. عن — (7) Manq. dans P. E. — (8) P. E. interc. تلك — (9) N. interc. لك — (10) E. فوقع بصر عن الناس — (11) P. E. aj.

كان قد عاينها قبل ذلك وكان عليه مدرعة (1) سوداء من شعر وصوف فظن انها لباس طبيعي فوقف يتعجب منه مليا وولى اسال هاربا منه خيفة ان يشغله عن حاله فافتبى حي بن يقظان اثره لما كان في طباعه من البحث عن حقائق الاشياء فلما راه يشتد في الهرب خنس عنه وتوارى (2) له حتى ظن اسال انه قد انصرف عنه وتباعد من تلك الجهة فشرع اسال في الصلاة والقراءة والدعاء والبكاء والتضرع والتواجد حتى شغله ذلك عن كل شيء فجعل حي بن يقظان يتقرب منه قليلا قليلا واسال لا يشعر به حتى دنا منه بحيث يسمع قراءته وتسبيحه (3) ويشاهد (4) خضوعه وبكاءه (5) فسمع صوتا حسنا وحروفا منظمة لم يعهد مثلها من شيء من اصناف الحيوان ونظر الى اشكاله وتخطيطه فراه على صورته وتبين له ان المدرعة التي عليه ليست جلدا طبيعيا وانما هي (6) لباس متخذ (7) مثل لباسه هو ولما راى من (8) خشوعه وتضرعه وبكائه لم يشك في انه من الذوات العارفة بالحق فتشوق اليه واراد ان يرى ما عنده وما الذي اوجب بكاءه وتضرعه (9) فزاد في الدنو منه حتى احس به اسال فاشتد في العدو واشتد [٨٣] حي بن يقظان في اثره حتى التحق به لما كان (10) اعطاه (11) الله (12) من القوة والبسطة (13) في العلم

(1) N. مدرعه — (2) O. وتواوى — (3) E. aj. وبكاءه — (4) P. وشاهد ; O. يشاهد — (5) Manq. dans E. — (6) A. هو — (7) A. متحد — (8) P. E. حسن — (9) Manq. dans A. — (10) N. لما وكان — (11) P. عطاه — (12) A. aj. تعلى *(sic)* — (13) P., qui porte والبسطة comme A. E., conjecture en marge : *f.* والبطشة

والجسم بالتزمه وقبض عليه. ولم يمكنه من البراح فلما نظر اليه اسال وهو مكتس بجلود الحيوانات ذوات (1) الاوبار وشعره قد طال حتى جلل كثيرا منه وراى ما عنده من سرعة الخضر وقوة البطش فرق منه فرقا شديدا وجعل يستعطفه ويرغب اليه بكلام لا يفهمه حى بن يقظان ولا يدرى ما هو غير انه كان(2) يميز فيه شمائل الجزع فكان يؤنسه باصوات كان قد تعلمها من بعض الحيوانات ويجر يده على راسه و يمسح اعطافه ويتملق اليه ويظهر البشر والفرح به حتى سكن (3) جاش اسال وعلم انه لا يريد به سوءا وكان اسال فديما لمحبته فى علم التاويل قد تعلم اكثر الالسن ومهر فيها فجعل يكلم حى بن يقظان و يسائله عن شانه بكل لسان يعلمه و يعالج افهامه فلا يستطيع وحى بن يقظان فى ذلك كله يتعجب مما يسمع ولا يدرى ما هو(4) غير انه يظهر له البشر والقبول فاستغرب كل واحد منهما امر صاحبه وكان عند المال بقية من زاد كان قد استصحبه من الجزيرة المعمورة فقربه (5) الى حى بن يقظان فلم يدر ما هو لانه لم يكن شاهده قبل ذلك فاكل منه اسال واشار اليه لياكل فتفكر حى بن يقظان فيما كان الزم (6) نفسه من الشروط فى تناول الغذاء ولم يدر اصل ذلك الشىء الذى قدم له ما هو وهل يجوز له تناوله ام لا فامتنع عن الاكل ولم يزل اسال يرغب اليه ويستعطفه (7) وقد كان اولع به حى بن يقظان

(1) A. وذوات — (2) Manq. dans P. E. — (3) A. كان, corrigé en marge, d'une encre plus récente, en سكن — (4) A. aj. عليه — (5) A. فقربه — (6) P. E. عقد على — (7) A. P. ويستلطفه

[٨٤] فخشي ان دام على امتناعه ان يوحشه فاقدم على ذلك الزاد واكل منه (1) فلما ذاقه (2) واستطابه (3) بدا له سوء ما صنع من نقض (4) عهوده في شرط الغذاء وندم على فعله واراد الانفصال عن اسال والاقبال على شانه من طلب الرجوع الى مقامه الكريم فلم تتات له المشاهدة بسرعة فراى ان يقيم مع اسال في عالم الحس حتى يقف على حقيقة شانه ولا يبقى في نفسه (5) نزوع اليه وينصرف بعد ذلك الى مقامه دون ان يشغله شاغل فالتزم صحبة اسال ولما راى اسال ايضا انه لا يتكلم امن من (6) غوائله على دينه ورجى ان يعلمه الكلام والعلم والدين فيكون له بذلك اعظم اجر وزلفة (7) عند الله فشرع اسال في (8) تعليمه الكلام اولا بان كان يشير له الى اعيان الموجودات وينطق باسمائها ويكرر ذلك عليه ويحمله على النطق فينطق بها مقترنا بالاشارة حتى علم الاسماء كلها ودرجه قليلا قليلا حتى تكلم في اقرب مدة (9) فجعل اسال يسأله عن شانه ومن اين صار الى تلك الجزيرة فاعلمه حي بن يقظان انه لا يدرى لنفسه ابتداء ولا ابا ولا اما اكثر من الطينة التي ربته ووصف له شانه كله وكيف ترقى في المعرفة (10) حتى انتهى الى درجة الوصول فلما سمع اسال منه وصف تلك الخفائق والذوات المغارقة لعالم الحس العارفة بذات الحق عز وجل

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(1) Manq. dans A. — (2) A. اذافه ; P. ذاق منه — (3) A. واستطاله — (4) A. من بعض — (5) P. E. interc. هو — (6) Manq. dans A. — (7) E. وزلفى ; A. suppr. اجر و — (8) Manq. dans A. — (9) A. وفت ; P. وفت et en marge : *al.* مدة — (10) E. بالمعرفة

و وصف له ذات الحق تعالى وجل باوصافه الحسنى ووصف له ما امكنه وصفه مما شاهده عند الوصول من لذات الواصلين وكلام المحجوبين لم يشك اسال في ان جميع الاشياء التي وردت في شريعته من امر الله عز وجل وملائكته وكتبه ورسله واليوم [٨٥] الاخر وجنته وناره هي امثلة هذه التي شاهدها حي بن (1) يقظان بانفتح بصر قلبه وانفدحت (2) نار خاطره وتطابق عنده المعقول والمنقول وقربت عليه طرق التاويل ولم يبق عليه مشكل في الشرع الا تبين له (3) ولا مغلق الا انفتح ولا غامض الا اتضح وصار من اولى الالباب وعند ذلك نظر الى حي بن (4) يقظان بعين التعظيم والتوقير وتحقق عنده انه من اولياء الله الذين لا خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون فالتزم خدمته والاقتداء به والاخذ باشارته فيما تعارض عنده من الاعمال الشرعية التي كان قد تعلمها في ملته وجعل حي بن يقظان يستفصحه عن امره وشانه فجعل اسال يصف له شان جزيرته وما فيها من العالم وكيف كانت سيرهم قبل وصول الملة اليهم وكيف هي الان بعد وصولها (5) ووصف له جميع ما ورد في الشريعة من وصف العالم الالهي والجنة والنار والبعث والنشر (6) والحشر والحساب والميزان والصراط فبهم حي بن يقظان ذلك كله ولم ير فيه شيا على خلاف ما شاهده في مقامه الكريم فعلم ان الذي وصف ذلك وجاء به محق في وصفه صادق في

(1) P. ابن (dans le corps de la ligne) — (2) A.P. وانفدح — (3) Manq. dans A. — (4) P. بن (quoique au début de la ligne). — (5) P. O. aj. اليهم et N. ليهم — (6) P. E. والنشور

فوله رسول من عند ربه فامن به وصدقه وشهد برسالته ثم جعل يساله عما جاء به من الفرائض ووظفه[1] من العبادات فوصف له الصلاة والزكاة والصيام والحج وما اشبهها من الاعمال الظاهرة فتلقى ذلك والتزمه واخذ نفسه بادائه امتثالا للامر الذى صح عنده صدق قائله الا انه بقى فى نفسه امران كان يتعجب منهما ولا يدرى وجه الحكمة فيهما احدهما لم ضرب هذا الرسول [٨٦] الامثال للناس فى اكثر ما وصفه من امر العالم الالهى واضرب عن المكاشفة حتى وقع الناس فى امر عظيم من التجسيم واعتقاد اشياء فى[2] ذات الحق هو منزه عنها وبرئ منها وكذلك فى امر الثواب والعقاب والامر[3] الاخر انه لم اقتصر على هذه الفرائض ووظائف[4] العبادات واباح الافتناء للاموال والتوسع فى المآكل حتى تفرغ[5] الناس للاشتغال[6] بالباطل والاعراض عن الحق وكان رايه هو ان لا يتناول احد شيا[7] الا ما يقيم به[8] الرمق واما الاموال[9] فلم تكن عنده بمعنى[10] وكان يرى ما فى الشرع من الاحكام فى امر الاموال كالزكاة وتشعبها والبيوع والربا والحدود والعقوبات فكان يستغرب ذلك كله[11] ويراه تطويلا ويقول ان الناس لو فهموا الامر على حقيقته لاعرضوا عن هذه البواطل واقبلوا على الحق واستغنوا[12]

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(1) A. ووضعه — (2) P. E. من — (3) A. والوجه — (4) A. وضايف au lieu de ووظائف — (5) A. يفرغ — (6) P. E. للباطل — (7) A. من احد شيا au lieu de الغذاء — (8) Manq. dans A. — (9) A. المال — (10) A. فلم يكن له عنده معنى — (11) Manq. dans A. — (12) A. P. O. واستغنى

عن هذا كله ولم يكن لاحد اختصاص بمال تسال[1] منه[2] زكاته او تقطع الايدى على سرقته او تذهب النفوس على[3] اخذه مجاهرة وكان الذى اوقعه فى ذلك ظنه ان الناس كلهم ذوو[4] فطر[5] فاتقة واذهان ثاقبة[6] ونفوس عازمة[7] ولم يكن يدرى ما هم عليه من البلادة[8] والنقص وسوء الراى وضعف العزم وانهم كالانعام بل هم اضل سبيلا فلما اشتد اشفاقه على الناس وطمع ان تكون[9] نجاتهم على يديه حدثت له نية فى الوصول اليهم وايضاح الحق لديهم وتبيينه لهم[10] فباوض[11] فى ذلك صاحبه اسالا[12] وسأله هل تمكنه حيلة فى الوصول اليهم فاعلمه اسال بما هم عليه من نقص الفطرة والاعراض عن امر الله فلم يتات[13] له [٨٧] فهم ذلك وبقى فى نفسه تعلق بما كان قد املاه وطمع اسال ايضا[14] ان يهدى الله به[15] طائفة من معارفه المريدين[16] الذين[17] كانوا اقرب الى التخلص من سواهم فساعده على رايه ورايا ان يلتزما ساحل البحر ولا يفارقاه ليلا ولا نهارا لعل الله ان يسنى لهما عبور البحر فالتزما ذلك وابتهلا فى الدعاء الى الله عز وجل[18] ان يهيئ لهما من

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(1) P. E. يسال — (2) E. عنى — (3) A. عن — (4) P. E. ذو — (5) A. فطره — (6) A. نافية, puis interc. واحلام راجحة — (7) P. E. حازمة — (8) P. met un point sur le د — (9) P. E. ان يكون — (10) Manq. dans P. E. — (11) P. فجاوض — (12) E. اسال — (13) P. فلم يتاتى — (14) Manq. dans E. — (15) E. على يديه au lieu de به; P. على يديه et en marge: al. به — (16) A. للمريدين — (17) Manq. dans A. — (18) P. E. وابتهلا الى الله تعالى بالدعاء

امرهما رشدا فكان من امر الله عز وجل ان سفينة فى البحر اضلت (1) مسلكها ودفعتها (2) الرياح وتلاطم الامواج (3) الى ساحلها فلما قربت من البر راى اهلها الرجلين على الشاطئ فدنوا منهما فكلمهم (4) اسال وسألهم ان يحملوهما معهم فاجابوه (5) الى ذلك وادخلوهما السفينة (6) فارسل الله اليهم ريحا رخاء حملت السفينة فى اقرب مدة الى الجزيرة التى املاها (7) فنزلا بها ودخلا مدينتها واجتمع اصحاب اسال به فعرفهم شان حى بن يقظان فاشتملوا عليه اشتمالا شديدا واكبروا امره واجتمعوا اليه واعظموه وبجلوه واعلمه اسال ان تلك الطائفة هم اقرب الى الفهم والذكاء (8) من جميع الناس وانه ان عجز عن تعليمهم فهو عن تعليم الجمهور اعجز وكان راس تلك الجزيرة وكبيرها سلامان وهو صاحب اسال الذى كان يرى ملازمة الجماعة ويقول بتحريم العزلة فشرع حى بن يقظان فى تعليمهم وبث اسرار الحكمة اليهم بما هو لا ان ترقى عن الظاهر فليلا واخذ فى وصف ما سبق الى فهمهم خلافه فجعلوا ينفضون عنه وتشمئز نفوسهم عما ياتى به ويتسخطونه (9) فى قلوبهم وان اظهروا له الرضا فى وجهه اكراما لغربته فيهم ومراعاة لحق صاحبهم اسال وما زال [٨٨] حى بن يقظان يستلطفهم ليلا ونهارا ويبين

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(1) E. — ضلت (2) P. — ودفعتها (3) A. — المنياه (4) O. — فيكلمهم (5) P. E. — فاجابوهما (6) A. — فى السفينة (7) E. — فصداها (8) A. — الى الذكاء والفهم (9) A. — ويستخطئونه

لهم الحق سرا وجهارا فلا يزيدهم ذلك الا نبوا (1) ونفارا مع انهم كانوا محبين فى الخير راغبين فى الحق الا انهم لنفص فطرتهم (2) كانوا لا يطلبون الحق من طريقه ولا ياخذونه بجهة تحقيقه ولا (3) يلتمسونه من بابه بل كانوا (4) يريدون معرفته من طريق الرجال (5) فيئس من اصلاحهم (6) وقطع رجاءه عن (7) قبولهم وتصفح طبقات الناس بعد ذلك فراى كل حزب (8) بما لديهم فرحون قد اتخذوا الههم هواهم ومعبودهم شهواتهم وتهالكوا فى جمع حطام الدنيا والهاهم التكاثر حتى زاروا المقابر لا تتجمع فيهم الموعظة ولا تعمل (9) فيهم الكلمة الحسنة ولا يزدادون بالجدال الا اصرارا (10) واما الحكمة فلا سبيل لهم اليها ولا حظ لهم منها قد غمرتهم الجهالة وران على قلوبهم ما كانوا يكسبون ختم الله على قلوبهم وعلى سمعهم وعلى ابصارهم غشاوة ولهم عذاب عظيم فلما راى سرادق العذاب قد احاط بهم وظلم (11) الحجب قد تغشتهم والكل منهم لا اليسير لا يتمسكون من ملتهم لا بالدنيا (12) وقد نبذوا اعمالها (13) على خبثها (14) وسهولتها وراء ظهورهم واشتروا بها (15) ثمنا قليلا والهاهم عن ذكر الله تعالى التجارة والبيع (16) ولم يخافوا يوما تتقلب (17) فيه القلوب والابصار بان له وتحقق

(1) P. لا عدوا ونفارا; E. لا نفارا — (2) P. فطرهم — (3) O. ولا — (4) E. interc. لا — (5) E. اربابه — (6) A. P. من صلاحهم — (7) P. E. وانقطع رجاؤه من صلاحهم لغلة حـ; A. porte sous le un point raturé — (8) O. جزب — (9) A. تنجع — (10) A. اضرارا — (11) E. وظلمات — (12) A. لا يمتسكون من حلتهم لا بدناي — (13) P. E. اعمالهم — (14) A. على حقيقتها — (15) E. به — (16) E. والمجيع — (17) A. تنقلب

على القطع ان مخاطبتهم بطريق المكاشفة لا يمكن وان تكليفهم من العمل فوق هذا القدر لا يتفق وان حظ اكثر الجمهور من الانتفاع بالشريعة انما هو فى حياتهم الدنيا ليستقيم له معاشه ولا يتعدى عليه سواه فيما اختص هو به وانه لا يفوز [٨٩] منهم بالسعادة الاخروية الا الشاذ النادر وهو من اراد (1) الاخرة وسعى لها سعيها وهو مؤمن واما من طغى (2) وآثر الحياة الدنيا فان الجحيم هى المأوى واى تعب (3) اعظم وشقاوة اطم ممن اذا تصبحت اعماله من وقت انتباهه من نومه الى حين رجوعه الى الكرى لا يوجد منها شىء (4) الا وهو يلتمس به تحصيل غاية من هذه الامور المحسوسة الخسيسة اما مال يجمعه او لذة ينالها او شهوة يقتضيها او غيظ يتشفى منه (5) او جاه يحرزه او عمل من اعمال الشرع يتزين به او يدافع عن رفيعته وهى كلها ظلمات بعضها (6) فوق بعض فى بحر لجى وان منكم الا واردها كان على ربك حتما مقضيا فلها فهم احوال الناس وان اكثرهم (7) بمنزلة الحيوان غير الناطق علم ان الحكمة كلها والهداية (8) والتوفيق فيما نطقت به الرسل ووردت به الشريعة لا يمكن غير ذلك ولا يحتمل المزيد عليه فلكل عمل رجال وكل ميسر لما خلق له سنة الله فى الذين خلوا من قبل ولن تجد لسنة الله تبديلا فانصرف الى

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(1) A. interc. حرث — (2) A. طغى — (3) A. لعب — (4) A. لا تجد منها شيا ; E. لا يوجد له منها شىء — (5) P. E. به — (6) P. بغضها — (7) P. كثرهم — (8) A. والسداد

سلامان واصحابه فاعتذر لهم عما تكلم به معهم وتبرا اليهم منه واعلمهم انه قد راى مثل رايهم واهتدى بمثل هديهم واوصاهم (1) بملازمة ما هم عليه من التزام حدود الشرع والاعمال الظاهرة وفلة الخوض فيما لا يعنيهم والايمان بالمتشابهات والتسليم لها والاعراض عن البدع والاهواء والاقتداء بالسلف الصالح والترك لمحدثات الامور وامرهم بمجانبة ما عليه جمهور العوام من اهمال الشريعة والاقبال على الدنيا وحذرهم منه (2) غاية التحذير وعلم هو وصاحبه [٩٠] اسال ان هذه الطائفة المريدة الفاصرة (3) لا نجاة لها الا بهذا الطريق وانها ان رفعت عنه الى بقاع (4) الاستبصار اختل ما هي عليه ولم يمكنها ان تلحق بدرجة السعداء فتذبذبت (5) وانتكست وساءت عاقبتها وان هي دامت على ما هي عليه حتى يوافيها اليقين فازت بالامن (6) وكانت من اصحاب اليمين واما السابقون السابقون (7) فاولئك المقربون فودعاهم وانفصلا عنهم وتلطفا في العود الى جزيرتهما حتى يسر الله عز وجل عليهما في (8) العبور اليها وطلب حي بن يقظان مقامه الكريم بالنحو الذي طلبه اولا حتى عاد اليه واقتدى به اسال حتى قرب منه او كاد وعبدا (9) الله بتلك الجزيرة حتى اتاهما اليقين فهذا ايدك الله (10) بروح منه ما كان من نبا حي بن يقظان واسال وسلامان وقد اشتمل على

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(1) A. P. ووصاهم — (2) P. E. عنه — (3) N. الفاصرة — (4) P. O. يبقاع ; N. بقاع — (5) P. فتذبذبت ; E. وتذبذبت — (6) A. بالامر — (7) A. néglige de répéter le mot السابقون — (8) Manq. dans E. — (9) N. وعبد — (10) P. فهذا ايدك وايانا ; E. هذا ايدنا الله واياك

حظ من الكلام لا يوجد فى كتاب ولا يسمع فى معتاد خطاب وهو من العلم المكنون الذى لا يقبله الا اهل المعرفة بالله ولا يجهله الا اهل الغرة بالله وقد خالفنا فيه طريق السلف الصالح فى الصيانة به (1) والشح عليه الا ان الذى سهل علينا افشاه (2) هذا السر وهتك الحجاب ما ظهر فى زماننا (3) من اراء فاسدة (4) نبغت (5) بها متفلسفة العصر وصرحت بها حتى انتشرت فى البلدان وعم ضررها وخشينا على الضعفاء الذين اطرحوا تقليد الانبياء (6) وارادوا تقليد السفهاء والاغبياء (7) ان يظنوا ان (8) تلك الاراء هى المصونة (9) بها على غير اهلها فيزيد بذلك حبهم فيها وولوعهم بها فرأينا ان نلم اليهم بطرف من سر الاسرار لنجتذبهم (10) الى جانب التحقيق ونصدهم (11) عن ذلك [٩١] الطريق ولم نخل (12) مع ذلك ما اودعناه (13) هذه الاوراق اليسيرة من الاسرار عن حجاب لطيف (14) ينهتك سريعا لمن هو من اهله ويتكاثف لمن لا يستحق تجاوزه حتى لا يتعداه وانا اسأل اخوانى الوافقين (15) على هذا الكلام ان يقبلوا عذرى فيما تساهلت فى تبيينه وتسامحت فى تشييده فلم افعل ذلك الا لانى تسنمت شواهق يزل الطرف عن مراها واردت تقريب الكلام فيها على وجه الترغيب (16) والتشويق فى

(1) Manq. dans A. — (2) N. انشاء — (3) P. E. aj. هذا — (4) P. E. مفسدة — (5) P. E. نبعت — (6) P. E. aj. صلوات الله عليهم (7) Manq. dans P. E. — (8) Manq. dans P. E. — (9) A. المظنون — (10) E. لنجذبهم — (11) P. E. ثم نصدهم — (12) A. ولم نحل — (13) A. اودعنا — (14) A. عن حجاب رفيق وستر لطيف (15) P. الوافقين — (16) P. E. الترتيب

دخول الطريق واسأل الله التجاوز والعفو وان يوردنا من المعرفة به الصفو انه منعم كريم (1) والسلام عليك (2) ايها الاخ المفترض اسعافه (3) ورحمة الله وبركاته (4) (5)

(1) A. المنعم الكريم — (2) A. الاكرم — (3) A. عليك — (4) Manq. dans A.

(5) Fin de A. :

تجزت والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا ومولانا
محمد خاتم النبيين فى يوم الاحد من اواخر محرم الحرام
سنة ١١٨٠ ثمانين وماية والف من الهجرة النبوية
رزقنا الله خيرها وخير ما بعدها ووقانا
شرها وشر ما بعدها واخر دعوانا
ان الحمد لله
رب العالمين
هـ

Fin de P.

كمل الكتاب والحمد لله وحده

Fin de O. :

فد تم بحول الله سبحانه طبع رسالة الحكمة المشرفية المعنونة
برسالة حي بن يقظان بمطبعة ادارة الوطن فى يوم الخميس
٢٧ ربيع الثانى من سنة ١٢٩٩ هى *(sic)* وهو الكتاب الرابع مما
نجز طبعه على ذمة المشتركين فليهنؤا برسالة فشعت
السحاب عن سماء الحكمة فاضاءت شموسها
وناهيك بأفكار مبلغ العلم فيها انها للرئيس
أبى على بن سينا فجزا الله ارباب ادارة الوطن
ما يقوم بكفؤ هذه التحفة العامة النفع
حبا لبث المعارف فى افئدة
الوطنيين وكان تصحيحها بمعرفة
مصحح سابقها (٥٠٤) *(sic)*
والحمد لله على التمام والصلاة
والسلام على سيدنا محمد
وآله وصحبه
الائمة
الاعلام
تم

﴿ (ذكر ابن خلكان فى ترجمة أبى على بن سينا ان هذه الرسالة من مؤلفاته فلعلها كانت بالفارسية وترجمها ناقلها هذا رحم الله الجميع) ﴾

Fin de N. :

تم بعون الله طبع رسالة حي بن يقظان الحكمية عزيزة المثال
سهلة المنال البهية المحتوية على انفس الغرائب بنات
الافكار الرائقة الثواقب بمطبعة وادى النيل العامرة
البهية بمصر المحروسة بالعناية الاهلية فى
أوائل شهر شعبان سنة ١٢٩٩ من هجرة
سيد ولد عدنان صلى الله عليه
وعلى اله واصحابه ومن كان على
هديه ومنواله ما هدر
الحمام وباح شذ (sic)
التمام

﴿ذكر ابن خلكان فى ترجمة ابى على بن سينا ان هذه الرسالة (sic) من مؤلفاته (sic) فلعلها كانت بالفارسية وترجمها ناقلها هذا رحم الله الجميع﴾

CORRECTIONS ET ADDITIONS

TEXTE ARABE

Page ٢, *l.* ٧ : de l'*Idârat-al-Ouathan* ; — lire : d'*Idârat-el-Ouathan* ;

— — *l.* ٨ : de Ouady'n-Nil ; — lire : de *Ouad'n-Nîl* ;

Page ١٣, note 3 : *sur es Ec. philos.* — lire : *sur les Ec. philos.*

— ١٥, *l.* ١ : كثره — lire : كثرة

— ١٦, *l.* ٤ : غبرناه — lire : عبرناه

— ٢١, *l.* ٤ : تـــزور — lire (conformément au texte du Qoran, sourate XVIII, verset 16) : تـزاور

— — note 8 : E. تـزاور — lire : A. P. تـزور

— ٢٥, note 18 : E. — lire : P. E.

— ٤٠, *l.* ١١ : كميانها — lire : كميانها

— ٤٢, *l.* ٨ : منشائه — lire : منشئه

— — note 7 : N. منشئه — lire : A. P. O. منشائه

— ٤٣, *l.* ١١ : الغداء — lire : الغذاء

— ٤٣, note 10 : بالغداء — lire : بالغذاء

— ٤٥, *l.* ٣ : افعلها — lire : افعالها

— ٤٦, note 6 : E. فانه كما — lire : E. فكما

— ٥٣, dern. *l.* de la note 12 : الطبعى — lire : الطبيعى

— ٩٢, *l.* ١٠ : الجيوان — lire : الحيوان

— ٩٨, dern. *l.* : وراه — Ajouter en note : On attendrait plutôt وراها (Cf. p. ٩٩, *l.* ٦ : ورای لهذه الذات et p. ٩٩, *l.* ١٦ : ورای لكل ذات من هذه الذوات).

NOTA

Page VIII de l'INTRODUCTION, paragraphe VII, nous avons omis de mentionner un manuscrit du *Hayy ben Yaqdhân*, qui figure, sous le n° CXXXIII 2°, dans le Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne d'Oxford. C'est d'ailleurs ce manuscrit qu'a édité Pocócke, et non celui du British Museum, comme nous l'avait fait croire cette note ambiguë du Catalogue du British Museum, relative au manuscrit du *Hayy ben Yaqdhân* conservé dans cette dernière Bibliothèque: « Arabice editus est opera clarissimi viri Edw. Pócockii sub titulo: *Philosophus autodidactus.* Oxon. 1761. » Pococke, dans sa Préface au lecteur, sans désigner autrement le manuscrit qu'il édite à Oxford, déclare qu'à sa connaissance il n'en existe aucun autre. Or, dans le Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne, l'article CXXXIII 2°, qui reproduit purement et simplement le titre latin complet de l'édition de Pococke, se termine par la mention: [Pocock, 263]. Ce renvoi à un Catalogue de cette Bibliothèque dressé antérieurement par Pócocke lui-même prouve que l'unique manuscrit connu de lui est bien le manuscrit d'Oxford.

Page ۱۲۰ du texte arabe, après Fin de P: : كمل الكتاب والحمد لله وحده nous avons omis de donner la fin du manuscrit d'Oxford, transcrite par Pococke *dans sa Préface :*

كمل كتاب حديث حى بن يقظان واسال وسلامان تاليف الشيخ الامام العالم العارف المدرك الواصل ابى جعفر بن طفيل رحمة الله عليه فى نهار يوم الجمعة مستهل المحرم سنة ثلث وسبعماية على يد الفقير الى الله تعالى ابرهيم بن محمد بن يحيى

શ્રી ફાર્બસ ગુજરાતી સભાના

હસ્તલિખિત ગ્રન્થોની

નામાવલિ

Sri Farbas Gujrati 3
Sabhana hastalikhit
granthoni namavali

તૈયાર કરનાર

રા. રા. અંબાલાલ બુલાખીરામ જાની, બી. એ.

સહાયક મંત્રી, શ્રી ફા. ગુ. સભા

Ambalal Bulakhiram Jani

Tx d 36
Tx d·36

ખ્રિસ્તાબ્દ ૧૯૨૯ વિક્રમાબ્દ ૧૯૮૫

મુંબઇ

સભાની માલીકીનાં પ્રસિદ્ધ પુસ્તકો

૧-૨ રાસમાલા (સચિત્ર) તૃતીય આવૃત્તિ ભાગ ૧ લો તથા ૨ જો; સ્વ. શ્રી. અલેક્ઝાન્ડર કિન્લોક ફાર્બસે રચેલી અને દિ. બ. રણછોડભાઇ ઉ. દવેએ ભાષાન્તર કરેલી, દરેકનું મૂલ્ય રૂા. ૫-૮-૦.

૩ માર્કસ ઓરેલીઅસ એન્ટોનીનસના સુ-વિચારો- ભાષાન્તરકાર ઈડરનરેશ સ્વ. શ્રી. મહારાજા સર કેશરીસિંહજી, રા. રા. નગીનદાસ પુ. સંઘવીના ઉપોદ્‌ઘાત અને સમાન સંસ્કૃત સુભાષિત અને તત્ત્વજ્ઞાનનાં વચનો સાથે, મૂલ્ય રૂા. ૨-૦-૦.

૪-૫ શ્રી ફાર્બસ ગુજરાતી સભાનાં હસ્તલિખિત પુસ્તકોની સવિસ્તર નામાવલિ ભાગ ૧ લો તથા ૨ જો; તૈયાર કરનાર રા. રા. અંબાલાલ ખુલાખીરામ જાની બી. એ.; દરેકનું મૂલ્ય રૂા. ૨-૦-૦.

૬ ગુજરાતનાં ઐતિહાસિક સાધનો ભાગ ૧-૨ (સાથે ભેગા), તૈયાર કરનાર રા. રા. નર્મદાશંકર વલ્લભજી દ્વિવેદી; મૂલ્ય રૂા. ૧-૦-૦.

મળવાનું ઠેકાણું:

મેસર્સ એન. એમ. ત્રિપાઠી એન્ડ કું૦

બુકસેલર્સ અને પબ્લીશર્સ,

પ્રીન્સેસ સ્ટ્રીટ, કાલબાદેવીરોડ, મુંબઇ નં. ૨

C 11.491 47
Jain 301
6745

શ્રી ફાર્બસ ગુજરાતી સભાના

હસ્તલિખિત ગ્રન્થોની નામાવલી

શ્રી ફાર્બસ ગુજરાતી સભાના હસ્તલિખિત ગ્રન્થોની નામાવલી

અંક	ગ્રન્થ નામ	કર્તા નામ	રચન-સમય	લેખનસમય	ભાષા	વિષય	પત્ર	
૧	પૃથ્વીરાજ રાસ	ચંદ બારોટ			હિં.	ઐ. કા.	૧–૫૮	દશાવતાર કથા
	૧/૧ ,, ભા. ૧						૧–૧૩૮	
	૧/૨ ,, ભા. ૨						૧–૧૨૩	પૃથ્વીરાજનું કુંવરપણુ
	૧/૩ ,, ભા. ૩						૧–૩૮૧	
	૧/૪ ,, ભા. ૪						૧–૧૭	
	૧/૫ ,, ભા. ૫						૧–૨૯૧	
	૧/૬ ,, ભા. ૬						૧–૫૯	
	૧/૭ ,, ભા. ૭						૧–૧૫૩	ચંદનું દિલ્લી આગમન
	૧/૮ અ						૧–૧૮૫	
	૧/૮ બ			ઇ. સ. ૧૮૪૮				
૨	બાબીવિલાસ	કેવલરામ કેશવસુત	સં.૧૮૭૫		હિં.	ઐ. કા.	૧–૧૨૨ અપૂર્ણ	અમદાવાદના(વિસનગરા) નાગરે નવાબ જવાં-મર્દખાનના હુકમથી
૩	૧ શ્રીપાલ રાસ (ખંડ ૪)	યશોવિજય	સં.૧૭૩૮	સં. ૧૯૦૪	ગુ.		૮૧. અ.	
	૨ (રાઠોડ) રાવ રતનજીરી વચનિકા		સં.૧૭૧૫	સં. ૧૯૦૪	હિં.	ઐ. કા.	૧–૩૪	પત્ર ૧૪થી૧૭ ચિત્રો છે.
	૩ વેતાલપંચવિંશતિકથાનકં	શિવદાસ		સં. ૧૯૦૪	સં.	કથા	૧–૪૫	દુહા, કવિત્ત ને ગદ્યમાં છે ગદ્યપદ્ય
૪	૧ ભક્તમાલ (૨) ટીકા	(૧) નારાયણદાસ (૨) પ્રિયાદાસ	સં. (૨)૧૭૬૯				૧–૧૩૯	નાભાજીકૃત

	૨ શ્રી આદીશમૂલ–પ્રાસાદપ્રશસ્તિ (શ્લો. ૬૭)	હેમવિજય	૧૬૫૦	સં.			આબુ ઉપર આદીશ્વર-નાં દહેરાંનો સૌવર્ણિક શાહ તેજપાલે ઉદ્ધાર કરાવ્યો તે વિષય
	૩ નડુલ(પુરસ્થ)તામ્રપદકત્રય-(મધ્યે) પ્રશસ્તિઃ		સં.૧૨૧૩	સં.		૧–૮	કીર્તિપાલનું ધર્મશાસન –પત્ર
	૪ નડુલસ્ય ચૈત્યાનિ		સં.૧૨૧૩				કુમારપાલના રાજ્ય-કાલમાં
	૫ ,, પદ્મપ્રભપ્રાસાદે ॥		સં.૧૬૬૬				
	૬ "શાન્તિનાથ પ્રસાદે" શત્રુંજયે કરમાકૃત સમોદ્ધારસ્યપ્રશસ્તિઃ શ્લો ૪૪	લાવણ્યસમય	સં.૧૫૮૭				
૫	૧ દાદાહરિરની વાવનો લેખ (અહમદાબાદ)		સં.૧૫૫૬	સં.		૧	મહમ્મદ બેગડાના સમયમાં
	૨ (અર્બુદાચલ) વિમલવસહિકાયાં લેખઃ	પં. જ્ઞાનચન્દ્ર	સં.૧૨૭૮	સં.		૧–૫	આબુ ઉપર વિમલ-વસહિકામાં દેવકુલિ-કાની બાહ્યશાલામાં ડાબી બાજુએ શ્યામ પાષાણ ઉપર લક્ષ અને બીજકૃત ઋષભ મંદિરના જીર્ણોદ્ધારનો વિષય
	૩ "તેજપાલવસહિકાયાં" (શ્લો. ૭૪)	સોમેશ્વરદેવ	સં.૧૨૮૭	સં.		૧–૧૦	
	૪ "રાણપુરસીમાયાં" મહાપ્રાસાદે	સોમસુંદિરસૂરિ	સં.૧૪૬૫	સં.		૧–૧૪	

	૫ સોલંકી વંશાવલી				હિં.એ.કા.	૧–૫	૧ છપ્પો; ૨૬. દુહા, પછી વંશાવલી
	૬ દીપસિંહપ્રશંસા	કેવળરામ				૬–૯ અપૂર્ણ	લુણાવાડાના રાજાની પ્રશંસા
	૭ છંદો ગ્રંથ પિંગલ		સં.૧૮૦૧		ચારણી	૧–૧૪	
	૮ કેસર રાસો	ચાંદણ સાસણ	સં.૧૮૦૨	સં.૧૯૦૫	ચા.એ.કા.	૧૪–૬૧	પાટડીના મકવાણાં
						૧–૯૮ અપૂર્ણ	કેસરનાં પરાક્રમ
	૯ કુમારપાલચરિત લઘુકાવ્ય	ચારિત્રસુંદર ગણિ			સં.એ.કા.		સર્ગ ૧ના શ્લોક ૪થી આરંભ. પ્રતિસર્ગ ના ૪ વર્ગ એવા દશસર્ગ છે. શ્લોક સંખ્યા ૨૩૩૨
૬	૧ ભોજપ્રબંધ	બલ્લાલ પંડિત		સં.૧૯૦૫	સં.	૧–૭૫	
	૨ ભોજપ્રબંધ (ભાષાંતર)	ધોંડો ભાસ્કર શાસ્ત્રી	સં.૧૯૦૯	સં.૧૯૦૯		૧–૧૧૮	
૭	૧ વસ્તુપાલ તેજપાલ રાસ	સમયસુંદર	સં.૧૬૮૬	સં.૧૯૦૭	ગુ.	૧–૩	
	૨ વસ્તુપાલતેજપાલનાં ધર્મ-કાર્યની વિગત				ઐ. ગુ.	૩–૪(અંક)	
	૩ ધના પોરવાડની ધર્મકરણી				ઐ. ગુ. ગદ્ય		સાદડી પાસે કુંભલ, મેરગરુ પાસે રાણપુર-માં દહેરૂં કરાવ્યું તેનો વિચાર(સં.૧૪૬૧માં)
	૪ રાજકુલી–૩૬ ક્ષત્રિયવંશોનાં નામ, કેટલીક સાલો સાથે				ગુ.હિં.	૫(અંક)	
	૬–૭જાટ રાવ છાડૈરાના પુત્રોનાં કવિત	ગોપ ભાટ					
	૮ રાઠોડકુલ કવિત્ત						

	૯–૧ રાજવંશાવલિ (પાટણની)						૬–૧૧॥	વનરાજથી કર્ણ, પછી
	૯–૨						૧૦–૧૦॥	અલાવદીનની પેઢી
	૧૦ દિલ્હીના રાજવંશની વિગત						૧૧–૧૯	સં. ૪૨૮ થી મોગલ રાજ્યના અંત પર્યંત દિલ્હીના રાજાઓની વંશાવલિ
	૧૧ ગઢોની વિગત				ગુ.	ઐ.ગદ્ય	૧૪–૧૮	પ્રત્યેક સંવત આપેલા છે
	૧૨ પ્રબંધ ચતુર્વિંશતિકા	રાજશેખરસૂરિ	સં.૧૪૦૫	સં.૧૯૦૭			૧–૧૮૭	
	૧૩ વસ્તુપાલ તેજપાલ રાસ	પાસચંદ્રસૂરિ		સં.૧૯૦૭			૧–૬	
	૧૪ ,, ,, ,,	લક્ષ્મીસાગર		સં.૧૯૦૭			૧–૫	
	૧૫ (ધોળકાના) જિનહર શ્રાવકનો ઇતિહાસ			સં.૧૯૦૭			૧–૨	
	૧૬ શ્રીઆદીશમૂલપ્રાસાદપ્રશસ્તિઃ	હેમવિજય	સં.૧૬૫૦		સં.		૧–૪	(જુઓ) ૪/૨
	૧૭ સિદ્ધગિરિપ્રશસ્તિઃ કરમાકૃતા		સં.૧૫૮૭				૪–૭	,, ૪/૬
	૧૮ યાત્રાપત્ર (સં. ૧૮૧૯ થી ૧૮૨૧)		૧૮૨૧	સં.૧૯૦૭			૧–૩	પાણીપંથથી રતનસેન હાજરાબાદમાં ભાઈ પદમસેન જોગ
૮	૧ હરિશ્ચંદ્ર રાસ	જિનહર્ષ	સં.૧૭૪૪	સં.૧૯૦૬			૧–૪૨	
	૨ શત્રુંજય રાસ	સમયસુંદર	૧૬૮૬	સં.૧૯૦૬			૪૩–૪૯	
૯	અનેકાર્થીનામમાલા	નંદદાસ			હિં.	કોષ	૧–૧૩॥	
	૨ દુદાહાડારી બેયાખરી				,,	એતિ	૧૪–૩૧	કોઈ ભાટ ચારણે બનાવેલી અકબર જોડે કોઈ લડાઈ. લહીયો દિનકરરાય ડાહ્યા, (વઢવાણ)

	૩ કામાવતી (કામસેન રાજાની વાર્તા	શિવદાસ			ગુ	કથા		દોહરા ચોપાઇમાં
૧૦	માનમંજરી	નંદદાસ		સં. ૧૯૦૮	હિં.		૧–૧૧	
૧૧	૧ ભાષાવ્યાકરણ	કવિ રત્નજિત્	સં. ૧૭૭૦		હિં.	બ્યા.	૧–૧૪	
	૨ ભાષાશબ્દસિંધુ	કવિ રત્નજિત્	સં. ૧૭૭૦		હિં.	કો.	૧–૫	
૧૨	(હિંદી) ધાતુમાલા પ્ર.૧–૨–૩	કવિ રત્નજિત	સં.૧૭૭૦		હિં.	બ્યા.	૪–૪–૫(૧૧)	
૧૩	૧ વંશપર્વ	બારોટ શંઢાણત જેતસી	સં.૧૮૧૨	સં. ૧૯૦૮	હિં. ચારણી	ઐ. કા.	૧–૮૩	ભાવનગરના ગોહિલોનો ઇતિહાસ
	૨ વંશપર્વસાર	દલપતરામ કવિ	સં.૧૯૦૮	સં.૧૯૦૮			૧–૩૩	
૧૪	પ્રબંધચિંતામણિ (પ્રકાશ ૩)	મેરુતુંગાચાર્ય	સં.૧૩૬૧				૧–૩૩	
૧૫	તાપીપુરાણ (ભાષાંતર) (અધ્યાય ૫૬)				ગુ.	પુરાણ	૧–૮૮	
૧૬	કુશેલીદાનપત્ર		સં.૧૧૧૩		સં.		૧–૩	
૧૭	સિંહાસનદ્વાત્રિંશિકા	ક્ષેમંકર મુનિ			સં.		૨–૧૯ અપૂર્ણ	
૧૮	સમયસારપ્રકરણ (૧૦ અધ્યાય)			સં. ૧૭૮૬	મૂલ માગધી વૃત્તિ સં.		૧–૩૫	
૧૯	દિગંબરમતખંડન				સં.	ધર્મ	૧–૮	પરિધાપનિકાદિ ૧૭ વિષયોમાં અધિકાંશમાં વિચાર
૨૦	વડનગર દ્વારલેખ	શ્રીપાલ	સં.૧૨૦૮		સં.	એ. લો.	૧–૫	
૨૧	છંદશૃંગાર	સેવક મહાસિંઘ	સં.૧૮૫૩		હિં.	પિંગલ	૧–૨૨	પૂર્વાર્ધમાં નિયમ ઉત્તરાર્ધમાં ઉદાહરણ છે.
૨૨	રસિકપ્રિયા (ગુજરાતી અર્થ સાહિત)	કેશવદાસ ભા. કુશલલાભ ઉપા-	સં.૧૬૪૯				૧–૩૬ અપૂર્ણ	

૨૩	ક્ષત્રિયેાની ઉત્પત્તિ	ગદ્ય–ગૌતમ			ગુ.	અ. કા.	૧–૨	
	સેાલંકીની સાત સાથે છત્રીશ ગઢ							
	૨ (ભવૈયાના) સ્વાંગની વિગત સ્વાંગ						૩–૫	
૨૪	કલિયુગનેા ગરબેા	વલ્લભ ધેાળાભાઈ	સં.૧૭૯૦		ગુ.		૧–૭	
૨૫	હમીરપ્રબંધ (પ)	મૂળણદાસ			ગુ.	અ. કા.	૧–૨૬	
૨૬	રૂપસેન રાસ	દેવવિજય	સં.૧૭૭૮		ગુ.	અ. કા.	૧૫+૧–૨૮	દાનવિષયક
૨૭	ઢેાલા મારૂની વાત (છંદ ૪૩૧)		સં.૧૬૫૭		ગુ. ચા.		૧–૨૦	
૨૮	વિમલરાસ (૫)	રૂપવિજય	સં.૧૯૦૦	સં. ૧૯૦૯	ગુ.	અ. કા.	૫૨	
૨૯	સેામેશ્વરવધ-પૃથ્વીરાજાભિષેકઃ ગુજરાતી અર્થ સાથે	(પૃથ્વીરાજ રાસાંતર્ગત) ચંદ					૧–૧૯	
૩૦	ગરબા લાવણી ઇ. વિસલદેવનેા ગરબેા				ગુ.	અ. કા.	૧–૮	
	(૨)	વિસાંમણ ભક્ત					૧	
	ટેાપીવાળાનાં કવિત્ત (૨)							
	સેલુકરનેા ગરબેા		સં.૧૮૫૬				૧૩–૨૦	
	વેણીભાઇનેા રાસડેા							
	ફત્તેસિંહ ગાયકવાડનેા લડાઇનેા રાસડેા							બંગાળાના ગાડરને જીત્યા બાબત
	મહાલક્ષ્મીનેા ખ્યાલ	કિશેારદાસ	સં. ૧૮૬૦				૬–૧૨	(અમદાવાદ ધના સુતારની પેાળમાં)
	રૂદ્રમાલ (૧) સરેાવરનું કવિત્ત							
	ફત્તેહસિંહનેા ગરબેા		સં. ૧૮૨૩				૧–૮	

		ફત્તેસિંહની લાવણી	ગંણુ				હિ.	
		અંબાજીના પરચા	યદુરામ	સં.૧૮૯૯				૯	
		અમદાવાદના બાર દરવાજા તથા કાંકરીઆની લાવણી							
		ચાડીઆની લાવણી	ફાજલખાં	સં.૧૮૭૨					
		ચાડીઆની વાત							
		દેશોની સારીનરસી જણસો						૧–૩	
		અમદાવાદની લાવણી	કિશોરદાસ	સં.૧૮૬૮				૯–૮	
		રાજીઆ							
		રેવાપુરી માતાનો ગરબો, સંઘનો ગરબો, લખણી વગેરે	કેશવ					૧–૩	
૩૧	૧	રાઠોડની વંશાવલી	આખેકવલુ			ચારણિ		૧૨	
	૨	વાત માણુ (૪૬૨ની)	પરમાનંદ		સં.	ગુ. ચા.	વાર્તા	૨–૪૫	
	૩	સરસ્વતીમાહાત્મ્ય	માર્કંડેય પુરાણે		સં. ૧૬૦૬			૫–૬૨	
૩૨	૧	(૪૬૨ના) વિરમદેવચરિત્ર			સં. ૧૬૧૬			૧–૪૮	
	૨	૪૬૨ના રાવોની વંશાવલી							
૩૩		સાશ્રમતિ માહાત્મ્યમ્ (૫)	પદ્મપુરાણે		પ્રાચીન			૧–૫૧	
૩૪	૧	ગણ દશરા બનાવ (વચનિકા સહિત)	હમિર કવિ	સં.૧૬૦૫	સં. ૧૬૦૮			૧–૩૪	ભાવનગરના વજેસિંહ મહારાજનું
	૨	ખરતર ગચ્છ પ્રશસ્તિ		સં.૧૭૮૪					
	૩	તાવ આદિનાં મંત્ર							
	૪	ઠાકોર વખતસિંહનું ગીત (સપાખરૂં)							

	૫ ઠાકોર વખતસિંહની જૂના-ગઢના નવાબ સાથેની લડાઈનું ગીત, "લડાઈ પછી કસું-ભાનું ગીત"							
	૬ કડીથી બાબાજીના લશ્કર સાથે લડાઇનું ગીત						૧–૬૬	
૩૫	૧ વાર્તાઓ, કવિત્તો, લોકગીતો ઇ. (ગદ્યમાં)							
	૨ સાબરમતીની રેલનો કિસ્સો	ઈસમાઇલ	સં. ૧૮૩૮				૧–૧૧	
	૩ છૂટક વાર્તાઓ, કવિત્તો, શિલાલેખો (જૂદાં પાનાં)						૩૦૦થી૩૫૦	
૩૬	કુમારપાળ રાસ	ઋષભદાસ	સં.૧૬૭૦	સં. ૧૯૦૫	ગુ.	પ્રતિ.	૧–૨૮૪	
૩૭	૧ જગદેવ પરમારની વાત (ગદ્ય)			સં. ૧૯૦૬			૧–૫૬	
	૨ જગદેવ પરમાર						૧–૬૮	
	૩ જગદેવ પરમારનો શાખો						૧૪–૩૪	
૩૮	રત્નમાલા (૪ રત્ન+૧૩ અંક)	કૃષ્ણજીત્		(નવી પ્રતિ)	હિં.	ઐ. કા.	૧–૩૭	ગુજરાતનો ચાવડા વંશથી સોલંકી વંશના સિદ્ધરાજ પર્યંતનો કવિતાબદ્ધ ઇતિહાસ
	રત્નમાલિકા (૭ રત્ન+૩૭ છે.)			(જૂની પ્રતિ)	હિં.	,,	૧–૩૭	

૩૯	૧ ભાષાભૂષણ	જસવંતસિંઘ		સં. ૧૯૦૫	હિં.	અલં.	૧-૧૮	
	૨ સુંદરશૃંગાર	સુંદર કવિરાજ	સં.૧૬૮૮	,,	,,	નાયિકા ભેદ	૧-૪૭	
	૩ રાજનીતિ (અંગ)	જસુરામ	સં.૧૮૧૪	સં. ૧૯૦૫	,,	રાજ-નીતિ	૧-૩૯	
	૪ મહારાજ શ્રી જોધાણનાથ અભેસિંહનો ગણબ્રદશૃંગાર	ગઢવી કરણદાનજી		સં. ૧૯૦૪	હિં.	ઐ. કા.	૧-૧૩	
	૫ રસ્તમનો શલોકો (૩૬૧)	સાંમલજી શ્રીગોડ	સં.૧૭૮૧	૧૯૦૪	ગુ. કા.	પ્રતિ.	૧૦-૧૮	હેમદખાંને મરાઠા સાથે મળી અમદાવાદ લૂંટયું તે બાબત
	૬ જ્ઞાનેશ્વર હરિપાઠ	જ્ઞાનદેવ		૧૯૦૪	મરાઠી		૧-૬॥	
	૭ અભંગ	તુકારામ			,,		૬॥-૮॥	
	૮ ભજન પંચપદી	ગોપાલ					૧-૮॥	
	૯ મુરલીનું પદ ૧ પદ–આરતી મુદ્રાપદ (સીતેચે)	રામદાસ ગોસાવીનંદન			મરાઠી ,,		૯-૧૦॥ ૧૧	
	૧૦ રાજનીતિ	દેવીદાસ			હિં.	રાજ નીતિ	૧-૨૬	
૪૦	કિસન બાવની	કિસનદાસ	૧૭૬૭		હિં.		૧-૨૩	
૪૧	સતસૈયા(૫)	કવિ બિહારીલાલ	૧૭૧૬		હિં.	સાહિ. અલં.	૧-૩૫	

૪૨	૧ ભૂગોલપુરાણ						૧–૧૪	આરંભમાં ૧૧ શ્લોક સંસ્કૃતમાં છે. મુલાકી-મલ મુલતાની ક્ષત્રિયે પાદશાહ શાહજહાંને (મુલકોની) વાર્તા કહી
	૨ ચારયુગની વાર્તા વિવિધ નાતો અંક વસ્તુ કૃષ્ણજન્મ–શ્રીનાથજી પ્રાકટચ ઇ.			સં. ૧૯૦૪				
૪૩	કાકરીયાનો ગરબો	(નાગર દલપત)					૧–૪	
૪૪	૧ આદિત્યહૃદયં				સં.		૧–૧૪	
	૨ આત્મબોધઃ	શંકરાચાર્ય		૧૭૮૪	,,			
	૩ લઘુ ચાણાક્યનીતિ (ગુજરાતી ટીકા સહિત)				સં. ગુ.		૧–૫	
	૪ રામનવમીનિર્ણય	વ્રજરત્ન			સં.		ઓળાયું છે.	
	૫ ભરતચિત્ર (અપૂર્ણ)				માગધી		૧–૪	દરેક પાદની નીચે તેનો ગુજરાતી અર્થ આપેલો છે.
૪૫	દાસબોધ	રામદાસ			મરાઠી	૩		

૪૬	ઐતિહાસિક નોંધોના ચોપડાઓ (ત્રણ) ૧ ગુજરાતના રાજવંશીઓ વિષે ૨ મહીકાંઠાના રાજાઓ અને દાંતાના રાણા વિષે ૩ પ્રકીર્ણ હકીગતો						ભાગ ૨માં અનુક્રમણિકા છે. ભા. ૩ માં નં. ૩૭ ઇત્યાદિમાંથી ઉતારા છે.
૪૭	ઐતિહાસિક ગ્રંથોનાં ભાષાંતર ૧ ચાર નોંધપોથીઓ ૨ ભગવાનલાલ ઇન્દ્રજીની પ્રવાસની નોંધપોથીઓ	A. K. Forbes	ઈ. સ. ૧૮૪૯			૨૭૪	પ્રબંધચિંતામણિનું પ્ર. ૩-૪-૫ નું ઇંગ્લીશ ભાષાંતર
૪૮	ગુજરાતીના ઇંગ્રેજી અર્થ ગિરનાર લેખ અડાલજની વાવનો લેખ ઇડર રાજવંશાવલી (ચંદ્રવંશીય) ઇડરના ઇતિહાસનાં સાધનો, કટોસણ, મુડેટી, પુનાદરા વગેરે વિષે મરાઠીમાં પત્રો (મોડીલિપિ) અમદાવાદના નગરશેઠની વંશાવલી				મરાઠી		

શદ મંત્રી–ગૃહિણી–વાવ–લેખ. (સં.)	સ. ૧૪૩૭	
અનુક્રમણીઓ		
અજ્ઞ્ય શદ શૃંગાર મિશ્ર ગુ. ચા. ઐ. કાવ્ય		
રાઠોડ વંશાવલિ		
મહારાષ્ટ્રાચા ઇતિહાસચી બલ્ખર જાતિઓની ઉત્પત્તિ આપેલી છે.		મોટા ચોપડા અને ઓળીયાં છે
વળાની હકીકત		
કેસર રાસનો સારાંશ		
ગુજરાતી બાદશીઓની મુલાકાત ઇ.		
પોળોની ખ્યાત		
રાવ શયાજીની વંશાવલી		
ઈડરના ચંપાવતોનો ઇતિહાસ		
ગોહેલ હમીરજી		
અમદાવાદના સૂબા તથા વીરમગામના દેશાઈ		
કુમાવીસદાર ગોહેલ ભાવનગર તથા રાણપુરનો ઇતિહાસ		
વાઘેલા વિગેરેનો ઇતિહાસ		
જેઠવા રજપૂતોનો ઇતિહાસ		
ઈડરની ખ્યાત		
કોટાસણના રાજાનો અજિત બિરૂદનો ગ્રંથ		

	કટોસણની ખ્યાત						
	માલપુરનો ઇતિહાસ						
૪૯	મુંડેટીના ચૌહણનો ઇતિહાસ						
	ફારસી સનંદો વગેરે મુખ્ય ૩૩–કેટલીક પેટામાં છે				ફારસી		
	અમદાવાદના કાઝી શાહપુર-વાળાની સનંદો						
	,, વંશાવલિ				,,		
	નવાબ સુજાતખાનની કબર-નો લેખ				,,		
	સરખેજ–અમદાવાદના ફારસી લેખો				ફારસી		
	દિલ્હી બાદશાહ વંશાવલી (અમદાવાદના નગરશેઠવાળા)				,,		
	શાન્તિદાસ ઝવેરીની સનંદો				,,		
૫૦	પ્રકીર્ણ લેખાદિ–લેખોનાં અક્ષ-રાંતરો વગેરે						
૫૧	ઓખાહરણ (ક. ૪૧)	પ્રેમાનંદ		સં. ૧૮૯૭		૧–૬૬	
	મદાલસા આખ્યાન (ક. ૩૫)	,,	સં.૧૭૨૮	,,		૬૬–૧૨૨	
૫૨	નરસિંહ મહેતાની હુંડી	,,	સં.૧૭૩૩	સં. ૧૮૧૨		૧–૧૦	ગુ. લિ.
	સુરેખાહરણ	વીરજી	સં.૧૭૨૦	,,		૧૧–૬૧	

	ધુલિભદ્રનો નવરસ (અપૂર્ણ)	જૈન કવિ			૧૨-(૧૦૭-૮)	
	ચંદ્રહાસાખ્યાન	વિષ્ણુદાસ		સં. ૧૮૧૩	૧–૩૨	
	હરિશ્ચંદ્ર પુરી (ક. ૨૭)	,,	સં.૧૬૫૭	,,	૧–૩૩	
	ભગવદ્ગીતા	રામભક્ત	સં.૧૬૬૦	,,	૧–૨૬	
	કીર્તનો	કલ્યાણ				
		પ્રેમાનંદ				
		મહાદેવદાસ				હિંદોલાનાં પદ ૧ ગુ. જરાતી, બાકો હિંદી
		કૃષ્ણદાસ				
	ઓખાહરણ (૩–૪૭ અપૂર્ણ)				૧–૫૪	
૫૩	રૂકિમણી હરણ	કાશી સુત	સં.૧૬૪૭	સં. ૧૭૧૬	૧–૧૩	ખંભાતનો અંધારો કવિ.
	સુદામાખ્યાન (અપૂર્ણ)	ગંગદાસ			૧૦	અંતની ધાટી કંઇક જૂદી છે.
	ચંદ્રહાસકથા (ક. ૧ થી ૩૨)	વિષ્ણુદાસ	સં.૧૬૩૪	સં. ૧૭૧૬	૮–૨૮	
	બાલચરિત્ર (ક. ૨૩)	શિવદાસ	સં.૧૬૬૭	સં. ૧૭૧૬	૧–૨૪	
	ધ્રુવચરિત્ર (ક. ૨–૨૨)	(વાલંદ) હરિદાસ લહુઆ સુત	સં.૧૬૩૪		૨–૨૪	ખંભાતનો
૫૪	સુરેખાહરણ (ક. ૨૫)	વીરજી	સં.૧૭૨૦	સં. ૧૭૬૦	૧–૪૭	
	ચંદ્રહાસાખ્યાન (ક. ૩૧)	વિષ્ણુદાસ	સં.૧૬૩૪	,,	૪૭–૭૨	
	શ્રગાલ પુરી	સુરદાસ	સં.૧૭૬૦		૭૨–૭૯	
	નરસિંહ મહેતાની હુંડી (૩–૪ અપૂર્ણ) પદ	નરસિંહ સુરદાસ		સં. ૧૭૫૯	૨૦૩–૨૦૬	
	કૃષ્ણજન્મ (ક. ૧૩) અપૂર્ણ ચોપ બંધ				૧-૨(૨૦૫-૬	

	સુદામાચરિત્ર (ક. ૧૪)	પ્રેમાનંદ	સ.૧૭૦૫	,,		૪+૨૭ થી ૪૦	
	ભગવદ્ગીતા	રામભક્ત	સં.૧૬૬૦	,,		૪૧–૬૦	
	અર્જુન ગીતા	ધનદાસ		,,		૬૧–૬૩	
	હર(શિવભીલડી)સંવાદ	ભાલણ		,,		૬૩–૬૬	
	હનુમંતચરિત્ર (ક. ૧૮)	(કાશીસુત શેધજી)	સં.૧૬૪૭	,,		૬૭–૮૨	(પલવટકુલ બંધારા)
	અભિમન્યુ આખ્યાન (અપૂર્ણ)	(જન) તાપી	સં.૧૭૦૮			૮૨–૧૧૨	
	પ્રકીર્ણ પદો	ભીમ, નરસિંહ (દાણલીલા ૫૦),				૧–૬ (૨૦૫-૨૧૦)	
૫૫	ધ્રુવાખ્યાન (અપૂર્ણ)	વૈકુંઠ, તુલસી	સં.૧૬૪૪			૧–૩૫	
	થાળ (કડી ૯–૨૭)	મીઠો				૩૭–૩૮	
	કીર્તન (હારનાં	નરસિંહ					લીંબડીનો
	(૭)	પ્રીતમ				૪–૧૮	
	(૧)	કશુબાઇ				(૪૧–૪૮)	
	(૨)	નરસિંહ					
૫૬	નળાખ્યાન (ક. ૬૫)	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં.૧૭૭૪	સં. ૧૮૩૯		૫–૧૧૩	
	અભિમન્યુ આખ્યાન (મોટું) (ક. ૫૧)	,,	સં.૧૭૨૭	,,		૧૧૫–૧૭૬ ૧	
	કક્કો (૬ સુધી)						
૫૭	(વિક્રમચરિત્ર) (?)	શામળ		સં. ૧૮૪૫		૨૨–૬૨	
	મદનમોહના	શામળ		સં. ૧૮૮૬		૧–૧૦૪	

૫૮	સુડાબહોતેરી (વાર્તા ૧૪ થી ૨૯) (કુલ ૧૬.)	,,					૧૫૯–૩૪૩	
૫૯	૧ બભ્રુવાહનાખ્યાન	જેરામ		સં. ૧૭૮૪			૧–૩૧	કચ્છનો કવિ છે.
	૨ વિરાટ પર્વ (ક ૪૧) પદ (માણેકઠારી)	નાકર	સં. ૧૬૦૧	સં. ૧૭૯૫			૩૪–૧૫૮	
૬૦	અંગદવિષ્ટિ	શામળ	સં.૧૭૨૭ (?)				૧–૫૨	
૬૧	૧ સુદામાખ્યાન (ક. ૧૪)	પ્રેમાનંદ	૧૭૩૮	સં. ૧૮૪૧			૧૪–૫૫	
	૨ સારસંગ્રહ (જ્યો.) અપૂર્ણ						૫૯–૬૪	
	૩ ઔષધાદિ પ્રકીર્ણ							
૬૨	૧ નંદબત્રીશી	શામળ		સં. ૧૮૩૮			૬–૩૨	
	૨ બહુચરાનો ગરબો	પરશોતમ		,,			૧	
	૩ કામનાથનો ગરબો	ભટ્ટ ત્રિકમ પાઠક		,,				
	૪ ત્રિકમનું કીર્તન	ખીમો						
	૫ શિવનું ,,				હિં.			
	૬ સરસ્વતીનું કીર્તન (શંખોદ્ધારમાં) (કવિત)	ઈશ્વર કેશવદાસ			હિં.		૧	
	૭ જંગલાનું કવિત્ત				હિં.			ગોદર્ડજનરલ સુરતનાત્રવાડીજી અને રાધોળા સંબંધી
	૮ અરીણીયાનું કવિત્ત	નરસીરામ						
	૯ વહાલાજીનું કીર્તન	નરસિંહ						
	૧૦ કૃષ્ણકીર્તન	થોભણ						
	૧૧ પંદર તિથિ	ગણા						

૧૨	થાળ	મીઠો					
૧૩	સુદામાચરિત્ર	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં.૧૭૩૮	સં. ૧૮૩૬			
૧૪	શુકદેવાખ્યાન	વરતો	સં. ૧૬૨૪	,,			ડોડીયો કોળી,ભોરસદનો
૨૫	પદો (૨)	થોભણ					
૬૩	દશમસ્કંધ (૪૦ સર્ગ)	કેશવ (કાયસ્થ)	સં.૧૫૨૯	સં. ૧૭૮૭		૧–૧૬૮	પ્રભાસ પાટણનો
૬૪	૧ વિરાટ પર્વ (ક. ૬૫)	નાકર	સં.૧૬૦૧	સં. ૧૭૧૧		૩–૮૯	
	૨ શુકદેવાખ્યાન (મહાભારત શાન્તિપર્વ) (ક. ૪૫)	વરતો	સં.૧૬૨૪	સં. ૧૭૧૨		૧–૨૬	
	૩ સીવરામડપ(સીતારામ)(૩–૪)	વજીઓ		સં. ૧૭૧૪		૧–૩	
	૪ રુક્મિણીહરણ (આખ્યાન) (ક. ૧૨)	કૂઢ	સં.૧૬૫૨	સં. ૧૭૧૭		૧–૧૬	અનાવલનો ઉદીચ્ચ, ગણેશનો પુત્ર
	૫ જલંધરાખ્યાન (અપૂર્ણ)	શિવદાસ		સં. ૧૭૧૭		૧–૧૧	
૬૫	જહાંગીર યશશ્ચંદ્રિકા (૫)	કેશવદાસ	સં.૧૭૫૪		હિ.ઐ.કા.	૧–૧૬	પાનાં ૮, ૯, ૧૦, ૧૧ ૧૩, ૧૪ નથી.
૬૬	૧ ગદાપર્વ	નાકર			ગુ.	૨૨,૨૭–૪૬	
	૨ અશ્વમેધ(યુવનાશ્વ)ની કથા	વિષ્ણુદાસ			,,	૪૭–૫૮	
	૩ ભીમહાસ્યની કથા	,,			,,	૫૮–૬૫	
	૪ અનુશાલ્વનું આખ્યાન	,,			,,	૬૫–૬૯	
	૫ અશ્વપ્રયાણ	,,			,,	૬૯–૭૧	
	૬ નીલધ્વજનું આખ્યાન	,,			,,	૭૧–૭૫	
	૭ ચંડીનું આખ્યાન	,,			,,	૭૫–૭૮	
	૮ સુધન્વાનું આખ્યાન	નાકર			,,	૭૮–૯૭	

	૯ ભીષણ-પ્રેમલાનું આખ્યાન	મુકુંદ	સં.૧૬૮૧		,,		૯૮–૧૦૨	છ આખ્યાનો
	૧૦ બભ્રુવાહનાખ્યાન	વિષ્ણુદાસ			,,		૧૦૨–૧૧૦	
	૧૧ મોરધ્વજનું આખ્યાન	,,		સં. ૧૮૦૨	,,		૧૧૦–૧૧૯	
	૧૨ વીરવર્માનું આખ્યાન	મુકુંદ	સં.૧૭૪૨	સં. ૧૮૨૦	,,		૧૧૯–૧૩૦	
	૧૩ બગદાદભ્યાખ્યાન	કેશવદાસ	સં.૧૬૮૩	સં. ૧૮૦૨	,,		૧૪૬–૧૫૮	
	૧૪ તારકાસુરનું આખ્યાન	કુવે(બે ?)રદાસ	સં.૧૭૧૩	સં. ૧૮૦૨	,,		૧૫૯–૧૮૪	આ કવિ ખંભાતનો નાગર છે.
					,,			
	૧૫ સદાશિવ આખ્યાન	મહાદેવસુત–હરદેવ	સં.૧૭૪૦	સં. ૧૮૦૪			૧૮૫–૨૫૧	સ્કંદ પુરાણુ-શિવ-માહાત્મ્ય
	૧૬ કર્ણપર્વ	વિષ્ણુદાસ	સં.૧૬૫૫	સં. ૧૮૧૯	,,		૨૫૨–૨૮૩	
							૨૯૭–૩૦૫	
	૧૭ પ્રકાશગીતા	કવિ રાજે		સં. ૧૮૦૫	,,		૨૮૪–૨૯૦	આ એક સંત, સદ્‌ગુરુ હતા
	૧૮ સતશીખામણ	રાજે		સં. ૧૮૦૫	,,		૨૯૧–૨૯૪	
	૧૯ કૃષ્ણકીર્તન	નરસિંહ મહેતા (૧૦)					૨૯૪–૬	
		માળો (૧)						
	૨૦ પદ હિન્દી ગુજરાતી પદ (દિશાખ)	નામદેવ ભીમ					૨૯૬	(૩ પદો)
	૨૧ ભીષ્મ પર્વ	વિષ્ણુદાસ			શુ.		૩૦૫–૩૩૧	વિશ્વનાથ વ્યાસને નમન
૬૭	૧ વસ્તુગીતા	વસ્તા–વિશ્વંભર			,,	અધ્યાત્મ-જ્ઞાન	૧–૨૧	લિપિ બાળબોધ છે. કવિ ભાતરનો છે.

	૨ પદો	વસ્તા–વિશ્વંભર				અલ–ખાન	૨૨–૧૫૭	મોટો ભાગ ગુજરાતીમાં–બાકી હિન્દીમાં ૨૫–૩૦ પાનાં ફાડેલાં છે.
૬૮	૧ નરસિંહ મહેતાનું મોસાળું	પ્રેમાનંદ		સં. ૧૮૮૯	ગુ.		૧–૧૪	લિપિ બાલબોધ છે.
	૨ નરસિંહ મહેતાની હુંડી	,,	સં. ૧૭૩૩	સં. ૧૮૮૯	,,		૧૪–૨૦	લિપિ બાલબોધ છે.
	૩ સુદામા–ચરિત્ર	,,	સં. ૧૭૩૮		,,		૨૦–૩૨	,,
	૪ પીપાજીકી કથા	અનંત			હિં.		૩૨–૭૩	કથાને અન્તે બે કવિત (તુલસીદાસનાં) છે.
૬૯	પદો–ગરબા આદિ	ભાણદાસ, પુરુષોત્તમ, નરસિંહ મહેતો, વિષ્ણુદાસ, વૈષ્ણુવનાથ, રામદાસ, માધવદાસ, વલ્લભદાસ આદિ			હિં. ગુ.		૧–૫૪	કેટલાંક પદો હિન્દીમાં છે. અને કેટલાંક પદો ગુજરાતીમાં છે.
૭૦	પદો–ગરબા આદિ	નરસિંહ મહેતો (૨૦) મીરાં (૪) આદિ			ગુ.		૧૨–૨૦૫	ઉત્સવ, વધાઈ, પવિત્રાં, દાણલીલા, રાધાજન્મ વાંચનીજી, રાધાજી, માણેકઠારી, વસંતપંચમી, પદ, કીર્તનમાલા.

૭૧	૧ વિવેકવણઝારો	પ્રેમાનંદ			ગુ.		૧૨	
	૨ છૂટક પદો ૧૩	કબીર			,,		૮	કબીર અને મીરાંનાં પદો હિન્દીમાં છે. બીજાં ગુજરાતીમાં છે. હરિભટના 'ડાંગ-વરાય'ની દશ તુક છે.
	૧	મીરાં, નરસિંહ મહેતો, (૩) દયારામ, હેમો વગેરે						
૭૨	૧ નંદબત્રીશી	શામળભટ્ટ		સં. ૧૮૯૮	,,		૧–૫૯	
	૨ છૂટક પદો	રણછોડ, પ્રીતમ, માંગજી, વલ્લભ					૬	
૭૩	૧ ચંડીનું આખ્યાન	શિવદાસ	સં.૧૩૭૭ (?) સં.૧૬૭૭	સં. ૧૬૫૪	,,		૩–૩૫	શરૂઆતનાં ૨ પાનાં નથી. ચંડીપાઠ
	૨ ચંદ્રહાસ આખ્યાન (ક. ૩૧)	વિષ્ણુદાસ	સં.૧૬૩૪	સં. ૧૮૬૪	,,		૩૫–૮૪	
	૩ દાનસમના સવાયા	અર્જુન			હિં.		૮૪	લિપિ ગુજરાતી છે.
	૪ દાણલીલાના સવૈયા (૧૫)	જીવરાજ			ગુ.		૮૮–૯૨	હિન્દીની લઢણવાળા છે. ગોપીભાવે કવિએ લખ્યા છે. પ્રતિ જૂની છે.
૭૪	૧ ઓખાહરણ (ક. ૫૪)	પ્રેમાનંદ		સં. ૧૬૨૩	,,		૧–૬૧	
	૨ મોટું વિરાટપર્વ (અપૂર્ણ) (ક. ૨૬)	નાકર	સં. ૧૬૦૧				૬૪–૧૦૭	નાકર કવિનું લખેલું હોવાનો પુરાવો છે.

૭૫	રૂપસુંદર કથા	માધવ	સં.૧૭૦૬	સં. ૧૭૯૨	ગુ.	૧–૧૯	આ પ્રેમકથા છે. શ્લોક અને વૃતબદ્ધ છે.
૭૬	૧ અયોધ્યાકાંડ (રામાયણ) (ક. ૨૮)	વિષ્ણુદાસ		સં. ૧૮૦૪	,,	૬–૧૩૨	અપૂર્ણ
	૨ અરણ્યકાંડ (ક. ૨૩)	,,		,,	,,	૧૩૩–૨૧૪	
	૩ કિષ્કિંધા કાંડ (અપૂર્ણ)	,,		સં. ૧૮૧૪	,,	૨૧૪–૨૧૭	
૭૭	૧ અશ્વમેધ આખ્યાન (ક. ૨૨૫)	ભાઉ	સં. ૧૬૭૯ શક૨૫૪૪	સં. ૧૭૨૫	,,	૧૩–૫૪	સુરતનો કવિ છે. ઔદિચ્ય બ્રાહ્મણ છે
	૨ દ્રૌપદીસ્વયંવર (ક. ૨૪)	શિવદાસ	સં. ૧૬૭૩	,,	,,	૧–૪૧	
	૨ જાલંધર આખ્યાન(ક. ૧૫)	,,		,,	,,	૧–૨૨	
	૩ ઈશ્વરવિવાહ				,,	૨	કવિનું નામ આપ્યું નથી. પ્રતિ તૂટક છે.
૭૮	૧ વિક્રમચરિત્ર (પંચદંડની વાર્તા)	નરપતિ	સં. ૧૫૪૪	સં. ૧૬૬૫	,,	૪૩–૬૯	સિંહાસન બત્રીશીમાંની પાંચમી વાર્તા.
	૨ વિક્રમચરિત્ર વિક્રમના પુત્રનું ચરિત્ર	મધુસૂદન વ્યાસ	સં. ૧૬૧૬	,,	,,	૬૯–૯૬	પ્રાચીન ભાષા છે. કુલ કડી ૩૪૪ છે.
	૩ બિલ્હણ પંચાશિકા વા ચૌર પંચાશિકા	બિલ્હણ		,,	સં.	૯૭–૧૨૨	પ્રાચીન ભાષા છે. આ કાવ્યનું ચોપાઈ-બંધ ભાષાંતર જૂની ગુજરાતીમાં છપાયું છે. ("ગુજરાતી" ના દિવાળીના અંકમાં)

	૪ લોલિંબરાજ રાજકલા (છં. ૩૬૧)			સં. ૧૬૬૫	મરાઠી	૧૧૨–૧૧૬	વચ્ચે હિંદી ભાષાનો પ્રયોગ પણ છે. છંદોબદ્ધ કાવ્ય છે.
૭૯	૧ વનેચટનો રાસ	લઘુ અને સુખ	સં.૧૭૩૨	,,	ગુ.	૨૨–૪૨	શામળની વિદ્યાવિલાસિની વાર્તા વચ્ચે ઘણું સામ્ય છે. કવિ સુરતનો છે.
	૨ પદ્માવતીનું આખ્યાન (અપૂર્ણ)	શામળભટ્ટ	સં.૧૭૭૪		,,	૪૩–૮૬	કલ્પિત વાર્તા છે
	૩ પરકાયાપ્રવેશની વાર્તા (નાપિકની)	શામળભટ્ટ			,,	૨૪–૬૫ –૧૦૬	સિંહાસનબત્રીશીમાંની સાતમી વાર્તા
	૪ અબોલા રાણીની વાર્તા (અપૂર્ણ)	,,				૮	સિંહાસનબત્રીશીમાંની છઠ્ઠી વાર્તા, છેવટનાં પાનાં નથી.
૮૦	શિવમાહાત્મ્ય (ક. ૩૭)	મહાદેવસુત–હરદેવ	સં.૧૭૧૪ (?) સં.૧૭૪૦			૧૪–૨૦૩	પહેલાં ૧૩ પાનાં નથી. ખંભાતના કવિએ સુરતમાં રહી લખ્યું છે.
૮૧	૧ અષ્ટપદિ	જયદેવ		સં. ૧૬૭૬	સં.	૨૭	
	૨ ગંગાષ્ટક	,,					
	૩ અશ્વચિકિત્સા	રાજા ભોજ			ગુ.	૬	પાછળ આદિત્યપૂજા અને સ્તોત્ર તથા પિંડદાનવિધિ લખેલાં છે

૮૨	૧ સ્વર્ગારોહણ પર્વ (ક. ૨૨)	સુરભટ્ટ	સં.૧૭૦૪	સં. ૧૯૨૪	ગુ.		૪૩	આ આખ્યાન વીરજીનું છે કે તેનું એની તપાસ થવાની અગત્ય છે.
	૨ પાંડવવિષ્ટિ (ક. ૩૦)	ભાઉ	સં.૧૬૭૬	સં. ૧૮૨૫	,,		૪૪–૧૮૦	કવિ સુરતનો છે.
	૩ કામાવતીનું આખ્યાન	શિવદાસ		,,	,,		૧૦૧–૧૩૫	જૈન શાસ્ત્રને આધારે આ વાર્તા લખાયલીછે.
	૪ પદો (૩)	તુલસીદાસ			ગુ. હિં.		૭	પ્રેમાનંદ અને રામ-
	(૪)	સુરદાસ						કૃષ્ણનું એકેક પદ છે.
	(૧)	મીરાં						
	૫ સૂર્યનો છંદ							સૂર્યનો છંદ
૮૩	૧ નંદબત્રીશી	શામળ		સં. ૧૯૦૧	ગુ.		૧–૪૩	
	૨ કામાવતી	,,		,,	,,		૪૫–૯૧	
	૩ ચંદ્રહાસનું આખ્યાન (ક. ૧૯)	ભોજ		સં. ૧૯૦૨	,,		૧–૨૬	
	૪ નરસિંહ મહેતાના પુત્રનો વિવાહ (ક. ૨૨)	હરિદાસ	સં.૧૭૭૫ (?) સં.૧૭૨૫	સં. ૧૯૦૩	,,		૧–૪૨	શામળશાનો વિવાહ છે
૮૪	મત્સ્યવેધ (દ્રૌપદી સ્વયંવર)	શિવદાસ	સં.૧૬૭૩		,,		૧–૩૦	કડવાં ૨૪ છે.
૮૫	૧ શિવપુરાણ (શિવમાહાત્મ્ય)	મહાદેવસુત-હરદેવ	સં.૧૭૪૦		,,		૧–૧૦૨	કડવાં ૩૭ છે.
	૨ વિરાટ પર્વ	નાકર	સ.૧૬૦૧		,,		૧૦૩–૧૫૮	કડવાં ૪૩ છે.
	૩ કર્ણ પર્વ	વિષ્ણુદાસ					૧–૩૬	અપૂર્ણ

૮૬	૧ નરસિંહ મહેતાના કુંવરનો વિવાહ	હરિદાસ	સં.૧૭૨૫ –૨૬	સં. ૧૮૦૩ ,,	ગુ.	૪	તૂટક કડવાં ૨૨ છે.
	૨ પદ	ભાલણ			,,		
	૩ રણછોડજીનો શ્લોકો	શામળ		સં. ૧૮૦૩	,,	૮૫૭–૬૫	
	૪ કામાવતીની કથા	શિવદાસ		સં. ૧૮૦૩	,,	૬૨–૧૦૪	જૈન શાસ્ત્રને આધારે લખાયેલી વાર્તા
	૫ અનિરુદ્ધહરણ (ઉષાહરણ)	પ્રેમાનંદ		સં. ૧૮૦૩	,,	૧૦૪–૧૪૨	(અપૂર્ણ)
	૬ કામાવતીની કથા	શિવદાસ	સં.૧૭૩૩	સં. ૧૮૮૮	,,	૬ (૪૧–૪૬)	
૮૭	૧ સીતાની શોધનાં પદ	આદિતરામ			,,	૨	૪ પદો છે.
	૨ રામચંદ્રની ગરબી	રણછોડ			,,	૭	
	૩ નરસિંહ મહેતાનાં પદ	નરસિંહ			,,	૧	
	૪ શિવભીલડીસંવાદ	ભાલણ			,,	૫	
૮૮	સીતારામપ્રબંધ	સમયસુંદર			,,	૨૮–૯૯	જૈન કવિ
૮૯	૧ કક્કો	રણછોડ			,,	૩–૬	તૂટક છે.
	૨ છપાયા અને કવિત્ત	અખો			,,	૬–૧૫	
	૩ પંચીકરણ	કબીર			ગુ. હિં.	૧–૫	
	૪ પદો	ગોકુલ			ગુ.	૫–૩	
૯૦	૧ ભગવદ્ગીતા	રામકૃષ્ણ	સં.૧૬૬૦	સં. ૧૮૨૪	,,	૧૧–૨૭	તૂટક છે.
	૨ ગોકળલીલા	વલ્લભ			,,	૨૮–૩૨	
	૩ દાણલીલા	પ્રેમાનંદ			,,	૩૩–૩૪	

	૪ વિવેકવણઝારો	પ્રેમાનંદ		ગુ.	૪૩–૫૦		
	૫ અર્જુનગીતા	ધનદાસ		,,	૫૦–૫૩		
	૬ પદ	ગદાધર		,,	૫૩–૫૪		
	૭ ભ્રમરપચીશી	પ્રેમાનંદ		,,	૫૪–૬૦	તૂટક છે.	
૯૧	૧ પાંડવવિષ્ટિ	ભાઉ		,,	૧–૩૪	તૂટક છે.	
૯૨	૨ ડાંગવાખ્યાન	શિવદાસ	સં.૧૬૭૨	,,	૧–૪૨		
૯૩	૧ વૈદકીય નોંધસંગ્રહ			,,	૪૭		
	૨ યક્ષિણીની સાધના			લિપિ બા.	૪૭–૬૨		
૯૪	૧ દ્વાદશ માસ	રત્નેશ્વર		ગુ.	૮–૨૫	તૂટક છે. પ્રેમાનંદનો શિષ્ય છે.	
	૨ પદ			,,	૨૫		
	૩ ગરબો બહુચરીનો	વલ્લભ ભટ		,,	૨૫–૩૩		
	૪ રાધિકાજીનો ગરબો	,,		,,	૩૩–૪૩		
	૫ બોધવનો ગરબો	,,		,,	૪૬–૫૫		
	૬ રંગીલા કાનુડાનો ગરબો	વિશ્વનાથ		,,	૫૫–૬૦	કવિ નાગર છે.	
	૭ રાધાના દાણનો ગરબો	વિનાયક		,,	૬૦–૭૧	આની પછી બે હિંદી કવિત્ત અને બે દોહરા છે.	
	૮ સખીની ગોઠડીનો ગરબો			,,	૭૩–૭૭		
	૯ ગરબા			,,	૭૮–૧૧૨	કૃષ્ણગોપીના છે.	

૯૫	છૂટક પદો	નરસૈયો ભાલણ, ભાણદાસ, જન કૃષ્ણુ, ભીમો, કબીર, રણછોડ પ્રીતમ વિગેરે			ગુ.	કૃષ્ણુભક્તિ અને જીવ, સંસાર		શરૂઆતનાં અને પાછળનાં કેટલાંક પાનાં નથી.
૯૬	ભાગવત દશમસ્કંધ ૧૭ અધ્યાય	રત્નેશ્વર		સં. ૧૯૧૦	,,	કૃષ્ણુલીલા	૧–૫૬ ૨૫–૧૪૩	પાનાં આડાંઅવળાં છે. ફરીથી બંધાવવાનો છે. કવિ પ્રેમાનંદશિષ્ય છે.
૯૭	૧ ગોરખદત્તાત્રેયસંવાદ				,,		૧–૨૧	
	૨ હિંડોળાનાં પદ (૬)	પરમાનંદ,રામકૃષ્ણ, નંદરામ, મુકુંદ			હિં.		૨૧–૨૫	
	૩ રામભક્તાકૃત ગીતા (અ. ૧૮)	રામભક્ત	સં. ૧૬૬૦	સં. ૧૯૧૬	ગુ.		૨૬–૬૬	
	૪ ગોપાળગીતા	ગોપાળ			,,		અપૂર્ણ	છપાઈ છે. અખાનો સમકાલીન અને મિત્ર
૯૮	૧ વિક્રમચરિત્ર (સિંહાસનબત્રીશી)	શામળભટ્ટ		સં. ૧૮૧૮	,,		૧–૪૯	પૂરી છે. વિપ્ર અને ભરથરની વાત.
	સ્ત્રીચરિત્ર ,,	,,		૧૮૩૯	,,		૧–૩૪	પૂરી છે. સ્ત્રીચરિત્ર ૨૯ મી
	પાનની ,,	,,		૧૮૩૯	,,		૧–૨૮	૧૮ મી (૩૩)

૯૯	૧ શ્રીમદ્‌ભાગવતનો તૃતીય સ્કંધ	વલ્લભ ભટ્ટ	૧૭૬૩		ગુ.			અપૂર્ણ. કડવાં (૩૩) છપાયેલ છે. કપીલકર્દમચરિત્ર.
	૨ શિક્ષામોહન						૩–૬૧	
૧૦૦	રત્નેશ્વર મહાદેવનું આખ્યાન	ભટ્ટ ભવાનીશંકર			,,	નર્મદા-તટના મહા-દેવ	૬૨–૧૨૫	શરૂઆતનાં બે ત્રણ અને પાછળનાં ઘણાં પાન ફાટી ગયાં છે.
૧૦૧	પરચુરણ પદો	નરસિંહ, મણિરામ, રોહીદાસ, તુલસી.		૧૮૫૫	,,		૧–૫૪	મહત્વનાં નથી.
	સવૈયા	થોભણ			,,			
૧૦૨	૧ યુદ્ધકાંડ કડવાં ૪૭	વિષ્ણુદાસ		૧૭૮૧	,,	રામા-યણ	૩૦૧–૩૪૪	અધુરૂં છે.
	૨ ઉત્તરકાંડ કડવાં ૫૭	(જન) કુંઅર (કવિ)	૧૭૧૬	૧૭૮૧	,,	,,	૩૪૫–૪૬૧	
	૩ જાલંધર-વા નરકાસુર આખ્યાન. કડવાં ૧૫	શિવદાસ		૧૭૮૧	,,		૪૬૨–૪૭૯	શરૂઆતનાં બે ત્રણ પાનાં નથી. સં ૧૭૩૭ ની પ્રતિ ઉપરથી ઉતારેલી છે.
	૪ કપોતનું આખ્યાન કડવાં ૧૦	કૂઢ		૧૭૮૨	,,		૪૮૦–૪૮૬	ગોદાવરીમાહાત્મ્ય. આના પછી હરિદાસ, અને સુંદરદાસનાં પદો

	૫ બભ્રુવાહન આખ્યાન (ક. ૧૯)	વિષ્ણુદાસ		૧૭૮૧	ગુ.		૪૯૦–૫૦૫	
	૬ દ્રૌપદીસ્વયંવર મત્સ્યવેધ કડવાં ૨૨	શિવદાસ	૧૬૭૩	૧૭૮૧	,,	મહા-ભારત	૫૦૬–૫૩૬	
	૭ શુકદેવાખ્યાન (ક. ૧૦)	વસ્તો	૧૬૨૪	૧૭૮૧	,,		૫૩૭–૫૪૨	તૂટક પ્રતિ છે.
૧૦૩	૧ સૌપ્તિક પર્વ ક. ૧૫	વિષ્ણુદાસ		૧૭૬૭	,,		૧–૧૮	પૂરું.
	૨ મુશળ પર્વ ક. ૧૦	શિવદાસ		૧૭૬૭	,,		૧૯–૩૨	પૂરું.
	૩ પ્રસ્થાન પર્વ	વિષ્ણુદાસ	૧૬૯૧	,,	,,		૩૨–૪૫	પૂરું.
	૪ સ્વર્ગારોહણી પર્વ	,,		,,	,,		૪૫–૫૪	તૂટક
	૫ સ્ત્રીપર્વ	,,	૧૭૭૫ ? (૧૬૭૫)		,,		૫–૨૮૮	તૂટક
	૬ શલ્યપર્વ	,,		,,	,,		૨૮૮–૩૦૨	પૂરું.
	૭ એકાદશ સ્કંધ (ભાગવત)	રામભક્ત		,,	,,		૩૦૨–૩૩૯	પૂરું.
૧૦૪	ઉદ્યોગ પર્વ	ભાઉદાસ		૧૮૨૧	,,		૧-૨૦૪	પૂરું.
૧૦૫	૧ હંસાવતીની વાર્તા	શામળ ભટ્ટ		૧૮૮૫	,,		૧૧–૨૩૭	શરૂઆતનાં ૧૦ પાનાં નથી.
	૨ ગણપતિવરદાન				,,		૧–૨	
	૩ ગણેશ્વરદાન				,,		૩–૪	
૧૦૬	૧ બ્રાહ્મણના પુત્રની વાત	શામળ			,,		૭ મું (૧)	તૂટક
	૨ રામકથા	ભવાન			,,			પૂરી

	૩ ચબોલા	ધોબણ			ગુ.	દાણ-પ્રસંગ	૧	તૂટક
	૪ મીરાંબાઈનું ચરિત	દયારામ			,,		૧-૪	તૂટક
	૫ ધીરાંનાં પદ (૨)				,,			
	૬ કૃષ્ણચરિત (શ્રીનાથજી)	ચતુર્ભુજદાસ			,,			૮ લિટિ
	૭ નરસિંહ મહેતાનાં પદ				,,			
	૮ કાલિકાની ઉત્પત્તિનો ગરબો	શામળ			,,	માતા-સ્તુતિ	૧-૪	ચાંપાનેરના પતાઈ રાવળનો ગરબો છે.
	૯ કળજુગનો ગરબો વગેરે	વલ્લભ ધોળા						
	૧૦ રામસ્તુતિ	રઘુનંદન			,,	,,	૧-૫	તૂટક છે
					,,			
૧૦૭	૧ જાલંધરઆખ્યાન	શિવદાસ		૧૮૫૬	,,		૧-૪૬	પૂરું
	૨ ચેતામણી	પ્રીતમ (?)			,,			તૂટક
	૩ કપોતનું આખ્યાન (ક. ૧૦)	કૂઢ		૧૮૬૯	,,		૪૭-૬૬	પૂરું
	૪ પરચુરણ પદો, સુરજનો છંદ	નરસિંહ (૨) ભાલભટ્ટ, વ્રહેદેવ (૨), રણછોડ			,,	કૃષ્ણ-કીર્તન દાણ સીતા-વિયોગ વગેરે		આમાં હિંદી દાન-સમય અને માન-સમય (સવૈયા) છે.
૧૦૮	દામોદર આખ્યાન	ગોવિંદદાસ			,,			
	પદો	કૃષ્ણો, મંગળ, દાસ, રાંકૈઓ, નરસિંહ			,,			સાથે હિંદી પદો-હિંડોલા અને કૃષ્ણ-કીર્તનનાં પદ છે.

૨૦૯	૧ અમાના બાર માસ		અજો			ગુ.		તૂટક
	૨ યોગશતાભિધાનં				૧૭૪૧	સં.	૧–૩૪	અપૂર્ણ
	૩ હરતાલમારણવિધિ વિગેરે					ગુ.	૩૪–૩૬	
	૪ કપિલ આખ્યાન		રામભક્ત	સં. ૧૬૬૦ ની આસપાસ	૧૭૪૮	,,	૧–૧૫	અપૂર્ણ, ભાગવત ત્રીજો સ્કંધ
૨૧૦	૧ શિવપુરાણ	ક. ૩૭	હરદેવ	૧૭૪૦	૧૭૮૬	,,	૧૫૨	
	૨ રણયજ્ઞ	ક. ૨૭	પ્રેમાનંદ	૧૭૪૧	૧૭૮૭	,,	૧૫૩–૧૯૨	
	૩ શૃંગાલ પુરી		કૃષ્ણ	૧૬૮૪	૧૭૮૭	,,	૧૯૩–૨૦૫	
	૪ ચક્રાવલા માલા		,,	,,	,,	,,	૨૧૫	
	૫ યોગ વાશિષ્ઠજી		રામભક્ત		૧૭૮૭	,,	૨૨૦–૨૬૦	
	૬ સુદામાચરિત્ર				૧૭૮૭	ઉર્દુ		આ એક નવીનતા છે; ગ્રંથ મહત્વનો છે.
	૭ ચંડિકાનું આખ્યાન		શિવદાસ			ગુ.		તૂટક
	૮ ઓખાહરણ		નાકર		૧૭૮૩	,,		નરસિંહ આદિ પ્રાચીન કવિઓનાં પદો વચ્ચે વચ્ચે સંકલિત છે.
	૯ હિંદી પદ		કબીર				૨૮–૩૦	
	૧૦ પદો		નરસિંહ,ભીમ,કેશવ				૨૨–૩૬	
૨૧૧	૧ શિવભીલડીસંવાદ		ભાલણ		૧૭૫૮	,,	૧–૭	તૂટક
	સુદામાચરિત્ર		પ્રેમાનંદ	૧૭૩૯	૧૭૫૮	,,	૧–૨૬	પૂરું
	પદો		કબીર, સુરદાસ, નરસિંહ મહેતો, ભીમ, કેશવ વગેરે				૧–૪	

૧૧૨	૧ વામનાખ્યાન	પ્રેમાનંદ		૧૮૬૪	ગુ.		૧–૭	અધૂરી કડવા ૨૨ મા-થી પૂરૂં
	૨ પ્રકીર્ણ હિંદી પદો			૧૮૬૫	હિં.		૧–૨	
	૩ નરસિંહ મહેતાની હુંડી	પ્રેમાનંદ			ગુ.		૧–૧૩	પૂરી
	૪ શકુનાવળી (આંક)						૧–૪	વસુદેવ–નારદસંવાદ છે. ગદ્ય છે.
	૫ સેવાફળ	સુરદાસ			હિં.		૧–૩	કૃષ્ણપૂજાસેવાના પ્રકાર છે.
	૬ પરચુરણ પદો કૃષ્ણનાં	પરમાનંદદાસ, કૃષ્ણજન, ચત્ર-ભુજ, કુંભનદાસ			હિંદી વગેરે			
	૭ પદો ગુજરાતી	જુગનાથ, લધુ-નાકર, નરસિંહ	સં.૧૫૯૬					છંદ–રામાષ્ટક ભુજંગી છે, ભવાનીનો છંદ છે.
	૮ સુદામાચરિત્ર	પ્રેમાનંદ						
	૯ પદો	રણછોડ			ગુ.			પાછળનું થોડું તૂટેલું છે.
	૧૦ નંદકિશોરના બાર મહીના	જીવન			,,			
૧૧૩	૧ બાર માસ	નંદદાસ			,,		૧–૫	
	બાર માસીનાં પદો	જન વિઠ્ઠલ			,,		૧૯–૨૦; ૨૦–૨૭	
	૨ ભજન, ગરબા વગેરે	બ્રહ્માનંદ, કવિ રાજે વગેરે			,,		૬–૯; ૩૧–૩૭	
	૩ વાંસળીનાં પદ (૯)	હરિજન			,,		૯–૧૩	
	૪ સતીમાનો ગરબો	નાનાસુત દુર્લભ	સં.૧૭૯૭		,,		૧૩–૧૯	

૧૧૪	૧ ભ્રમર ગીતા (ક. ૪૦)	બહેદેવ	સં. ૧૬૦૮	સં. ૧૭૪૪	ગુ.		૧–૧૩	પૂરી
	૨ રાસલીલા પદ ૩૭	વૈકુંઠદાસ		સં. ૧૭૪૪	,,	રાસ-પંચાધ્યાયી	૧૪–૨૧	પૂરી
૧૧૫	૧ શ્રી વિઠ્ઠલનાથજીના પુત્ર ગોકુલનાથજીનો વિવાહ (૧૪ શોભન)	માહવદાસ			,,		૧–૧૪	
	૨ રસસિંધુ (ગદ્યગ્રંથ)	માહવદાસ			,,		૧–૧૦	તૂટક
૧૧૬	વડોદરાની ગઝલ	દીપવિજય	સં. ૧૮૫૪	સં. ૧૮૫૯	,,		૧–૪	પૂરું છે.
૧૧૭	૧ શૃંગારપુરી આખ્યાન	નાકર			,,		૪–૧૨	તૂટક છે.
	૨ જાતક નક્ષત્રસમુચ્ચય				સં.		૧–૨૮	વચમાં નૂનું છ કડીનું વિષ્ણુના અવતારોનું એક પદ છે.
	૩ પદ				ગુ.			
	૪ રેવામાહાત્મ્ય				સં.		૧–૨	પડિ માત્રા લિપિ છે.
	૫ કાશીવિલાસ (શ્લો. ૪૫)	દ્વિજ દેવરાજ			,,			મૂળ સાથે સમશ્લોકી (અનુષ્ટુપ)ભાષાંતર; લિપિ પડિમાત્રાએ લખેલો પ્રાચીન ગ્રંથ છે.

૮	૧ પ્રકીર્ણ પદો	નરભેરામ, હરિવલ્લભ, સુરદાસ, પરમાનંદદાસ, નરસિંહ મહેતો, મીરાંબાઇ, ભાલણ, જેરામદાસ, અખો, વગેરે		સં. ૧૮૬૦	ગુ.ને હિં. કવિતા		કૃષ્ણવિલાસ, કૃષ્ણભક્તિ અને વેદાન્તજ્ઞાન આ પ્રતિ જૂદે જૂદે હાથે લખાયલી છે.
	૨ બારમાસી	હરિ ખીમો	સં. ૧૭૯૬			૧–૪	
	કક્કો	અખો				૧–૫	
	માળાનો મરમ	ગોપાળદાસ					
	ગોપીકૃષ્ણસંવાદ બારમાસ	નરભેરામ					
	પંદર તિથિ	,,					
	બારમાસી	નંદદાસ	સં. ૧૮૪૩		ગુ.	૧–૧૪	
	પંદર તિથિ	નરભેરામ			,,	૧–૩	
	શરદપુનમનો રાસ	,,	સં. ૧૮૪૬	સં. ૧૮૫૯	,,		
૧૧૯	૧ નંદબત્રીશી	શામળભટ્ટ		સં. ૧૮૩૬	,,	૧–૨૫	પૂરી છે.
	સિંહાસનબત્રીશી	,,	સં. ૧૭૭૭ થી ૧૮૦૧	સં. ૧૮૩૬થી સં. ૧૮૪૬	,,	૨૬–૨૮૯	પૂરી છે.
	વાર્તા ૧ લી હરણની		સં. ૧૭૭૭		,,	૨૬–૨૯	
	,, ૨ જી વિધાતાની				,,	૨૯–૪૧	
	,, ૩ જી કમળની				,,	૪૧–૪૭	
	,, ૪ થી સિંહલ દ્વેશની				,,	૪૮–૬૭	
	,, ૫ મી પંચદંડની				,,	૬૭–૮૯	

,, ૬ ઠ્ઠી અબોલાની				ગુ.	૯૦–૧૦૮
,, ૭ મી નાપિકની				,,	૧૦૮–૧૨૨
,, ૮ મી ધનવંતશેઠની				,,	૧૨૨–૧૩૩
,, ૯ મી હંસની				,,	૧૩૩–૧૪૭
,, ૧૦ મી રાજાગર્ધવસેનની				,,	૧૪૮–૧૬૨
,, ૧૧ મી કળશની				,,	૧૬૩–૧૭૯
,, ૧૨ મી કાપડીયાની				,,	૧૮૦–૨૦૩
,, ૧૩ મી સમુદ્રની				,,	૨૦૪–૨૧૧
,, ૧૪ મી નૌકાની				,,	૨૧૧–૨૪૦
,, ૧૫ મી પોપટની				,,	૨૪૦–૨૫૫
,, ૧૬ મી કાષ્ટના ઘોડાની				,,	૨૫૬–૨૮૩
,, ૧૭ મી પંખીની				,,	૨૮૪–૩૨૪
,, ૧૮ મી વહાણની				,,	૩૨૪–૩૪૧
,, ૧૯ મી ભાભારામની				,,	૩૪૧–૩૭૭
,, ૨૦ મી વૈતાળભાટની				,,	૩૭૭–૪૦૩
,, ૨૧ મી પાનની				,,	૪૦૩–૪૩૫
,, ૨૨ મી કામધેનુની				,,	૪૩૬–૪૫૨
,, ૨૩ મી કસ્તુરચંદની				,,	૪૫૨–૪૮૩
,, ૨૪ મી ગુટીકાની				,,	૪૮૪–૫૦૩
,, ૨૫ મી જોગણીની				,,	૫૦૪–૫૨૨
,, ૨૬ મી માધવાનલની				,,	૫૨૨–૫૪૯
,, ૨૭ મી લક્ષબુદ્ધિઆદિની				,,	૫૪૯ ૫૮૭
,, ૨૮ મી શુકસારિકાની				,,	૫૮૭–૬૧૧
,, ૨૯ મી સ્ત્રીચરિત્રની			સં. ૧૮૪૫	,,	૬૧૧–૬૪૭
,, ૩૦ મી ભરથરીની				,,	૬૪૮–૬૭૩

	વાર્તા ૩૧ મી રૂપાવતીની				ગુ.		૬૭૪–૭૧૦	
	,, ૩૨ મી મડાપચીસીની			સં. ૧૮૪૬	,,		૭૧૧–૮૨૯	
૧૨૦	વૃદ્ધ ચાણુક્યનીતિ	ચાણાક્ય		સં. ૧૭૫૩	સં.		૨–૪૯	તૂટક છે. ભાષાંતર સાથે શરૂઆતનાં એક બે પાનાં નથી. ભાષા જૂની ગુજરાતી છે. આ અરબસ્તાનમાં લખાયલી પ્રતિ છે.
૧૨૧	લઘુ ચાણુક્યનીતિ	,,		સં. ૧૭૫૩	જૂની ગુ.		૧૧૭–૧૫૨	શ્લોક સહિત પૂરી. અરબસ્તાન મસકતમાં આ પ્રતિ લખાયલી છે.
૧૨૨	પદ	ભીખો			ગુ.			
	ભાગવતસાર	દેવીદાસ		સં. ૧૮૬૧	,,		૧–૨૬	
	પદો	રણછોડ		સં. ૧૮૬૧	,,			
૧૨૩	હરિવિજય વિલાસ (પહેલો)	વજુ બારોટ	સં. ૧૯૧૫		હિંદી ચારણી	ભાવનગરના રાજવંશ	૧–૬	છુટાં પાનાં છે. પ્રતિ તૂટક છે.
૧૨૪	૧ દશમલીલા	વિપ્ર પરમાનંદ		સં. ૧૮૮૨	ગુ.	ભાગવત, કૃષ્ણચરિત્ર.	૮	
	૨ શુકનાવલી			સં. ૧૮૯૨	ગુ.		૩	

	૩ પદ્માવતીનું આખ્યાન			ગુ.	૧–૩૯	છેલ્લાં પાનાં નથી.
	૪ બત્રીશ પુતળામાંની મેનાં-પોપટની વાર્તા	શામળભટ્ટ		,,	૧–૬૩	અધુરી છે.
	૫ પ્રકીર્ણ પદો			,,		પંચરંગસ્નાન શ્રીકૃષ્ણ સંબંધી છે.
૧૨૫	૧ કૃષ્ણકીર્તન–ઓચ્છવનાં પદ	ગોવર્ધનદાસ, હરિદાસ, કનૈઓ		,,	૧–૬	
	૨ કક્કો			,,	૧–૩	અપૂર્ણ
	૨ કક્કો બાલલીલાનો			,,	૧–૪	તૂટક છે.
૧૨૬	ઐતિહાસિક કાવ્ય (દાનમનોહર)			સં. ઐ. કા.		શિવાજી સાથે મોગલ સરદાર ગૌડરાજા મનોહરનું યુદ્ધ. તૂટક છે.
૧૨૭	૧ આદિપર્વ	વિષ્ણુદાસ		ગુ.	૧૦૩–૨૦૮	આગલાં પાછલાં પાનાં અર્ધ ફાટી ગયાં છે.
	૨ ઉદ્યોગપર્વ (?)	,, (?)			૨૨૦–૨૨૮	તૂટક છે.
૧૨૮	વિનેચટની વાર્તા			ગુ. વાર્તા	૧–૫૫	કવિ સુરતનો વલંદા-વાહનો છે.
૧૨૯	૧ અર્જુનગીતા	ધનદાસ	સં. ૧૯૨૦	ગુ.	૧–૩	તૂટક
	૨ ધર્મ(જન્મ)ગીતા				૧–૩	
	૩ વડો કક્કો			હિંદી		

	૪ પદો, ભજનો, રેખતો	કબિર, નરસિંહ, મોહનદાસ, મૂલારામ વગેરે		સં. ૧૯૨૦	ગુ.		
	૫ શિવરાત્રિ કથા (મૃગીસંવાદ)	નાકર		સં. ૧૯૨૦	,,		
૧૩૦	પંચતંત્રનું ભાષાંતર				,,	૧૧–૧૮૦	અપૂર્ણ; ભાષા જૂની છે.
૧૩૧	શ્રીમદ્ ભાગવતના ત્રીજા સ્કંધથી બીજા સ્કંધો	વલ્લભભટ્ટ	સં.૧૭૬૩-સં. ૧૭૬૪		,,	૩૬–૬૭	અપૂર્ણ; કવિ સુરતનો છે. સ્કંધ ૩–૪, ૫–૬ પ્રતિ અશુદ્ધ છે.
૧૩૨	૧ ભાગવત–પ્રથમ સ્કંધ	,,			,,	૧૪–૨૫ સુધી	૧૧ થી ૧૮ અધ્યાય સુધી તૂટક પ્રતિ છે.
	૨ રામાયણ–અયોધ્યાકાંડ	વિષ્ણુદાસ			,,	૨૬–૧૦૧	કડવાં ૩૮ માં પૂરો.
	૩ ,, આરણ્યકાંડ	,,			,,	૧૦૨–૧૨૭	કડવાં ૧૪ થી અધુરૂં.
૧૩૩	૧ કર્ણ પર્વ	,,	સં. ૧૬૫૫	સં. ૧૭૧૩	,,	૧૨–૭૭	શરૂઆતનાં ૧૨ પાન નથી.
	૨ યુદ્ધકાંડની કથા	,,			,,	૧–૩૧	અપૂર્ણ
૧૩૪	૧ નળાખ્યાન	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૪૨	સં. ૧૮૦૫	,,	૧૮–૧૦૨	શરૂઆતનાં ૧૭ પાન નથી
	૨ મોટું અભિમન્યુ આખ્યાન	,,	સં. ૧૭૨૮		,,	૧૦૪–૧૬૦	કડવાં ૫૧ પૂરૂં છે.
	૩ સુદામાચરિત્ર	,,	સં. ૧૭૨૮		,,		

	૪ પદો	નરસિંહ મહેતો; કૂમનદાસ, સુંદરદાસ, ગદાધર.			ગુ. હિં.	૧–૭	હિંદોળાનાં પદ .
૧૩૫	૧ અભિમન્યુ આખ્યાન	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૨૭		ગુ.	૫–૯૬	શરૂઆતનાં પાન નથી કડવાં ૫૧
	૨ સુભદ્રાહરણ	વલ્લભ (?); પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭–	સં. ૧૮૩૬	,,	૯૮–૧૬૨	કડવાં ૩૧
૧૩૬	પારસી સ્ત્રી ગરબા વગેરેનો સંગ્રહ			ઈ. સ. ૧૮૭૯	,,	૧–૭૪	છપાયેલો, લગનસરાનાં ગીતો, ગુજરાતી કવિઓનાં આખ્યાન આદિનો સંગ્રહ
૧૩૭	હારમાળાનાં પદ	નરસિંહ મહેતો			,,	૯–૪૦	શરૂઆતનાં ૯ પાન નથી. અપૂર્ણ છે.
૧૩૮	૧ ગોવિંદાકૃત હાર	ગોવિંદા			,,		
	૨ રણછોડજીનો ગરબો						
	૩ ગરબાગરબી	પ્રીતમ			,,	૨–૨૯	
	૪ ચેતામણિ	,,			,,	૨૯–૪૩	
	૫ પંચીકરણ						
	૬ પદ ગરબીઓ	મીઠો, લક્ષ્મીદાસ			ગુ. હિં.	૧–૨	
૧૩૯	શ્રી વલ્લભાચાર્યજીનાં પદો	કેસોદાસ, રસિક, હરિદાસ, વલ્લભ.			,,	૧–૯	

	ચોરાસી વૈષ્ણવોનાં નામ-ઠામનું પદ	દયારામ			ગુ.	૯–૨૨	
	ધોળ	માધવદાસ, દાસનો દાસ			ગુ. હિં.	૨૨–૨૭	
૧૪૦	ખોજા, આદિયા વગેરે મુસલમાની, અને પ્રણામી પંથનું સાહિત્ય				ગુ.		શરૂઆતના અને અંતના પાનાં નથી.
	૧ બ્રહ્માણ્ડની ઉત્પત્તિ વગેરે				,,	૮–૨૩	
	૨ તારતમ્ય વિતક				,,	૨૩–૨૯	
	૩ શ્રી પેગંમ્બર સાહેબજીકી વિતક				,,	૨૯–૩૨	
	૪ નક					૩૨–૩૫	
	૫ બિહિરતમાં કોણ જાય ?					૩૬–૩૭	
	૬ ભાગવતગૌરવ					૩૭–૪૫	
	૭ શ્રદ્ધાનું સ્વરૂપ					૪૮–૫૪	
	૮ કર્તાનું સ્વરૂપ અને વૈરાગ્ય નાં પદ						
૧૪૧	બભ્રુવાહન આખ્યાન	હરિરામ	સં. ૧૬૯૬		,,	૨૦–૭૨	શરૂઆતનાં તથા છેવટનાં પાન નથી. હસ્ત લિ. પુ. ના ભાગ ૨ જા માં છાપાભૂલથી સં. ૧૪૨ ખ છે.
	નંદબત્રીશી	શામળ				૧–૩૪	

૧૪૨	૧ શ્રી સ્વામી નારાયણનો નિત્યનિયમનો કાગળ બીજો કાગળ—				ગુ.	૧–૫૦	હસ્ત લિ. પુ. ના ભાગ ૨ જામાં છાપાભૂલથી એ. ૧૪૩ ક, ૧૪૩ ખ; ૧૪૩ ગ છે
	૨ ધર્મતત્ત્વસાર				,,	૧–૬	
	૩ બ્રહ્માનંદ વગેરેનાં પદો	બ્રહ્માનંદ, ભૂમાનંદ, રણછોડ, રામકૃષ્ણ, આદિત્યરામ			,,		પદો આડાં અવળાં છે.
	૪ માળા, ધૂન	નારદ			,,	૧–૨, ૧૨	
૧૪૩	૧ પદો વગેરે	દેવાકર, મુરલીધર, કેસોદાસ,			હિંદી		
	પદ	ભીમ			ગુ.		
	૨ ભગવદ્‌ગીતા	રામભક્ત	સં. ૧૬૬૦	સં. ૧૭૨૯	,,		અધ્યાય ૪ થી તૂટક છે.
	૩ હાર સમેનાં પદ	નરસિંહ			,,	૧–૪	તૂટક. ૧૩ પદ છે. પ્રતિ જૂની છે.
૧૪૪	ગુરુશિષ્યસંવાદ કડવાં ૧૨	જીવણદાસ ગુરુપરમહંસ	સં. ૧૭૯૮	સં. ૧૭૯૮	,,	૧–૩૬	કવિતાબદ્ધ, કવિ ઘોળકાનો છે.
૧૪૫	જ્ઞાનગીતા	નરહરિ	સં. ૧૬૭૨	સં. ૧૭૬૭	,,	૩૦	જૂની ભાષા
૧૪૬	૧ પ્રેમરત્નાકર	રતનપાળ		સં. ૧૮૩૯	,,	૧૭૮;૧૩–૨૮	તૂટક

	૨ ઐતિહાસિક કવિત્તો				ગુ.		ભરૂચ, આમોદ, વગેરેની ૧૮૫૭–૧૯ મા સૈકાના ઠાકોરો, દેશાધ્યોની પ્રશંસા વગેરે
	૩ સવૈયા, કવિત્તો આદિ				,,	૧–૪	
	૪ પાવાગઢના રાજાઓની વંશાવલિ				ગુ. અ.	૧–૪	તૂટક છે
	૫ પ્રકીર્ણ છંદ, કવિતાઓ				,,	૧–૧૪	પ્રાગદાસ, પાદરીઆ, દલા, વગેરેનાં છે.
૧૪૭	કાવ્યસંગ્રહ કાવ્યો, પદો, કીર્તનો	કવિ રાજે			ગુ.	૧–૩૧૩	સંગ્રહ મહત્વનો, રસાળ અને મોટો છે. એમાં વિવિધ માળતો સમાયલી છે.
૧૪૮	અખેગીતા	અખો ભક્ત	સં. ૧૭૦૫	સં. ૧૬૧૪	,,	૧–૭૦	દેશી રાગમાં
	કેટલાંક સ્તોત્ર	શંકરાચાર્ય આદિનાં			સં.		
	પદ	ભીમ(૧૯-૨૦)આત્મારામ (સં. ૧૯–૬૬) અખો, રામ ભક્ત(રામપચીશી)			ગુ.		
	ગીતાના ખાસ શ્લોક				સં.		
૧૪૯	૧ માસ, તિથિ, પદો કક્કો, ગરબીઓ, ગુરૂગીતા વગેરે	કબીર પ્રાગદાસ નરસૈયો (પદ ૨૦) અખો, વગેરેનાં			ગુ.	 ૧૨૮	પ્રાગજીભાધના મહીના, પ્રાગજીભાધની તિથિઓ (ત્રણ પ્રકારની) પ્રીતમની તિથિઓ, પ્રાગજીનો કક્કો(બે જાત)

	૨ સુંદરદાસની ચેતામણી				હિ.	૫૧–૫૬	
૧૫૦	વિક્રમના છોકરાની વાર્તા	શામળભટ્ટ		સં. ૧૮૫૪	ગુ.	૧૧–૪૭	શરૂઆતનાં પાનાં નથી (સિંહાસન બત્રીશી)
૧૫૧	૧ નરકાસુરનું આખ્યાન કડવાં ૪૨	ભવાનીદાસ		સં. ૧૯૦૩	,,	૫૬	પૂરું
	૨ કૃષ્ણચરિત્ર	ગોપાળદાસ				૨૧	તૂટક, અપ્રસિદ્ધ પદ ૩૯ થી ૫૮
૧૫૨	વિક્રમ(સ્ત્રી)ચરિત્ર	શામળભટ્ટ			,,	૪૨	જૂની પ્રતિ છે
૧૫૩	૧ શ્રીજીની વાતો	રામભગત રણછોડ			,,		પ્રાચીન પદ્ય
	૨ કૃષ્ણનાં પદો	દયારામ, નરસૈંયો			,,		
૧૫૪	૧ પુરાણસંહિતાનો ગુજરાતી અર્થ			સં. ૧૮૨૧	,,	૧–૨૫	
	૨ શિવવિવાહની વાર્તા						
૧૫૫	પદસંગ્રહ	પુરુષોત્તમ, આત્મારામ, રામદાસ, મીરાં, નરસિંહ, રામકૃષ્ણ, રાજે આદિ	}		ગુ. હિ.		સંગ્રહ મોટો છે.

૧૫૬	૧ નળાખ્યાન	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૪૨	સં. ૧૮૬૭	ગુ.		૧–૭૮	પૂરૂં કડવાં ૬૫
	૨ અનાવલ પુરાણ	વલ્લભ	સં. ૧૭૪૬	સં. ૧૮૮૫	,,		૧–૧૩	પૂરૂં
	૩ સુદામાચરિત્ર	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૩૮		,,		૧–૧૧	તૂટક
	૪ અર્જુનગીતા	ધનદાસ			,,		૧–૪	
૧૫૭	૧ જ્યોતિષને લગતી બાબતો				,,			
	૨ ભડળીવાક્ય				,,			
	૩ પારણું				,,			
	૪ સામગ્રી કરવાની વિધિ				હિં.			
	૫ પદો				ગુ.			
૧૫૮	૧ જ્ઞાનબોધ	સદ્‌ગુરૂ રાજે			,,			તૂટક
	૨ ઓધવ–માધવ–સંવાદ	ગંગ	સં. ૧૭૭૮	સં. ૧૮૦૨	,,			
	૩ એકાદશી માહાત્મ્ય				,,			એકંદર પાન ૭૯ છે.
	૪ ભોજનવર્ણન (થાળ)	ગોવિંદદાસ			,,			
	૫ શિવભીલડીસંવાદ	ભાલણ		સં. ૧૮૧૩	,,			
	૬ સુદામાચરિત્ર	પ્રેમાનંદ			,,			
૧૫૯	૧ ખીમરા વગેરેના દુહા	ખીમરા			,,			
	૨ શ્રીમુખની વાતો				,,			
૧૬૦	૧ ઐતિહાસિક કાવ્ય				ચારણી			
૧૬૧	૧ સુરત જીલ્લાની ઉપજના સરકારી સત્તાવાર આંકડા સને ૧૮૨૦–૨૧ ઇ. સ.				ગુ. અંગ્રેજી			

૧૬૨	૧ રૂસ્તમખાંનો પવાડો (શ્લોકો)		સં. ૧૭૮૧	સ. ૧૮૬૪	ગુ.			
	૨ સુરતનો શ્લોકો			,,	,,			
	૩ વણઝારો	પ્રેમાનંદ		,,	,,			
	૪ મસ્તકપૂજા	નાના વહોરા		,,	,,			
	૫ એકાંતરીયા તાવની વાર્તા				,,			
	૬ પરચુરણ કવિત્ત				,,			
	૭ પદ્માવતીની વાર્તા	શામળ	સં. ૧૭૭૪		,,			
	૮ ઘરડા વરનો ગરબો વગેરે				,,			
૧૬૩	સુદામાખ્યાન	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૩૮	સં. ૧૭૫૫	ગુ.			પ્રાચીન પ્રતિ, અપૂર્ણ.
૧૬૪	હારમાળાનાં પદ	નરસૈયો			,,			અધુરી અને ફાટેલી પ્રત
૧૬૫	૧ રસાલય	માહવદાસ			,,			અપૂર્ણ
	૨ રસસિંધુ	,,			,,			અપૂર્ણ
	૩ જ્યોતિષ, પદો, માસ	દયારામ વગેરે			,,			
૧૬૬	વિષ્ણુસહસ્ર નામ પદ્યમાં	ઉદ્ધવદાસ	સં. ૧૬૪૮		ગુ.	૨૬-૧૮૬		શરૂઆતની ૨૩૩ કુંક તૂટક છે. પ્રતિ પ્રાચીન છે, તેમ ભાષા પણ જૂની છે. કાવ્ય ઉંચા બરનું છે.
૧૬૭	સાહિત્યસંગ્રહ-કથાવાર્તા	માણિક્યસૂર	સં. ૧૫૦૦		,,	૧-૧૭		
૧૬૮	અપૂર્વ પદ્ય સાહિત્ય				,,	૪		

૧૬૯	૧ ભાગવત દશમ સ્કંધ	સુંદરસુત			ગુ.		પહેલાં ૨૫ પાન તૂટક છેલ્લેથી પણ અધુરૂં અપ્રકટ
	૨ યંત્રો				,,		
૧૭૦	૧ નળાખ્યાન	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૪૨	સં. ૧૭૬૮	ગુ.		આ આખ્યાનની અત્યારસુધીમાં જણવામાં આવેલી પ્રતિઓમાં સૌથી જૂની પ્રતિ છે.
	૨ રામસાર	કબીર		સં. ૧૭૮૫	ગુ. હિં.		
	૩ પદો	કબીર, ગોપાળ, (જન) કૃષ્ણ–			ગુ.		
૧૭૧	૧ નળાખ્યાન	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૪૨		ગુ.		પહેલાં ૯ કડવાં તૂટક
	૨ કોકદેવ પ્રધાનની વાત				,,	૧૧૮–૧૨૭	તૂટક
	૩ કવિત્ત ભાગવત	શ્રીધર			,,	૧૧૬–૧૮	તૂટક
	૪ ઓખાહરણ કડવાં ૨૦	પ્રેમાનંદ			,,	૧૨૭–૫૦	
	૫ ઔષધ				,,	૧૮	તૂટક
						૨ છેલ્લાં	
૧૭૨	ભક્તિમંજરી	નારાયણ			,,		છેલ્લે અપૂર્ણ, અપ્રસિદ્ધ
૧૭૩	ઓખાહરણ	કાહ્ન હીરાનંદ		સં. ૧૮૩૯	ગુ.	૮૧	
૧૭૪	અખાની વાણી	અખો			,,		

૧૭૫	૧ સંતનાં લક્ષણ	નરહરિ			,,		
	૨ રામ રમેણી	કબીર			હિંદી		
	૩ કબીરરહીદાસસંવાદ						
	૪ વિનતિ				ગુ.		
	૫ ગોપીસંવાદ (વેદાન્ત)	નરહરિ			,,		
	૬ ભક્તમહિમા	હરિદાસ			,,		કડવાં ૭
	૭ આનંદ રાસ	નરહરિ			,,		
	૮ પીપાજીની ચિંતામણિ	પીપો			,,		
	૯ કુબાજીની ચિંતામણિ	કુબો			હિંદી		હિંદી જેવું.
	૧૦ મોહનદાસજીકી લીલા				,,		
	૧૧ રામગુણાનુવાદ	તુલસીદાસ			,,		
	૧૨ પદો	મીરાં, નરસિંહ આદિ			ગુ. હિંદી		
૧૭૬	૧ ગુરુશિષ્યસંવાદ			સં. ૧૮૪૨	ગુ.	૮૮	
	૨ ભગવદ્ગીતા				હિંદી જેવી	૯૦–૧૩૯	પાછલાં પાનાં અધૂરાં છે.
૧૭૭	૧ મુસલમાની (બોજા) ધાર્મિક સાહિત્ય	સતગોર			ગુ.		(સતપંથનું સાહિત્ય)
૧૭૮	૧ રુક્મિણિવિવાહ				,,		તૂટક
	૨ વિરાટ પર્વ	કાશીસુત			,,		
૧૭૯	વિરાટ પર્વ	કાશીસુત	સં. ૧૬૪૮	સં. ૧૭૬૧	,,	૧૬–૫૮	શરૂઆતનાં ૧૫ પાનાં નથી.

૧૮૦	છૂટક પદોનો સંગ્રહ	પ્રીતમ, નરસિંહ, જીવણ, તુલસી, રાજે, માનબાઇ, દયારામ આદિ			ગુ.			
૧૮૧	૧ ઓખાહરણ	પ્રેમાનંદ			ગુ.			ઘણું તૂટક છે.
	૨ દશમલીલા	,,			,,			અપૂર્ણ
૧૮૨	૧ બારમાસ	બ્રહ્માનંદ		સં. ૧૭૭૬	,,			
	૨ દ્વાદશ સ્કંધની કથા				,,			પાછલાં પાનાં નથી. અપૂર્ણ
૧૮૩	કુમારપાળ રાસ	જિનહર્ષ	સં. ૧૭૪૨	સં. ૧૮૧૪	,,		૧૨૬	સંપૂર્ણ
૧૮૪	૧ સામુદ્રિક શાસ્ત્ર				સં.			ગુજરાતી ટીકા સાથે
	૨ સોરઠની વાત				ગુ.			
	૩ કોકસાર			સં. ૧૭૬૪	હિંદી			
	૪ દૂહા, શિક્ષાવચન વગેરે							
૧૮૫	ગોરાબાદલની ચોપાઈ	હેમરતન મૂનિ	સં. ૧૬૫૭					તૂટક છે.
૧૮૬	ગોરાબાદલની ચઉપાઇ	,,		સં. ૧૭૬૭	બારોટ શાહી		૬૭	સંપૂર્ણ

૧૮૭	૧ પંચોપાખ્યાન (મિત્રપ્રતિ)	ગુણમેરૂ સૂરિ-શિષ્ય			ગુ.		
	૨ રુક્મિણિહરણ	કવિરાજે			,,		અધુરૂં
	૩ સજ્જાય દુહા				,,		
	૪ જમગીતા	શંકર	સં. ૧૬૦૯		,,		પાનાં આડાં અવળાં
	૫ અર્જુનગીતા	ધનદાસ			,,		બંધાયાં છે.
	૬ બારમાસી	ઇંદ્ર			હિં.		
	૭ બારમાસી	મોરલીધર			ગુ.		
	૮ સુદામાચરિત્ર	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૩૮	સં. ૧૭૯૨	,,		
	૯ મધુકરના મહીના	રામદાસ			,,		
	૧૦ વિવેકવણઝારો				,,		
૧૮૮	૧ પંચતંત્ર–પંચોપાખ્યાન (ગુજરાતી પદ્ય)	રત્નસુંદર (ગુણમેરૂસૂરિશિષ્ય)	સં. ૧૬૨૨	સં. ૧૮૩૭	,,	૧૦૭	સંપૂર્ણ
૧૮૯	જંબુસ્વામી ચઉપાઇ	દેપાલ	સં ૧૫૨૨			૨–૧૦	જૂની પ્રતિ
૧૯૦	વિક્રમચરિત્ર (પંચદંડ)	નરપતિ	સં.૧૫૪૪	સં. ૧૭૫૭	ગુ.	૧–૨૯	પાછળનાં પાનાં નથી.
૧૯૧	૧ સારસ્વત વ્યાકરણનું પંચસંધિપ્રકરણ				સં. ગુ.		જૂની ગુજરાતી ટીકા સાથે.
૧૯૨	૧ ઐતિહાસિક પુરૂષોનાં કવિત્ત વગેરે						
	૨ મંત્રાવલિ						

૧૯૩	૧ સંક્ષિપ્ત ભારત (પદ્ય)	ભૂપત			ગુ.			સભાપર્વ ૧ પાન, આર્ણિકપર્વ પૂરું, વૈરાટપર્વ કડવાં ૪૮
૧૯૪	૧ સંવત્સર ફલાફલ	દુર્ગદેવ		સં. ૧૭૭૩	સં.	૫૦		ગુજરાતી ટીકા સાથે
	૨ અષ્ટગીતા			સં. ૧૭૭૩	ગુ.	૫૧–૯૨		સંપૂર્ણ.
	૩ સારસંગ્રહ				સં.	૯૩–૧૧૬		
	૪ અશ્વમેધ				,,	૧૧૮		
	૫ એકાદશી–ઉત્પત્તિમાહાત્મ્ય				,,			
	૬ શ્રી વૈષ્ણવગીતા				,,			
	૭ રામસ્તવરાજ				,,			
	૮ રામગીતા				,,			
	૯ ભ્રમરગીતા	બ્રહ્મદેવ	સં. ૧૬૦૯	સં. ૧૭૭૮	ગુ.			
	૧૦ મામેરું	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૩૨	સં. ૧૭૭૮	,,			
	૧૧ શામળશાનો વિવાહ	આધારભટ્ટ	સં. ૧૭૨૬	સં. ૧૭૯૭	,,			
૧૯૫	૧ નળાખ્યાન	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૪૨	સં. ૧૭૭૯	ગુ.			પ્રાચીન પ્રતિ,
	૨ શરણુલીલા				,,			પાછલો ભાગ તૂટક
૧૯૬	૧ વામન–બલિરાજાનું આખ્યાન	પ્રેમાનંદ		સં. ૧૮૩૯	,,			પહેલાં ૬ કડવાં નથી.
	૨ જલંધર–નરકાસુરનું આખ્યાન	શિવદાસ			,,			પાછળનું થોડું અધુરું.
	૩ કુંવરબાઈનું મોસાળું	પ્રેમાનંદ			,,			પૂરું.
	૪ અભિમન્યુ આખ્યાન	,,		સં. ૧૮૪૨	,,			પૂરું.

	૫ દશમલીલા	પ્રેમાનંદ			ગુ.			પાછળનો ભાગ તૂટક.
૧૯૭	૧ અભિમન્યુ આખ્યાન	,,	સં. ૧૭૨૭	સં. ૧૭૯૭	,,		૩૪–૭૩	શરૂઆતનાં પાનાં નથી.
	૨ યુદ્ધકાંડ	વિષ્ણુદાસ			ગુ.		૧–૮૬	પાછળનો ભાગ તૂટક.
૧૯૮	૧ અધ્યાત્મહીંડોળો પદ ૨				ગુ.			
	૨ પસાઉલો	વૈષ્ણવ હરજી			ગુ.			
	૩ ખાંડણાં પદ ૪				,,			
	૪ લઘુરાસ				,,			
	૫ પદો	કબીર, રામદેવ નામદેવ			,,			
૧૯૯	૧ ભ્રમરગીતા	પ્રેમાનંદ			,,			પૂરી
	૨ રાધાજીનું રુસણું	રઘુનાથ			,,			
	૩ પદસંગ્રહ	મીરાં, જીવણ, વિષ્ણુદાસ, મીઠો, ગોપાળ, નરસિંહ મહેતો, અખો, રણછોડ આદિ			ગુ.			ઘણાં પદો અપ્રસિદ્ધ છે.
૨૦૦	૧ વનજાત્રા	બલદાસ			ગુ.			પહેલી ૧૧ કડી, તૂટક.
	૨ પ્રકમા				,,			ગુજરાતી ગદ્ય
	૩ શ્રીમુખનાં વચન				,,			

	૪ પદો	ગોવિંદ, નદ્દદાસ, પરમાનંદ, સૂરદાસ, જનદાસ આદિ		ગુ. હિંદી			
૨૦૧	શનિશ્ચરની કથા	તાત્યાજી મહીપતિ		મરાઠી		૧–૭૧	ગુજરાતી ઉપરથી લખાયાનું અનુમાન.
૨૦૨	૧ તેર મહીના સુરતી	પ્રેમાનંદ		ગુ.			શરૂઆતના ૭ માસ નથી.
	૨ કામાવતીની કથા	કેશવદાસ	સં. ૧૮૯૯	,,			
૨૦૩	હંસતાલવ	કુબેરદાસ	સં. ૧૮૯૧	હિંદી		૫૦–૧૦૯	અપૂર્ણ (શરૂઆતમાં)
૨૦૪	હરીયાલી	(જૈનકવિ) દેપાળ		,,		૧	
૨૦૫	કુબેરદાસની વાણી	કુબેરદાસ		હિંદી		૩–૪૪	
૨૦૬	૧ કુબેરદાસની વાણી	કુબેરદાસ	સં. ૧૯૦૪	,,			
	૨ અગાધબોધ દીપસમુદ્ર		,,				
	૩ ચિત્તવિચાર	અખો	,,	ગુ.			
	૪ અખેગીતા	,,	,,	,,			
	૫ ભવતારણ	કબીર	,,	,,			
	૬ જ્ઞાનગીતા	પ્રીતમ	,,	,,			
	૭ હંસતાલવ્ય	કુબેર સ્વામી	,,	હિંદી			

૨૦૭	પદસંગ્રહ	દેમલ, ગોદડ, પ્રીતમ, કુબેર, ખોડો, વગેરે જીવણ, રણછોડ, રવિદાસ, નરભેરામ		સં. ૧૯૦૬	ગુ.		
૨૦૮	૧ ચંદ્રહાસનું આખ્યાન	વિષ્ણુદાસ	સં. ૧૬૩૪	સં. ૧૭૪૧	ગુ.	૪૪–૫૯	અપૂર્ણ.
	૨ રુક્મણીહરણ	દેવીદાસ	સં. ૧૬૬૯	,,	,,	૬૦–૯૧	કડવાં ૧૯–૩૨.
	૩ ભગવદ્ગીતા	રામભક્ત	સં. ૧૬૬૦	,,	,,	૯૨–૧૧૯	કડવાં ૧–૩૦.
	૪ પાંડવવિષ્ટિ	કૃષ્ણ	સં. ૧૬૭૭	,,	,,	૧૨૦–૧૪૬	
	૫ મોસાળું	પ્રેમાનંદ		,,	,,	૧૪૭–૧૪૯	અપૂર્ણ
૨૦૯	૧ રાસ	રામભક્ત		સં. ૧૭૯૪	,,		
	૨ વિક્રમના છોકરાની (સત્યવાદીની) વાર્તા	શામળ		સં. ૧૭૯૪	,,		
	૩ શુકદેવ આખ્યાન	ગંગ	સં. ૧૬૯૭	સં. ૧૭૨૮	,,		સંપૂર્ણ
	૪ પદસંગ્રહ–કવિત્ત	મીરાંબાઈ, રણછોડ, નરસિંહ, રામકૃષ્ણ, આદિત્યરામ, માન-પુરી, હરિદાસ આદિ			ગુ. હિ.		
૨૧૦	પદસંગ્રહ	નરસિંહ, હરિદાસ, ભગવાનદાસ, રામકૃષ્ણ			ગુ. હિ.		

૨૧૧	૧ પ્રાસ્તાવિક શ્લોક મુસળી કલ્પ				ગુ.		
	૨ પ્રાચીન પદ	નરસિંહ મહેતા			,,		
૨૧૨	ઐતિહાસિક કવિત્ત						
૨૧૩	૧ ઓખાહરણ	નાકર		સં. ૧૭૩૫	,,		તૂટક
	૨ નરકાસુર આખ્યાન	શિવદાસ		,,	,,		તૂટક
	૩ અભિમન્યુ આખ્યાન	તાપી		,,	,,		તૂટક
૨૧૪	૧ વિવેકવણઝારો	પ્રેમાનંદ			,,		
	૨ વૈદ્યક						
	૩ હુંડી	પ્રેમાનંદ		સં. ૧૮૩૧	,,		
	૪ હારમાળાનાં પદ	નરસિંહ			,,	૧–૫૩	
	૫ નરસિંહ મહેતાનું મામેરું	પ્રેમાનંદ		સં. ૧૮૨૫	ગુ.	૫૪–૭૯	
	૬ ચાતુરી	જીવનદાસ			,,		
	૭ કર્મવિપાક	રણછોડ		સં. ૧૮૨૮	,,		પૂરું. કડવાં ૩૨
	૮ કક્કો	રણછોડ		સં. ૧૮૨૮	,,		
	૯ સુદામાચરિત્ર	પ્રેમાનંદ			,,		
૨૧૫	૧ હરિલીલાષોડશ કલા	ભીમ			,,		આગલાં તથા
	૨ કૃષ્ણચરિત્ર	કીકો			,,	૬૪–૧૭૮	પાછલાં પાનાં
	૩ શિવરાત્રિમાહાત્મ્ય						ફાટેલાં છે.
૨૧૬	શ્રી હરિલીલાષોડશ કલા	ભીમ	સં. ૧૫૪૧	સં. ૧૬૮૯	,,	૪૯–૧૧૩	પ્રથમનાં ૪૩ પાનાં નથી.

૨૧૭	૧ શુકસંવાદ (શુકદેવ આખ્યાન)	ગંગ	સ. ૧૬૪૭	સ. ૧૭૨૮	ગુ.			
	૨ બિલ્હણ પંચાશિકા	જ્ઞાન		સં. ૧૭૨૯	,,			
	૩ સજ્જાય	માણેકલાલ, સમયસુંદર, નયસાગર વગેરે						
૨૧૮	૧ અભિમન્યુ આખ્યાન	તાપી ખંધારો	સં. ૧૭૭૮	સં. ૧૭૯૭	,,		૧૨-૪૮	શરૂઆતનાં ૧૧ પાન નથી.
	૨ સુદામા આખ્યાન	પ્રેમાનંદ			,,		૧-૨૧	અપૂર્ણ કડવાં ૧-૧૦
૨૧૯	૧ પંચીકરણ	મનોહરદાસ, નિરંજન,			હિંદી			
	૨ પદો	આદિત્યરામ, રવિદાસ, વસ્તો, મૂળદાસ.			ગુ.		૧-૧૧	
	૩ પંચીકરણ	અખો			ગુ.			
	૪ શુકદેવનો સરોદો	ચરણદાસ			હિંદી			
	૫ કબીરનાં પદ	કબીર			,,			
	૬ ભાવિ શુભાશુભ	ચરણદાસ			,,			
	૭ પદ	નિરાંત			ગુ.			
૨૨૦	૧ નંદબત્રીસી	શામળ			,,			શરૂઆતનાં ૭ પાન નથી.

	૨ સપ્તશતિ આખ્યાન	શિવદાસ	સં. ૧૮૮૬	ગુ.		માતાનાં ૧૯ કવચની કથા
૨૨૧	૧ બાર મહિના	પ્રાગદાસ				
	૨ પંદર તિથિઓ	પ્રીતમ		,,		
	૩ ,,	પ્રાગદાસ		,,		
	૪ જ્ઞાન અષ્ટક	સુંદરદાસ		,,		
	૫ રામજી અષ્ટક	,,		હિંદી		
	૬ આત્મા અચલ અષ્ટક	,,		,,		
	૭ પદ, હોરી વગેરે	કબીર, અખો, સોમ, હરિસિંહ		,,	ગુ. હિ.	અખાનાં પદ પણું સારાં છે.
૨૨૨	૧ તુલસીમાહાત્મ્ય	હરિદાસ		ગુ.		
	૨ રામરક્ષા			ગુ.		
				લીપી		
	૩ પદો	રામદાસ, લઘનદાસ, કૃષ્ણદાસ, સૂરદાસ			હિ. ગુ.	
૨૨૩	૧ ઐતિહાસિક કવિત્ત, તાજખાન, શિવાજી વગેરેનાં	કવિ ગદ, ભૂષણ વગેરે		હિંદી		
	૨ બારમાસી	કેશવદાસ		ગુ.		અપૂર્ણ
	૩ પદો	સૂરદાસ, પરમાનંદ, ઈત્યાદિ		હિંદી		

૨૨૪	૧ ભક્તબિરદાવલી	મલૂકદાસ		હિં.			
	૨ ખૂટીઆનાં પદ	ખૂટીયો		ગુ.			
૨૨૫	૧ કવિતા	કવિ મંગળ વગેરે		હિં.			ભવાઇસંગ્રહનો ભાગ
	૨ રામદેવના વેશની કથા						
	૩ પદો	ગિરધર, સુંદર, દીન દરવેશ, ગંગ, આદિ		હિ. ગુ.		૧–૧૫	
૨૨૬	૧ ભાગવતસાર (ગદ્ય)		સં. ૧૯૩૨	ગુ.		૧–૬	
	૨ મહિના	પ્રાગદાસ,				૧–૧૮	
	૩ પદ	પ્રીતમ, કબીર		હિં. ગુ.			
૨૨૭	૧ પદો	શિવાનંદ		ગુ.			
	૨ અર્જુનગીતા			,,			
	૩ શ્રદ્ધનું શ્રાદ્ધ			,,			
૨૨૮	૧ પુષ્પસેનની વાર્તા	શામળ		,,			
	૨ જ્ઞાનકક્કો	દ્વારકો	સં. ૧૮૦૯	,,			
	૩ પદ (૧)	કબીર		હિંદી			
	૪ કવિત્ત, દોહા	સુંદર, વૈતાલ આદિ		ગુ. હિં.			
	૫ નરસિંહ મહેતાની હુંડી			ગુ.			અપૂર્ણ.
૨૨૯	૧ શુકદેવ આખ્યાન	વરતો	સં. ૧૭૬૩	ગુ.		૧૭–૪૦	કડવાં ૨૩–૪૫. અપૂર્ણ

	૨ ચંદ્રહાસ આખ્યાન	ભોજ		સં. ૧૭૬૩	ગુ.		૪૧–૬૩	
	૩ નરસિંહ મહેતાની હુંડી	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૩૩	,,	,,		૬૩–૭૮	
	૪ રુકિમણીહરણ				,,		૭૮–૯૭	
	૫ પ્રભુવાહન આખ્યાન (ક. ૨૩)	હરિરામ		,,	,,		૯૮–૧૩૩	કડવાં ૨૨.
	૬ પદો	નરસિંહ મહેતો, જગજીવન, માધવદાસ, જીવણદાસ			,,			
	૭ એકાદશીમાહાત્મ્ય	શિવદાસ		સં. ૧૭૬૩	ગુ.		૧૪૫–૧૫૬	
	૮ રામસ્તુતિ	લખમીદાસ		,,	,,		૧૫૭–૧૫૮	
	૯ સુદામાચરિત્ર	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૩૮	,,	,,		૧૫૯–૧૭૫	
	૧૦ ઓખાહરણ	નાકર, ગદાધર		,,	,,		૧૭૭–૨૦૯	
	૧૧ રુકિમણીહરણ	દેવીદાસ	સં. ૧૬૬૦	,,	,,		૨૧૦–૨૪૧	
	૧૨ વિરાટ પર્વ	કાશીસુત			,,		૨૪૨–૨૪૪	૩ પાનાં ફક્ત
૨૩૦	૧ પદો, થાળ, ઘોળ વગેરે	રઘનાથ, જીવણ, પુરુષોત્તમ, કૃષ્ણદાસ, નરસિંહ મહેતો, પ્રીતમ, વસ્તો			ગુ.			સંગ્રહ કરવા યોગ્ય
૨૩૧	વચનામૃતો	શ્રીમદ્ વલ્લભાચાર્યજી			ગુ.		૪–૪૨	શરૂઆતનાં પાનાં ફાટેલાં છે.
૨૩૨	માધવાનળની ચોપાઈ	કુશળલાભ	સં. ૧૬૧૬		,,		૧–૧૫	પહેલાં ત્રણ પાન તૂટક

૨૩૩	૧ શ્રી વલ્લભાખ્યાન	ગોપાળદાસ		સં. ૧૯૧૫	ગુ.			
	૨ શ્રી વલ્લભવંશાવલિ	દ્વારકેશ		,,	,,			
	૩ ભાગવતનાં ધોળ	શોભાવહુજીકૃત			,,			
	૪ પ્રેમ સંબંધી દુહા	હરિદાસ			,,			
	૫ પદ (સેવાનાં)	સુરદાસ			હિંદી			
	૬ આચાર્યજી મહાપ્રભુજીના સેવક સુખાની વાત				,,			
૨૩૪	૧ શ્રી વલ્લભાખ્યાન	ગોપાલદાસ			ગુ.		૧–૧૫	(નવ મીઠાં)
	૨ શ્રી વિઠ્ઠલનાથજીના ઘરનો ઉત્સવવિધિ				હિંદી			
	૩ વૈષ્ણવનો નિત્યસેવાવિધિ				,,			
	૪ ગ્રહણવિધિ				,,		૧૬–૫૮	
	૫ અંતઃકરણપ્રબોધની ટીકા				,,			
	૬ વિવાહખેલ	નારાયણ			,,			
	૭ સુરતના વૈષ્ણવ મંદિરમાં ગ્રહણ વગેરેનો વિધિનિષેધ				,,			
૨૩૫	૧ નરસિંહ મહેતાની હુંડી	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૨૭		ગુ.		૪–૧૧	પહેલાં ૩ પાન નથી.
	૨ કક્કો (રામકથાનો)	વિષ્ણુજી		સં. ૧૮૨૦	,,		૧–૪	
	૩ મુનાગરો				,,		૧–૨	તૂટક
૨૩૬	૧ સપ્તશતીની કથા	શિવદાસ	સં. ૧૬૭૭	સં. ૧૮૬૩	,,			અપૂર્ણ; માત્ર પહેલું પાન નથી
	૨ છપ્પા–કવિત્ત	ગિરધર, ગંગ			હિંદી			

૨૩૭	સુરેખાહરણ	વીરજી (લખ્યું નથી)			ગુ.		તૂટક પ્રાચીન પ્રતિ
૨૩૮	લક્ષ્મીગૌરી સંવાદ	પરવતસુત	સં. ૧૫૯૯		,,		તુક ૫૩ થી છે.
૨૩૯	શિવમહાપુરાણ	ધનેશ્વર			,,		૩૭ અધ્યાય (અપૂર્ણ)
૨૪૦	ડેક્કન કૉલેજ પૂનામાંના કેટલાક હસ્તલિખિત ગ્રંથોની સવિસ્તર યાદી			સં. ૧૮૬૯–૭૦માં તૈયાર થયલી	ગુ.		
૨૪૧	સંક્ષિપ્ત રામાયણ ઉત્તરકાંડ				ગુ.		(ગદ્ય) તૂટક
૨૪૨	૧ હરિરસ ૨ કવિત	પિંગલ		સં. ૧૭૯૧	,, હિંદી		તૂટક
૨૪૩	વ્રજવિલાસામૃત ગ્રંથ	દયારામ		સં. ૧૯૬૩	,,	૧–૨૭	
૨૪૪	વનેચટની વાર્તા				ગુ.	૫૦–૧૩૭	
૨૪૫	૧ શ્રી અખાની વાણી ૨ ભગવદ્‌ગીતા	અખો મહાત્મા મૂળદાસ			ગુ. ,,		અપ્રસિદ્ધ અને રક્ષણીય
	૩ પદો	રામદાસ, મૂળદાસ, દયારામ, અખો, પ્રીતમ, દેવો વગેરે			ગુ.		

૨૪૬	અખાના છપ્પા	અખો			ગુ.	૧–૬	
૨૪૭	શ્રીમદ્‌ભગવદ્‌ગીતા	કવિ નરહરિ	સં. ૧૬૧૭	સં. ૧૯૦૭	,,		શુદ્ધ ગુજરાતી પદ્ય બંધ અનુવાદ
	પદો	દલપત, દુર્લભ, મસ્તાન			ગુ. હિ.		
૨૪૮	કાઠિયાવાડી કંઠસ્થ સાહિત્ય (ચંદ્રાવળા ૧૦–૫૪)	વીરચંદ શિહોરનો કંસારો			ગુ.	૫–૧૮૨	(છાપેલું–અશુદ્ધ) શરૂઆતનાં પાંચ પાનાં નથી.
૨૪૯	૧ પદ, ખ્યાલ, દુહા, કવિત્ત, ધ્રુવવાળા ૨ અને જૂની કવિતાઓનો સંગ્રહ	વશરામ, ગોહિલ ગેમલજી, કબીર, નરસિંહ			હિ. ગુ.		
૨૫૦	સીતાસ્વયંવર	કાલિદાસ	સં. ૧૮૩૨	સં. ૧૯૦૦	ગુ.	૧–૪૬	સંપૂર્ણ. કડવાં ૨૪
૨૫૧	૧ શનિશ્ચરવિચાર			સં. ૧૮૫૦	,,	૬૦–૮૩	
	૨ સ્વરોદય			,,	હિંદી		છપાયું છે.
	૩ કબીરવાણી	કબીર		,,	,,	૧–૭૮	
	૪ વ્રજલીલાવર્ણન			,,	,,	૧–૨૫	ગદ્ય
	૫ કેટલાક છપ્પા વગેરે	ભગવાનદાસ, મૂલદાસ, રણછોડ, સુંદર		,,	,,		

૨૫૨	૧ પંચીકરણ	મનોહરદાસ નિરંજની		સં. ૧૯૧૮	હિંદી		અપૂર્ણ
	૨ તત્ત્વબોધ				સં.		છપાયો છે.
	૩ વજ્રશૂચિ ઉપનિષદ્				,,		છપાયું છે.
	૪ અજ્ઞાનબોધિની				,,	૧૯–૩૬	
	૫ અવધૂતગીતા				,,		છપાઇ છે.
	૬ ગુરૂગીતા				,,	૫૪	
	૭ કીર્તન				હિંદી		
	૮ નિરાલંબોપનિષદ્				સં.		
૨૫૩	બપ્પભટ્ટિસૂરિપ્રબંધ	સૂરિરાજ શેખર		સં. ૧૯૩૭	સં.	૧–૨૨	
૨૫૪	વૃદ્ધવંશવર્ણનમ્	કવિરાજ જગન્નાથ			,,		ઐતિહાસિક ગ્રંથ
૨૫૫	લાધાયનસૂત્ર (૧૦ પ્રપાઠક)	વાસુદેવસુત	સં. ૧૫૫૫		,,	૧૦૮	
૨૫૬	૧ વસિષ્ઠગીતાસાર	નરહરિ	સં. ૧૬૧૪	સં. ૧૯૦૭	ગુ.	૧–૫૭	પદ્યબંધ અનુવાદ
૨૫૭	૧ હંસ				ગુ. જૂ.	૧–૨૪	
૨૫૮					ગુ. જૂ.	૧–૨૩	બરોબર ઉકેલાય એવો પણ નથી.
૨૫૯	ભજનસંગ્રહ (કવિત્ત છપ્પો)				હિંદી	૧૧–૨૬૫	શરૂઆતનાં તેમજ છેવટનાં પાનાં નથી

૨૬૦		દ્વાદશમહાકાવ્ય	શ્રી શંકરાચાર્ય		સં. ૧૯૨૬	સં.	૧–૪૨	
૨૬૧		વિવેકચિંતામણિ	સુંદરદાસ		સં. ૧૯૩૨	હિંદી	૧–૬	
૨૬૨	૧	સુદામાચરિત્ર	પ્રેમાનંદ	સં. ૧૭૩૨	સં. ૧૮૪૦	ગુ.	૩૬–૪૪	તૂટક
	૨	શુકદેવ આખ્યાન (૬–૧૭)	વસ્તો		સં. ૧૮૪૦	ગુ.	૪૬–૫૫	અપૂર્ણ
૨૬૩	૧	પદો ૩	દયારામ			ગુ.	૧–૬	
	૨	રસિયાજીના મહીના (૧૩)	દયારામ			ગુ.	૭–૧૭	
	૩	પદ	,,			હિંદી	૧	
	૪	નરબદાનું ઘોળ	દયાશંકર			ગુ.	૧–૩	
	૫	પ્રહ્લાદાખ્યાન	ગિરધર	સં. ૧૭૮૬		ગુ.	૧–૧૧૩	અપૂર્ણ–ચાર પાંચેક તુક
૨૬૪	૧	બરાસકસ્તુરી	શામળ			ગુ.	૧–૯૧	અપૂર્ણ–અલ્પભાગ
૨૬૫	૧	શ્રીમદ્ભગવદ્ગીતા				સં. ગુ. ગદ્ય	૨–	ગદ્ય ભાષાંતર, ભાષા જૂની ગુજરાતી છે. પ્રતિ બહુ જૂની છે, છતાં લેખનશૈલી પણ જૂની છે. પ્રતિ ગદ્ય નમુના માટે જોવા યોગ્ય છે. અપૂર્ણ–માત્ર પહેલું પાનું નથી.
	૨	ગોવિંદાષ્ટક				સં. ગુ. ગદ્ય	૧–૩	ગદ્ય વ્યાખ્યાન છે ભજગોવિંદં અપૂર્ણ ૯ શ્લોક

LOWELL LECTURES (IN BOSTON)

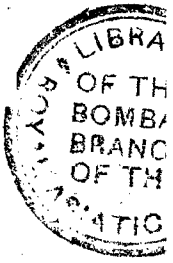
ON

HINDU RELIGION AND SOCIETY

AS WELL AS OTHER PUBLIC UTTERANCES IN AMERICA

BY

P. C. MOZOOMDAR.



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BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

RESPONSE TO THE WELCOME AT CHICAGO.*

LEADERS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS, MEN AND WOMEN OF AMERICA:—

The recognition, sympathy and welcome you have given to India to-day are gratifying to thousands of liberal Hindu religious thinkers, whose representatives I see around me, and, on behalf of my countrymen, I cordially thank you. You have to-day given effect to the teaching of our Shasters "that is the true religion which includes all religions," you have realised the ideal of Asoka, you have realised the dream of Akbar. But India claims her place in the brotherhood of mankind not only because of her great antiquity, but equally for what has taken place there in recent times. Modern India has sprung from ancient India by a law of evolution, a process of continuity which explains some of the most difficult problems of our national life. In prehistoric times our forefathers worshipped the great living spirit of God, and, after many strange vicissitudes, we Indian theists, led by the light of ages, worship to-day the same living spirit, God, and none other. [Applause.]

* Babu Protap Chunder Mozoomdar left Calcutta on the 17th July 1893 for the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, and arrived at the latter City on the 6th September. Stopping there for 21 days to take part in the proceedings of the Parliament, he left for other parts of the United States where he worked till the 8th December. He left America on the 9th December, made a short stay in England, and returned to Calcutta, on the 24th January 1894. His Lowell lectures were delivered in Boston on the 25th October, 28th October, 31st October, 1st November 3rd November, 4th November and 7th November.

Perhaps in other ancient lands this law of continuity has not been so well kept. Egypt aspired to build up the vast eternal in her elaborate symbolism and in her mighty architecture. Where is Egypt to-day? Passed away as a mystic dream or lingering as a memory in her pyramids, catacombs and sphynx of the desert.

Greece tried to embody her genius of wisdom and beauty in her wonderful creations of marble, in her all-embracing philosophy; but where is ancient Greece to day? She lies buried under her exquisite monuments and sleeps the sleep from which there is no waking.

The Roman cohorts under whose victorious tramp the earth shook to its centre, the Roman theatres, laws and institutions—where are they? Hidden behind the oblivious centuries or if they flit across the mind, only point a moral and adorn a tale. [Applause.]

The Hebrews, the chosen of Jehovah, with their long line of law and prophets, how are they? Wanderers on the face of the globe, driven by king and kaiser, the objects of persecution to the cruel, or objects of sympathy to the kind. Mount Moria is in the hands of the Mussalman, Zion is silent, and over the ruins of Solomon's Temple a few aged men beat their breasts, and wet their white beards with their tears.

Mother of Religions yet a Power.

But India, the ancient among ancients, the elder of the elders, lives to-day with her old civilisation, her old laws, and her profound religion. The old mother of the nations and religions is still a power in the world, she has often risen from apparent death, and in the future she will arise again.

[Applause.] When the Vedic faith declined the esoteric religion of the Upanishads arose; then the everlasting philosophy of the Darasanas. When these declined again the Light of Asia Sakyamuni arose and established a standard of moral perfection which will yet teach the world a long time. When Buddhism had its downfall the Saiva and Vaishnava revivals rose one after another, down to the invasion of the Mohammedans. The Greeks and Scythians, the Turks and Tartars, the Mogals and Pathans rolled over our country like torrents of destruction. Our independence, our greatness, our prestige —all had gone, but nothing could take away our religious vitality. [Applause.]

We are Hindus still, and shall always be. Now sits Christianity on the imperial throne of India, with the gospel of peace on one hand and the sceptre of civilisation on the other. Now it is not the time to despair and die. Behold the aspirations of modern India—intellectual, social, political—all awakened; behold our religious instincts stirred to the roots. If that had not been the case do you think Hindus, Jains, Buddhists and others would have traversed these 14,000 miles to pay the tribute of their sympathy before this august parliament of religions? [Cheers.]

But no individual, no denomination can more fully sympathize or more heartily join your conferences than we men of the New Dispensation in the Brahmo Somaj, whose denomination is the brotherhood of all denominations. [Cheers.]

Such then are our aspirations and sympathies, dear brethren, accept them. Let me thank you again for this welcome in the name of my countrymen, and wish every prosperity and success to your labors, You have glorified God.

You have magnified humanity. And may the blessings of both abide with you. [Great Applause.]

THE BRAHMO-SOMAJ.

DELIVERED AT THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS ON THE 13TH. SEPTEMBER, 1893.

Mr. President, Representatives of Nations and Religions,—I told you the other day that India is the mother of Religions—the land of evolution. I am going this morning to give you an example, and demonstrate the truth of what I said. The Brahmo Somaj of India, which I have the honor to represent, is that example. Our society is a new society; our religion is a new religion, but it comes from far, far antiquity, from the very roots of our national life, thousands of centuries ago.

Sixty-three years ago the whole land of India—the whole country of Bengal—was full of a mighty clamor. The great jarring noise of a heterogeneous polytheism rent the stillness of the sky. The cry of widows; nay, far more lamentable, the cry of those miserable women, who had to be burned on the funeral pyre of their dead husbands, desecrated the holiness of God's earth.

We had the popular goddess of the country, Durga the mother of the people, ten handed, holding in each hand weapons for the defense of her children. We had the white goddess of learning Saraswati playing on her Vena, a stringed instrument of music and of wisdom, because, my friends, all wisdom is musical; there is discord only when there is no deep wisdom. [Applause.] The goddess of good fortune Lakshmi held in her hand, not the horn, but the basket of plenty, blessing the

nations of India, and the god of good omens Ganesa, with the head of an elephant, and the foppish war-god Kartikeya who rides on a peacock—martial men are always fashionable—and the 33,000,000 of gods and goddesses besides. I have my theory about the mythology of Hindusim, but this is not the time to discuss it.

Amid the din and clash of this polytheism and strange worship, amid all the darkness of the times, there arose a man, a Brahman, pure bred and pure born, whose name was Raja Ram Mohan Roy. In his boyhood he had studied the Arabic and Presian ; he had studied Sanskrit, but his own mother-tongue was Bengalee. Before he was out of his teens he made a journey to Thibet and learned the wisdom of the Lamas.

Before he became a man he wrote a book proving the falsehood of all polytheism, and the truth of the existence of the one living God. This brought upon his head persecution, nay, even such serious displeasure of his own parents that he had to leave his home for a while and live the life of a wanderer. In 1830 this man founded a society known as the Brahma Somaj ; Brahma, as you know, means God. Brahma means the worshipper of God, and Somaj means society; therefore the Brahmo Somaj means the society of the worshippers of the one living God. While, on the one hand he established the Brahmo Somaj, on the other hand he cooperated with the British Government to abolish the barbarous custom of Sati or the burning of widows with their dead husbands. In 1832 he travelled to England, the very first Hindu who ever went to Europe, and in 1833 he died, and his sacred bones are interred in Bristol, the place where every Hindu

pilgrim goes to pay his tribute of honor and reverence.

This monothesim, the one true living God—this society in the name of this great God—what were the underlying principles upon which it was established? The principles were those of the old Hindu scriptures. The Brahmo Somaj founded this monotheism upon the inspiration of the Vedas and the Upanishads. When Raja Ram Mohan Roy died his followers for awhile found it nearly impossible to maintain the infant association. But the Spirit of God was there. The movement sprang up in the fulness of time. The seed of eternal truth was sown in it; how could it die? Hence in the course of time other men sprang up to preserve it and contribute towards its growth. Did I say the Spirit of God was there? Did I say the seed of eternal truth was there? There? where?

All societies, all churches, all religious movements have their foundation not without, but within the depths of the human soul. When the basis of a church is outside, the floods shall rise, the rain shall beat, and the storm shall blow, and like a heap of sand it will melt into the sea. Where the basis in within the heart, within the soul, the storm shall rise, and the rain shall beat, and the flood shall come, but like a rock it neither wavers nor falls. So that movement of the Brahmo Somaj shall never fall. Think for yourselves my brothers and sisters, upon what foundation your own house is laid.

In the course of time as the movement grew, the members began to doubt whether the Hindu scriptures were really infallible. In their souls, in the depth of their intelligence, they thought they heard a voice which here and there, at first

in feeble accents, contradicted the deliverances of the Vedas and the Upanishads. What shall be our theological principles? Upon what principles shall our religion stand? The small accents in which the question first was asked became louder and louder, and were more and more echoed in the rising religious society until it became the most practical of all problems—upon what book shall true religion stand.

Briefly, they found that it was impossible that the Hindu scriptures should be the only records of true religion. They found that the Spirit of God was the great source of confirmation, the voice of God was great judge, the soul of the Indweller was the revealing fountain of truth, and, although there were truths in the Hindu scriptures, they could not recognize them as the only infallible standard of spiritual reality. So twenty-one years after the foundation of the Brahmo Somaj the doctrine of the infallibility of the Hindu scriptures was given up.

Then a further question came. The Hindu scriptures are not the only scriptures! Are there not other scriptures also? Did I not tell you the other day that on the imperial throne of India Christianity now sat with the Gospel of Peace in one hand and the sceptre of civilization in the other? The Bible had penetrated into India; its pages were unfolded, its truths were read and taught. The Bible is the book which mankind shall not ignore. Recognizing, therefore, on the one hand the great inspiration of the Hindu scriptures, we could not but on the other hand recognize the inspiration and the authority of the Bible. And in 1867 we published a book in which extracts from all scriptures were given as the book which was to be read in the course of our devotions.

Our monotheism, therefore, stands upon all Scriptures. That is our theological principle, and that principle did not emanate from the depths of our own consciousness; it came out as the natural result of the indwelling of God's Spirit within our fellow believers. No, it was not the Christian missionary that drew our attention to the Bible; it was not the Mohammedan priests who showed us the excellent passages in the Koran; it was no Zoroastrian who preached to us the greatness of his Zend-Avesta; but there was in our hearts the God of infinite reality, the source of inspiration of all the books, of the Bible, of the Koran, of the Zend-Avesta, who drew our attention to his excellences as revealed in the record of holy experience every where. By his leading and by his light it was that we recognized these facts, and upon the rock of everlasting and eternal reality our theological basis was laid.

What is theology without morality? What is the inspiration of this book or the authority of that prophet without personal holiness—the cleanliness of this God-made temple and the cleanliness of the more glorious temple within. Soon after we had got through our theology the question stared us in the face that we were not good men, pure-minded, holy men, and that there were innumerable evils around us, in our houses, in our national usages, in the organization of our society. The Brahmo-Somaj, therefore, next laid its hand upon the reformation of society. In 1861 the first intermarriage was celebrated. Intermarriage in India means the marriage of persons belonging to different castes. Caste is a sort of Chinese wall that surrounds every household and every little community, and beyond the limts of which no audacious man or woman shall stray. In the Brahmo Samaj we asked,

" Shall this Chinese wall disgrace the freedom of God's children forever?" Break it down ; down with it, and away !

Next, my honored leader and friend, Keshub Chander Sen, so arranged that marriage between different castes should take place. The Brahmans were offended. Wiseacres shook their heads; even leaders of the Brahmo-Somaj shrugged up their shoulders and put their hands into their pockets. "These young firebrands," they said, "are going to set fire to the whole of society." But intermarriage took place, and widow marriage took place.

Do you know what the widows of India are? A little girl of 10 or 12 years happens to lose her husband before she knows his features very well, and from that tender age to her dying day she shall go through penances and austerities and miseries and loneliness and disgrace which you tremble to hear of. I do not approve of or understand the conduct of a woman who marries a first time and then a second time and then a third time and a fourth time—who marries as many times as there are seasons in the year. I do not understand the conduct of such men and women. But I do think that when a little child of 11 loses what men call her husband, and who has never been a wife for a single day of her life, to put her to the wretchedness of a life-long widowhood, and inflict upon her miseries which would disgrace a criminal, is a piece of inhumanity which cannot too soon be done away with. Hence intermarriages and widow marriages. Our hands were thus laid upon the problem of social and domestic improvement, and the result of that was that very soon a rapture took place in the Brahmo-Somaj. We young men had to go—we, with all our

social reform—and shift for ourselves as we best might. When these social reforms were partially completed there came another question.

We had married the widow; we had prevented the burning of widows; what about her personal purity, the sanctification of our own consciences, the regeneration of our own souls? What about our acceptance before the awful tribunal of the God of infinite justice? Social reform and the doing of public good is itself only legitimate when it develops into the all-embracing principle of personal purity and the holiness of the soul.

My friends, I am often afraid, I confess, when I contemplate the condition of European and American society, where your activities are so manifold, your work is so extensive, that you are drowned in it and you have little time to consider the great questions of regeneration, of personal sanctification, of trial and judgment, and of acceptance before God. That is the question of all qustions. A right theological basis may lead to social reform, but a right line of public activity and the doing of good is bound to lead to the Salvation of the doer's soul and the regeneration of public men.

After the end of the work of our social reform we were therefore led into this great subject. How shall this unregenerate nature be regenerated; this defiled temple, what waters shall wash it into a new and pure condition? All these motives and desires and evil impulses, the animal inspirations, what will put an end to them all, and make man what he was, the immaculate child of God, as Christ was, as all regenerated men were? Theological principle first, moral principle next,

and in the third place the spiritual of the Brahmo-Somaj.

Devotions, repentance, prayer, praise, faith ; throwing ourselves entirely and absolutely upon the Spirit of God and upon his saving love. Moral aspirations do not mean holiness ; a desire of being good does not mean to be good. The bullock that carries on his back hundredweights of sugar does not taste a grain of sweetness because of its unbearable load. And all our aspirations, and all our fine wishes, and all our fine dreams, and fine sermons, either hearing or speaking them—going to sleep over them or listening to them intently—these will never make a life perfect. Devotion only, prayer, direct perception of God's Spirit, communion with him, absolute self-abasement before his majesty; devotional fervor, devotional excitement, spiritual absorption ; living and moving in God—that is the secret of personal holiness.

And in the third stage of our career, therefore, spiritual excitement, long devotions, intense fervor, contemplation, endless self-abasement, not merely before God but before man, became the rule of our lives. God is unseen ; it does not harm any body or make him appear less respectable if he says to God : " I am a sinner ; forgive me." But to make your confessions before man, to abase yourselves before your brothers and sisters, to take the dust off the feet of holy men, to feel that you are a miserable wretched object in God's holy congregation—that requires a little self humilation, a little moral courage. Our devotional life, therefore, is twofold, bearing reverence and trust for God and reverence and trust for man, and in our infant and apostolical church we have, therefore, often immersed ourselves into spiritual prac-

tices which would seem absurd to you if I were to relate them in your hearing.

The last principle I have to take up is the progressiveness of the Brahmo-Somaj. Theology is good; moral resolutions are good; devotional fervor is good. The problem is, how shall we go on ever and ever in an onward way, in the upward path of progress and approach toward divine perfection? God is infinite; what limit is there in his goodness or his wisdom or his righteousness? All the scriptures sing his glory; all the prophets in the heaven declare his majesty; all the martyrs have reddened the world with their blood in order that his holiness might be known. God is the one infinite good; and, after we had made our three attempts of theological, moral and spiritual principle, the question came that God is the one eternal and infinite, the inspirer of all human kind. The part of our progress then lay toward allying ourselves, toward affiliating ourselves with the faith and the righteousness and the wisdom of all religions and all mankind.

Christianity declares the glory of God; Hinduism speaks about his infinite and eternal excellence. Mohammedanism, with fire and sword, proves the almightiness of his will; Buddhism says how joyful and peaceful he is. He is the God of all religions, of all denominations, of all lands, of all scriptures, and our progress lay in harmonizing these various systems, these various prophecies and developments into one great system. Hence the new system of religion in the Brahmo-Somaj is called the New Dispensation. The Christian speaks in terms of admiration of Christianity; so does the Hebrew of Judaism; so does the Mohammedan of the Koran;

so does the Zoroastrian of the Zend-Avesta. The Christian admires his principles of spiritual culture; the Hindu does the same; the Mohammedan does the same. But the Brahmo-Somaj accepts and harmonizes all these precepts, systems, principles, teachings, and disciplines, and makes them into one system, and that is his religion. For a whole decade my friend, Keshub Chunder Sen, myself and other apostles of the Brahmo-Somaj have travelled from village to village, from province to province, from continent to contnent, declaring this new dispensation and the harmony of all religious prophecies and systems unto the glory of the one true, *living* God. But we are a subject race; we are uneducated; we are incapable; we have not the resources of money to get men to listen to our message. In the fulness of time you have called this august Parliament of Religions, and the message that we could not propagate you have taken into your hands to propagate. We have made that the gospel of our very lives, the ideal of our very being.

I do not come to the sessions of this Parliament as a mere student, not as one who has to justify his own system. I come as a disciple, as a follower, as a brother. May your labors be blessed with prosperity, and not only shall your Christianity and your America be exalted, but the Brahmo-Somaj will feel most exalted; and this poor man who has come such a long distance to crave your sympathy and your kindness shall feel himself amply rewarded.

May the spread of the New Dispensation rest with you and make you our brothers and sisters. Representatives of

all religions, may all your religions merge into the Fatherhood of God and in the brotherhood of man, that Christ's prophecy may be fulfilled, and mankind may become one kingdom with God, oue Father.

THE WORLD'S RELIGIOUS DEBT TO ASIA

READ BEFORE THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS ON THE 22ND SEPTEMBER 1893.

The first gift conferred by Asia on the religious world is insight into Nature. The hymns of the Vedas, the gathas of Zend, the utterances of David and Isaiah, the Suras of the Koran all bear evidence of this. The Oriental discovers, contemplates and communes with the Spirit of God, who, in his view, fills all creation. Nature is not a mere stimulus to mild poetry; Nature is God's abode. He did not create it and then leave it to itself, but He lives in every particle of its great structure. Nature is not for man's bodily benefit, but for his spiritual emancipation also. It is not enough to say the heavens are God's handiwork, but the heaven is His throne, the earth is his footstool. Our Nanak said: "Behold the sun and moon are his alter lights, and the sky is the sacred vessel of sacrifice to Him." In the vast temble of nature Asia beholds the Supreme Spirit reigning, and worships Him through the great objects His hand has made. Nay, more, the Oriental beholds in Nature the image of God. "I offer my salutations unto the bountiful Lord," says Yogavasista, "who is the inner soul of all things, reveals Himself in heaven, in earth, in the firmament

in my own heart, and in all around me." To the Asiatic the Immanent Spirit embodies himself in nature's beauty and sweetness, to be immersed in which is to be immersed in God Himself. We receive from evry object we see a suggestion of something unseen, something higher, inner, something divine and immortal.

"Whatever is on earth," the Persian poet Sadi says, "is the resemblance and the shadow of something that is in the spheres: again, that light is the shadow of something more resplendent, and so up to the light of lights." When no audible speech was heard what meant the royal psalmist by saying the heavens declare the glory of God, day uttereth speech unto night, and night showeth knowledge unto night?" It was the law of the Lord, His statutes, His precepts that filled David's heart, and he heard the celestial music of his own contemplation, re-echoed in all the universe. "When," says the Bhagavadgita, "Arjuna, the faithful warrior, looked up to the divine form he saw there the glory of the mountains, the sweep of the rivers, the bloom of the flowers, and the animated beauty of mankind." This does not mean that nature and God are one, but nature is the primary form and image of God's spirit.

The book of creation is in God's handwriting—it is His language; nature is His revelation. The roar of the hurricane is a feeble echo of His eternal voice. The thunders of the sea breaking in fury over the immovable rocks are the faintest utterances of His might. The midnight firmament with its mighty arches of light, shows His vast bosom bending over the repose of the good and the bad alike.

God Manifested in Nature.

The forces of nature strike the Asiatic not as blind or fantastic, but as the manifestations of a personal will. The life of Nature is the life of God. Our own personality, which originates so many activities, unfolds a Person who originates and preserves the universal powers of all things which are not curs, nor ourselves. Every force is the will-force of the Almighty. In Asia, therefore, nature is not a mere design, or mere law, or uniformity, but the arena of God's personal activity.

But personal activity means Providence. When the Spirit fills all things, is imaged in all things, is revealed by all things, and as a person God presides over all activities the whole world is full of His Providence. It is for this reason that Vedic sages beheld in even force and phenomenon of nature an inworking light of the Divinity. There was God in the sun, God in the Himalayas, God in the all-investing sky, God in the expanse of the round blue sea, but all these God's merged into one Supreme Brahma the meaning of which word is " God is great, and makes everythiug great." Thus the senses and the soul form a vast organ on which the contemplation of nature plays her august harmony, and through which insight makes her supernatural yet most natural revelations.

How then can we tire of our mountains and rivers, or the sacred solitude of the forests ? Mount Sinai is neither cold nor dumb; but there is no Moses to hear the commandments, or bare his feet to the burning bush. The roses of Shiraz are still in bloom, the nightingale's song still fills the

midnight silence but there is no Hafez to realize that the Great Beloved dwells in the garden and welcomes his faithful devotee. The fountain of Zemzem flows on by the side of Mecca but the Prophet is forever gone, and the pilgrim hordes spread infection and uncleanness. Nature is spiritual still, but man has become material, and Asia calls upon the world to once more enthrone God in His creation. Reconciled with nature, at one with the creation, inspired by the Soul of beauty in all things, Asia is at one with God.

The second lesson which Asia teaches is Introspection. This means beholding the Spirit of God within your own heart; it is spirituality. Nature inspires the Old Testament, Job, Ezekiel, Solomon; the Rig Vedas, the Avesta; the Spirit makes the New Testament, the Upanishads, the religion of Sadi and Mowlana Roum. Is there any light of beauty, or intelligence, or harmony, in outward things which has not its original seat in the mind of the observer? From observation to introspection the step is easy and natural. On the framework of your own soul the warp and woof of all the worlds are woven, the universe of light and order is to be seen within. There is no glory without which the soul does not put there from within itself. This marvellous creation is sometimes described as a subjective dream, a medium of communion between the human and the divine, the self-manifestation of the Spirit who appeals through our senses to the kindred spirit within us.

Neither in scripture, nor in nature, nor in church, nor in prophet is the Spirit of God realized in His fullness. But in man's soul, and there alone is the Spirit of God fully revealed. He who has found Him there has found the secret

of the Sonship of man. " Believe me the hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem, worship the Father. But the hour cometh and now is when the true worshipper shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth ; for the Father seeketh such worship. God is a spirit and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."

Until, therefore, we behold God as the Spirit in the only spirit realm we have access to, namely our own souls, how is true worship possible ? The Taitirya Upanishad says : " When the devotee is established within the unseen, formless, unspeakable Spirit of God in himself, only then is he perfectly fearless." This sense of the supreme fact of the Spirit's indwelling glows into attitudes of blessedness which intensifies every other faculty of the soul. All mental powers turn themselves into channels through which the abundance of divine manifestation pours within. The sentiments, the imagination, the powers of intelligence, the sense of beauty, the power of invention, the resolutions of the will, are all kindled into that spirit of prophetic fire which glows in the inspiration of the Orient.

And thus Asiatic philosophy whether Hindu, or Gnostic, or Sufi is the philosophy of the Spirit, the philosophy of the Supreme Substance, not of phenomena only. All Asiatic poetry breathes the aroma of the sacred mansions, glows with the light of the dawning heavens. The deepest music is spiritual music, the noblest architecture is raised by the hand of faith. When the Spirit of God indwells the spirit of man, literature, science, the arts, nay, all ideals and all achievements find their natural source, the whole world is

spiritualized into a vision of the Eternal.

Has the spiritual nature an end to its possibilities? The Oriental mind does not really deny the being of the outward world, but, seeing God within its own being, the outer becomes only a phase of the inner spirit. It is not logic, nor observation, nor even the scripture, that reveals God to the rapt Oriental mind; it is through his own instincts that he has the deepest view of the unity and perfection of the Godhead. No dialectic subtlety or analytic skill is unknown in the East, but there the philosopher is the seer also. Asia has the seeing of God within her spirit, and what is seen cannot be disproved by what is said. The progress of true religion is not in the conversion of the so-called heathen, but in the conception, the inspiration, and the realization of the ideal of the man of spirit.

The Supreme Spirit manifests Himself in the soul as reason, as love, as righteousness, as joy. The product of reason is wisdom, and true wisdom is universal. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." What is true in Asia is true in Europe, what is true before Christ is true after Christ, because Christ is the spirit of truth. Whoever conceives the unmixed truth in science or in faith, in art or in literature, conceives the imperishable and the eternal.

In the high realms of that undying Wisdom the Hebrew, the Hindu, the Mongolian, the Christain are ever at one, for that Wisdom is no part of themselves, but the self-revelation of God. The Hindu books have not plagiarized the Bible, Christianity has not plundered Buddhism, but Universal Wisdom is like unto itself everywhere. Similarly Love, when it

is unselfish and uncarnal, has its counterpart in all lands and all times. The deepest poetry whether of Dante, Shakespeare, or Kalidas is universal. The Love of God repeats itself century after century in the pious of every race; the love of man makes all mankind its kindred. True holiness is the universal ideal, however much personal prejudices or passions stand in the way of the light. Hence Asia seeking the Universal God in her soul has discovered God to all the world.

This process of seeking and finding God within is an intense spiritual culture known by various names in various countries; in India we call it Yoga. The self-concentrated devotee finds an immersion in the depths of the Indwelling Deity. God's reason becomes man's reason, God's Love becomes man's love, God and man become one. Introspection finds the universal soul—the over-soul of your Emerson—beating in all humanity, and the human and Divine are thus reconciled.

In the third place Asia has taught the world to Worship. Asia is the land of impulse. Religion there has meant always sentiment, joyousness, exaltation, excitement in the love of God and man. All this impulse the Asiatic throws into his worship. With us Orientals worship is not a mere duty ; it is an instinct, a longing, a passion. There is a force that draws every drop of dew into the sea, a spark into the conflagration, a planet to the sun. They feel in the East a similar force of impulse draws them into the depth of God. That is worship. "As the hart panteth for the brook of living water so my soul panteth for God." Routines and rituals are indeed known the in East ; they are to keep the undevout

in the practice of religion. But for the spiritual the impulse toward God is irresistible. The love of God is a growing passion, a wine that inebriates, a madness of the spirit. The holy festival in the East, whether it is a song or a ceremony, a praise or a prayer, is an intense excitement. This longing for the companionship of the Spirit is half human, half divine. It is man calling after God, and God calling after man. No devotional act is complete which is not an act of mutual advance on the part of God and of man ; no prayer is true which does not bring with it a blessed consciousness of acceptance. But worship is then worthy of heaven when it is uttered in tearful and fervid love. When the devotee feels conscious that he is accepted, an ecstacy of trust fills him, the rapture of Divine response overpowers him. He cries, he laughs, he sings, he dances, he falls into a trance. Such phenomena are not confined to one religion or one country. The Hebrew Miriam danced and the congregation played upon clamorous instruments of music. Mahammed fell into fits of unconsciousness. Hafez was reputed as a madman. The Vaishnavas of India dance and violently sing in their devotional excitement. The Bhagavat Puran thus describes the condition of the devout worshipper " He sings the names of the Dearest One, his heart is melted with holy love, he laughs loudly, or he cries, or ceaselessly prays, and at last overcome by uncommon impulses dances like a man beside himself."

This kind of excitement cannot be agreeable or suitable to all men, but it shows the extremes to which devotional impulses run in Asia.

The uttered worship of the East none can limit. Can any one number the songs of praise, the invocations, the entreaties

which rise night and day like the ceaseless rush of many waters to the throne of Heaven? The universe itself is to the Oriental like a vast devotee who uttereth ceaselessly the words of adoration, and we, each one of us, feebly respond to these utterances; blessed is he who responds from his deepest heart. But at last speech becomes inadequate, and devotion lapses into silence. Our worship is then profoundest when we find no language adequate to express our love and trust. The East, therefore, cultivates the habit of devotional silence. But silence also becomes too oppressive, and takes shape in the offerings and acts of worship. Flowers, incenses, sacrificial fires, sacramental food, symbolic postures, bathings, fastings, and vigils are oftentimes more eloquent than words. There is no spirit without form. Ceremonies without spirit are indeed dangerous, but when words fail before God symbols become indispensable.

All true worship is twofold in its direction. It is Godward, and it is manward. The honor and love of God are sure to lead to the honor and love of man. In Asia we almost worship our spiritual guides; we almost idolise the objects we love. The man of God stands next to God. We do not understand spiritual democracy; we look out for towering personalities, nay even in loving our equals and inferiors we are fired by a divine enthusiasm. As there are various moods in our relation to God, the child-like, the friend-like, the servant-like, the lover-like, so there are various moods in our relation to man. Opposite moods are reconciled in the character of the spiritual man. Tenderness and sternness, rebuke and forgiveness mingle into a strange dignity. Meekness, penitence, gentleness, forgiveness, affection-

ateness, lofty indignation, weeping compassion are attitudes of the love of man. The devotee is not only loving to man, but kind and compassionate also to all living things. The beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount, the sweet humanities of Buddha, thus become realities of the true instinct of worship.

Adoration fails, the flower fades, the fire quenches, the incense is turned into dust, but when the spirit of the devotee abides in the rapture of joy and love within the depths of God, it forgets the world's distractions and the world's ways of worship. When similarly the love of man becomes to it a passion, it becomes one with mankind. Oneness with God and man therefore in perfect love is the ideal of Eastern worship.

In the fourth place, what lesson do the hermitages, the monasteries, the cave temples, the disciplines and austerities of the religious East teach the world? Renunciation. The Asiatic apostle will ever remain an ascetic, a celibate, a homeless Akinchana, a Fakir. Orientals are all the descendants of John the Baptist. Any one who has taken pains at spiritual culture must admit that the great enemy to a devout concentration of mind is the force of bodily and worldly desire. Communion with God is impossible so long as the flesh and its lusts are not subdued. Hence renunciation has always been recognized as a law of spiritual progress in Asia. It is not mere temperance but positive asceticism; not mere self-restraint but self-mortification; not mere self-sacrifice but self-extinction; not mere morality but absolute holiness. The passion for holiness conquers the passion for self-indulgence, and leads to much voluntary suffering. Poverty, homelessness, simplicity have characterised the east. The

Brahmins do not charge a fee for teaching the sacred knowledge of the Vedas, and the missionaries of the Brahmo Somaj never take a salary but live upon alms.

The foxes had holes, the birds had nests, but the Son of Man had not where to lay his head. To the gates of Kapilavastu, where he was to be Lord and King, Buddha went as a wandering mendicant with his alms bowl in his hand, begging from house to house. The sight was too painful for the feelings of the aged king, his father, so that he entreated the illustrious mendicant would go to beg elsewhere, and not bring shame to the royal house he had forsaken. Buddha calmly replied : "You, O King, are faithful to your ancestors who were kings, but I am equally faithful to my ancestors who were all mendicants." Mohammed lived in a cave and found enough nourishment on a few dates. The Fakeer in Moslem countries and the Sadhu in India are regarded with universal awe. Those orders of Christian, who, like the Roman Catholics, have adopted this principle of renunciation, have made the greatest impression upon Asiatic communities. It is a sign of the times that even Protestant orders are reverting to the Monastic principle of Asia. This has its danger, but it is still more dangerous to allow carnality and worldliness to mix in a spiritual man's life. Jesus presided at the marriage feast, Sakyamuni shocked his early disciples by eating hearty meals ; Mohammed married wives ; Nanak, the founder of the Sikhs, kept a shop ; St. Paul stood upon his political rights as a Roman Citizen, not because of worldly-mindedness, but in the faithful discharge of their holy duties. Their hearts were austere and unselfish as ever.

Once upon a time, so goes the Indian legend, the saintly

ascetic Sukdeva visited the palace of the royal devotee Raja Janak. The man of austerity was struck at the wealth and magnificence of his host. The throne on which he sat, his wives, his attendants, his robes, his chariots disgusted Sukdeva. Raja Janak, by insight, knew the thoughts of his simple-minded guest. To disabuse him Janak suddenly set on fire his palace by the power of magic. There was a fearful uproar, every body hurrying to save what was most precious to himself. Even Sukdeva rushed to snatch away from the fire a narrow strip of rag, worn round his loins, his only belonging which he had hung up to dry. Only Raja Janak sat calmly, smiling, free from care. The fire was as soon put out as it had been set up, and the royal devotee, addressing the ascetic saint, said :—

" Thou, O Sukdeva, lost thy peace when thy rag was threatened, but I could look calmly on while all my palace with its wealth was burning to ashes. Renunciation is not to abstain from much and be over-fond of the little, but to retain our peace at the loss of everything we have, be it little or great."

Self-conquest or renunciation is but one part of the culture of the will into spirituality. Those who make austerity the object of their religion are led often to monstrous pride and extravagance. The other and more important part is obedience, self-consecration, merging one's self into the Supreme Self of God, and the sublime service of humanity. Self-discipline is only a means to the higher end of reconciliation and oneness with the will of God. The grain of wheat falls and dies in the earth not that it may be extinguished for ever, but that it may produce a hundred fold of its kind,

and he who spends his life for God, keeps it unto immortality. Death has been, and always will be the price of the attainment of God and the service of man, death of all self and carnality. Who can say, who did say, "Not my will, but thine be done?" He who struggled with the last cup of agony, and who looked up to serve God and man while the murderer was at the gate. Call it renunciation, call it stoicism, call it death, the fact is there that he who dies to himself can only find rest in God or reconciliation with man. This great law of self-effacement, poverty, suffering, death, is symbolised in the mystic cross so dear to you and to me. Christians, shall you ever repudiate Calvary? Oneness of will and character is the sublimest and most difficult unity with God, it means much suffering, often death. And that lesson of unity Asia has repeatedly taught the world.

Thus by insight into the immanence of God's spirit in nature, thus by introspection into the fullness of the divne Presence in the heart, thus by rapturous and loving worship, and thus by renunciation and self-surrender Asia has learned and taught wisdom, practised and peached contemplation, laid down the rules of worship, and glorified the righteousness of God.

But how can I, within a brief half-hour, describe the mystic spiritualities of a great continent, from which all religions, all prophets, all founders, all devotions, and all laws of righteous life have come? I have uttered only a faint cry, and leave the rest to your spiritual discernment. I know Asia has to learn a great deal from the West. I know that even such qualities of the Asiatic as I have described require to be assimiliated in a New Dispensation of God, the future religion of mankind.

But Europe has gone out to the East and the New Religion has dawned in the Brahmo-Somaj.

In the west you observe, watch, act and speculate. In the east we contemplate, commune and suffer ourselves to be carried away by the Spirit of the universe. In the west you wrest from Nature her secrets, conquer her, she makes you wealthy and prosperous, you look upon her as your slave and sometimes fail to realise her sacredness. In the east Nature is our Eternal Sanctuary, the throne is our everlasting temple, and the sacredness of God's creation is only next to the sacredness of God himself. In the west you love equality, you respect man, you seek justice. In the east love is the fulfillment of the law ; we have hero worship, we wait for the incarnations of God. In the west you establish the moral law, you insist upon propriety of conduct, you are governed by public opinion. In the east we aspire, perhaps vainly aspire, after absolute self-conquest, and the holiness which makes God its model. In the west you work incessantly, and your work is your worship. In the east we meditate and worship for long hours, and worship is our work. Perhaps one day, after this Parliament has achieved its success, the western and eastern man shall combine to support each other's strength, and supply each other's deficiencies. And then that blessed synthesis of human nature shall be established which all prophets have foretold, and all the devout souls have sighed for.

Some years ago, when I saw Professor Tyndall after his great Belfast address, he spoke to me thus: " The sympathies of sueh men as you are the crumbs of comfort left me in my unpopularity." Because I will not accept religion in the

hands of those who have it not, they revile me. I complain not. True religion once came from the east, and from the east it shall come again."

This, perhaps, was too great a compliment, at least I regarded it as such. But looking back into the past it cannot be denied that the world's religious debt to Asia is very great. In the east we are a subject race; we are talked of with contumely; the Asiatic is looked upon as the incarnation of every meanness and untruth. Perhaps we partly deserve it. Perhaps in being allowed to associate with you, free and noble children of the west, we shall learn what we have failed to learn hitherto. Yet in the midst of the sadness, the loneliness, the prostration of the present, it has been some consolation to think that we still retain sparks of our ancient spiritual fire, it is some consolation to reflect on the prophecy of Ezekiel, "Behold, the glory of the Lord cometh from the way of the East!"

FAREWELL TO PARLIAMENT.

BRETHREN OF DIFFERENT FAITHS:—This parliament of religions, this concourse of spirits, is to break up before to-morrw's sun. What lessons have we learned from our incessant labors? Firstly, the charge of materialism, laid against the age in general, and against America in particular is refuted forever. Could these myriads have spent their time, their energy, neglected their business, their pleasure, to be present with us, if their spirit had not risen above their material needs or carnal desires? The spirit dominates still over matter and over mankind.

Secondly, the unity of purpose and feelling unmistakably shown in the harmonious proceedings of these seventeen days teaches that men with opposite views, denominations with contradictory principles and histories, can form one congregation, one household, one body, for however short a time, when animated by one spirit. Who is or what is that spirit? It is the Spirit of God himself. This unity of man with man is the unity of man with God, and the unity of man with man in God is the kingdom of heaven. When I came here by the invitation of you, MR. President, I came with the hope of seeing the object of my lifelong faith and labors, viz, the harmony of religions effected. The last public utterance of my leader, Keshub Chunder Sen, made in 1883 in his lecture called "Asia's Message to Europe," was this ;

"Here will meet the world's representatives, the foremost spirits, the most loving hearts, the leading thinkers and devotees of each church, and offer united homage to the King of kings and the Lord of Lords. This central union church is no utopian fancy, but a veritable reality, whose beginning we see already among the nations of the earth. Already the right wing of each church is pressing forward, and the advanced liberals are drawing near each other under the central banner of the New Dispensation.

"Believe me, the time is coming when the more liberal of the Catholic and Protestant branches of Christ's church will advance and meet upon a common platform, and form a broad Christian community in which all shall be identified, in spite of all diversities and differences in non-essential matters of faith. So shall the Baptists and Methodists, Trinitarian and Unitarian, the Ritualists and the Evangelical,

all unite in a broad and universal church organization, loving, honoring, serving the common body while retaining the peculiarities of each sect. Only the broad of each sect shall for the present come forward, and others shall follow in time."

"The base remains where it is ; the vast masses at the foot of each church will yet remain perhaps for centuries where they now are. But as you look to the lofty heights above you will see all the bolder spirits and broad souls of each church pressing forward, onward, heavenward. Come then, my friends, ye broad-hearted of all the churches, advance and shake hands with each other and promote that spiritual fellowship, that kingdom of heaven which Christ predicted."

These words were said in 1883, and every letter of the prophecy has been fulfilled. The kingdom of heaven is to my mind a vast concentric circle with various circumferences of doctrines, authorities and organisations from outer to inner, from inner to inner still until heaven and earth become one. The outermost circle is belief in God and the love of man. In the tolerence, kindliness, good-will, patience and wisdom which have distinguished the work of this Parliament, that outermost circle of the kingdom of heaven has been described. We have influenced vast numbers of men and women of all opinions and the influence will spread and spread. So many human units drawn within the magnetic circle of spiritual sympathy cannot but influence and widen the various denominations to which they belong. In the course of time those inner circles must widen also, till love of man and the love of God are perfected in one church, one God, one salvation.

I conclude as I began by with acknowledging the singular cordiality and appreciation extended to us orientals. Where every one has done so well we did not deserve special honor, but undeserved as the honor may be, it shows the greatness of your leaders and especially of your chairman, Dr. Barrows. Dr. Barrows, humanly speaking, has been the soul of this noble movement. The profoundest blessings of the present and future generations shall follow him.

And now Farewell. For once in history all religions have made there peace, all nations have called each other brothers, and their representatives have for seventeen days stood up morning after morning to pray to Our Father, the universal Father of all, in heaven. His will has been done so far, and in the great coming future may that blessed will be done further and further, forever and ever. [Applause]

LETTERS TO THE BRAHMO PUBLIC.

FAREWELL TO THE CHURCH.

BRETHREN:—The time has at last come when I must say Goodbye. God be with you. Pray that He be with me also. His Spirit calls me, my whole nature responds, and I hear in my heart your united voices saying Amen. Yet the moment of separation is painful, and we are to look up to God for comfort. If there be sorrow in our hearts, let it be devout sorrow, because such sorrow purifies, softens, and prepares the soul for the grace of God. But let us not feel troubled ; let us rejoice, because we are called to take part in the glory of God, and the blessedness of His kingdom.

Brethren, thrice during the last twenty years has the

occation come to me to travel far into foreign countries with the message of truth, and the gospel of God's wonderful doings in India. In 1874 it was an impulse, not improbably stirred by the effect of the Minister's great success in England four years before, but the impulse was none the less the action of the indwelling Inspirer who suggests the secrets of man's destiny, and teaches him how to work it out. My first European visit was a great education, an opening into a future of usefulness. My tour round the world in 1883 was the result of a deeper impulse, the fulfilment of an ideal cherished within the heart for a long time, often and often laid before the altar of the All-Holy for blessing and confirmation, imparted in confidence to the best friend I had, namely Keshub Chunder Sen himself, and carried out in the fulness of opportunity to the undoubted glory of God. You, my faithful friends, helped me with means and with sympathy, so much so that but for your generous help I could not possibly enter into my mission, in which both I myself and you all had devout faith, a faith justified by events. Indeed some doubted and drew back, and behaved spitefully, as they do now, but great undertakings have always had to count with such, and their opposition must not be treated too seriously. Now at last comes the third, and, as I believe, the last of such occasions. This time the impulse did not have its origin within my heart, it came from without. It was not an *impulse* so much as a *call*; and in the voice of that call I heard the utterance of the Spirit of God, and the spirit of Humanity at the same time. The response of my soul was full to overflowing, like the tide of the sea. Once for all I felt that God and man equally

demanded such service as it was in my power to give, that the age called upon me to justify and bear evidence to the great Dispensation of the Spirit, which has come to the Brahmo Somaj. I felt and still feel as if the light which had come to India was breaking out like a long-delayed dawn upon other skies, in other lands, and that like a pilgrim from the East I must go to lay my humble tribute at the altar of the world's destiny. Aged, feeble, friendless, poor, how dare I make the long pilgrimage ? But the Voice says Go, the Church says Go, the whole world says Go. Something within me says Go ! Therefore to go have I girded up my loins. At the time of parting I will address you a word or two which I beseech you to hear carefully, and ponder over at your leisure.

This Parliament of Religions is an event in the spiritual history of the world, whose significance is to be sought for in the revelation of the accomplished purpose of God. It makes actual what the best seers of the century have foretold without hesitation. Just listen to what our own revered Minister said in the very last public utterance he made on "Asia's Message to Europe"—"Here will meet the world's representatives, the foremost spirits, the most loving hearts, the leading thinkers and devotees of each church, and offer united homage to the King of kings, the Lord of Lords. This central union church is no utopian fancy, but is a veritable reality whose beginning we see already among the nations of the earth. Already the right wing of each church is pressing forward, and the advanced liberals are drawing near each other under the central banner of the New Dispensation." " Believe me the time is coming when the more liberal of

the Catholic and Protestant branches of Christ's Church will advance and meet upon a common platform, and form a broad Christian community in which shall all be identified, inspite of dive-sities and differences in non-essential matters of faith. So shall the Baptist and the Methodist, the Trinitarian and the Unitarian, the Ritualist and the Evangelical all unite in a broad and universal church organisation, loving, honoring, serving the common body, while retaining the peculiarities of each sect. Only the broad of each sect shall for the present come forward, and others shall follow in time. The base remains where it is. The vast masses at the foot of each church will yet remain perhaps for centuries where they now are. But as you look to the lofty heights above, you will see all the bolder spirits and broad souls of each church pressing forward, onward, heavenward. Come then my friends, ye broad-hearted of all churches, advance and shake hands with each other, and promote that spiritual fellowship, that kingdom of heaven which Christ predicated."

This was said in 1883, and now the Parliament of Religions fulfils every word of the prophecy, as if it was uttered with full knowledge of what was going to take place in the course of ten years. The Chicago Congress must therefore not be looked upon as a human event, but an evolution of the century, or rather the revelation of the purpose of God which confirms by historical fact the utterance and insight of His far-seeing devotees. For, believe me, all revelation is the objective evidence of subjective impulse. The Inspirer demonstrates by fact the truth of the insight He first gave. What then is the revelation ? This, that All nations and all creeds taking their stand on the ground of simple Theism, shall un-

fold through their representatives unto mankind what is truly God-given and saving in their respective teaching. And the mutual messages thus delivered shall be received in reverence and trust hy the whole world. Brethren, have we not been labouring to establish this very revelation during the whole period of our missionary career, is this not the burden of the whole song of the New Dispensation ? The very ends of the earth thus bear evidence to the inspiration of our Church, and what we here have said and done imperfectly, is going to be said and done elsewhere in forms approaching closer to perfection. For once at least the world will present the spectacle of all nations recognising God as the universal Father, and accepting His children as brothers in a universal family.

But this parliament is not going to be a social gathering only, or even a theological congress to discuss the philosophy of religion. It will have a devotional side, it will mean spiritual co-operation, practical aims, the moral regeneration of mankind. India's message shall not be a mere creed. Though indeed the highest reason be on our side in our simple theistic conceptions of God, immortality, and duty, yet the peculiar gospel which the Brahmo Somaj preaches is the gosple of spiritual life and insight. Our religion has taught us the secret harmonies of life. The principle of absorbed communion with the Spirit of God in nature, in one's soul, in all forms of humanity, is harmonised with the principle of absorbed activity to give effect to thy will, O God, in the busy scenes here on earth where thou hast sent thy elect. These ten years, since Keshub's death, I have spent long periods in the Himalayan solitudes in the closest contemplation of the blessedness of the Deity and his per-

fections. Not very long hence, the Spirit willing, I hope to place before you my brethren the fruits of my communion. But now I am roused from the depths of mystic thought to go forth into the very thick of the world's Great Fair, and there, in all zeal and simplicity, justify the law of apostolic life. The law is that the devotee shall realise the utmost intensity of his Yoga communion in the most opposite conditions and circumstances. If heat and cold, or day and night make no difference to him, if he is to keep awake where others sleep, or sleep where others awake ; he shall rest absorbed in God where others are absorbed in the world, he shall do every duty assigned to him as the direct command of God ; being in the earth he shall be above the earth. Brethren, let the most crowded thoroughfares of the city be steeped in the profoundest solitude of spiritual communion, and the mountain fastnesses be as the city of God, peopled with the invisible spirits of the immortals. Over rocks and roads, in Kurseong and in Calcutta, have I wandered for long intervals in all seasons and weathers, to practise this great harmony, and now comes the time when my familiar self-discipline is to be tried as in a fire. Shall I succeed, shall I be counted worthy to glorify God ? I tremble at the thought. My exceedingly beloved, be ye few or many, in whichever part of the country ye dwell, let your benedictions fall in a shower upon my low-bent head. Pray that I may be given the grace to uphold the high standard of apostolic life before the assembly of the world's wise men, and though myself not wise I may depend upon the light and leading of God's blessed Spirit, and upon the heavenly wisdom of His revelation to the age.

We, men of the Brahmo Somaj of India, are the disciples of all religions. Our scriptures shine with the lights of all sacred books. Our pantheon is crowded with the prophets of all lands. Our principles and disciplines assimilate the spiritual experiences of all great communities. The best and most high-minded among them shall find in us their followers. We love all, honor all. in all do we find, though not equally, the unmistakable signs of the Spirit. We are enemies to none, though some take us to be their enemies. Because the Son of Man, the heir to all humanity, the heir to all divinity, is with us and in us as the centre of spiritual life to each man, as well as to the Church as a whole. The love of God in Christ has given me the love of humanity, so that when despitefully used, as a willing servent of God, I have no right to be angry. To bear all, to believe all, to hope all, to serve all amidst these scenes of conflict, and in a household of trouble and discord is no easy thing. Sooner and with less effort can we take by the hand the alien and the stranger at the gate, but it is grievous to give the kiss of peace to our own kinsmen, the offence of our own flesh and blood seems always sore. Yet it is here above all the Church of the New Dispensation must show its peculiar example. The reconciliation abroad must draw its force from the reconciliation at home, and that again its force from the reconciliation in the heart. If the heart within thy heart hates and distrusts what good is there in any formal union? If thy heart is at peace with all men, blessing all, praying for all, ever intent upon returning good for evil, regarding your own loss as gain, then indeed the time has come for thee to enter into the New Kingdom. My brethren,

bear witness with me that nothing is so hostile to this Dispensation of the Spirit as the cruel exclusiveness of sectarianism. Hate no man, no sect, no party; love all, and by the power of love discern what is excellent in each; admire and adopt that excellence. It has become an easy thing now to profess to love the Christian, the Hindu, the Buddhist; but impracticable for the Brahmos to love each other. This impracticable thing it has been my endeavour te practise, especially during the last ten years. No person, because he belongs to any particular party is an object of ill-feeling to me, no party because it has said or done anything to offend my ideas is hateful to me. Bound to love all, and treat with genuine kindness every brother and sister, whether for me or againsmet, I am not bound to take part in your quarrels and misunderstandings. You may exclude whomsoever you like; for the sake of differing opinions I will exclude none. In the presence of God, and before the witness of man I wash my hands clean of all private and personal hatreds. When I am going to take part in the world-embracing august sacrament of the fraternity of all nations, shall I regard my life-long friends with hatred? Going to give and receive love in other lands shall I leave home and its familiar inmates with a malediction? God forbid. On the contrary I will pray and trust that the differences and dislikes amongst you cease for ever. And if they do not cease, surely I have no part or lot in them. I have no part in what is wrong, or false, or unjust amongst you. I indentify myself only with your goodness and godliness. I have respected and tried to co-operate with each so far as opportunity was found. I have tried to unite all amidst every diocouragement. Only personal unholiness and

immorality I never tolerated, and never shall. I dovoutly trust and solemnly believe this is the divinely appointed course for every faithful man in the Brahmo Somaj of the future.

The essential quality in the servant of God is the holiness of character. For ever and at every moment must he show by example that spiritual life includes the highest morality. The conquest of passion, the forsaking of self-interest, the purity of thought, the consecration of body and mind are only possible when life becomes a continued sacrament for the service of man and the honor of God. In an age of self-indulgence, in the struggle of desires and propensities, amidst the evil examples that beset all things, and the false estimates of character how shall I adhere to the austerity of apostolic life, how shall I keep faithful to the teachings of the dead, or bear the scrutiny of the All-Holy who sees all secrets? I must most wholly trust myself to His keeping, and to your prayers for my welfare. But no more. Dearly beloved brethren, the time has now come for me to suspend my work and words here for a while; to leave you all far behind, and under the guidance of God to work out my prineiples amidst other scenes. I go without the slightest fear or misgiving. In the fullness of faith and enthusiasm, poured almost hourly into my soul by the blessed In-dweller, I go. I go with our simple gospel of One God, One Humanity, One Salvation to the ends of the world as I have gone before. I know my gospel shall overcome every obstacle on the way, and create a response in every faithful child of God. Surely the destiny of God's New Dispensation is to be the National Church of the modern Aryans, and the Universal church of

all mankind. At this time of departure beloved old friends, I would have your tenderest blessings and heartiest prayers for my protection and success. You know all about my worldly circumstances, you know the state of my health, you know the loneliness of my devoted poor wife. The winds are high, the seas are rough, the voyage is long, but God is with me. Give me the parting of your whole-hearted love. Do not entirely forget me, be not indifferent to my great mission. Whereever ye are, and to whatever party ye belong, offer your joint supplications at the throne of Heaven that my labours and sufferings may bring peace, prosperity, and progress the Brahmo Somaj, and glory ever-increasing unto the great name of God, our Father here and here after. FAREWELL !

PROTAP CHUNDER MOZOOMDAR.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 29, 1893.

MY MOST BELOVED BRETHERN,

The long-expected sojourn in America has now drawn to its close. In less than a week's time I sail for home. Before I go, and while the impressions are still vivid in my mind, I should like to say a word for your encouragement and cheer.

The first thing that naturally comes to my mind is the Parliament of Religions at whose invitation I left for these parts. Some account of that great conference has already reached you, but no account that has been yet given can fully represent the spirit, the influences, and the bearings of that wonderful assembly. That the representatives of various systems of religion met, many of whom traversed vast

distances for the meeting, is a fact striking in itself; but when one remembers the tranquility, the order, the hearty good will, the mutual-subordination, and the unanimity of spirit, in which the proceedings of the three weeks were conducted, it is impossible to avoid the conviction that once for all in history the Spirit of the God of eternal truth removed the minor differences that the universality of religion might be practically demonstrated.

In this great country, or for that matter in all Christendom, there is enough bigotry and exclusiveness still left. I do not say that the millennium has arrived, but I do say that the example of the leaders of so many Christian denominations, the most prominent among them being the Roman Catholic, meeting together, delivering their highest spiritual message and receiving that of others, shall assuredly widen convictions, expand party limits, and draw men's hearts much nearer than ever they have been before. It is a strange reflection to me how such an uncompromising church organization as that of the Roman Catholics can even for a little while make common cause with the representatives of the Brahmo Somaj in the avowed object of the latter to establish a universal religion for all mankind. Brethern, I well remember, to my great grief, what a prominent Roman Catholic missionary in Calcutta once said to me when I entreated him to come and speak a few words to my Society for the Moral Improvement of Young men. "If I ever go there," he said, "it will only be to tell you and the representatives of other Christian donominations that you bear on your foreheads the brand of heresy and disobedience to God." I came away silent and disappointed, but my disappointment has been more

than compensated by the glowing experience of brotherhood and good will amongst these Christian denominations (Roman Catholic cardinals and Bishops included) of all kinds which I found at Chicago. No representative did the least to comporomise the integrity of his system or to keep back the claims upon the adherence and appreciation of other communions. Every one did full justice to his constituents, yet strange to say all these conflicting claims and various standpoints unmistakeably contributed to form the striking unity for the fundamental aspirations of them all.

Most beloved friends, how frequently and cruelly have we quarrelled about the little unessential differences in the great Brahmo Somaj. And now in this greater Somaj of mankind, in this vaster communion of all systems I, and all who have been present, have discovered that in spite of petty disagreements, there is a high and pure level of common faith where every one can grasp the hand of his neighbour as a brother and a fellow-pilgrim. If the Parilament of Religions brings about a harmony and reconciliation in this land of hard animosities and traditional differences, will it not serve to bring about a greater harmony and a sweeter accord among us theists, the believers and worshippers of the one true God? Therefore let us draw the veil upon the dark discordant past and make a common cause for the hopeful future.

As I approached Chicago after my long journey of very nearly fourteen thousand miles, the great Fair at Jackson Park held up its wondrous structures before my aching eyesight. Great buildings fairylike in their symmetrical beauty, apparently everlasting in their lofty solidity, bewildering in

their extent and architectural details, incomparable in their designs, covered an extent of 1337 acres of land, nearly four times the space of any previous exposition. One might say of them what a great writer said of our own Tajmahal,—they were "designed by Titans and executed by jewellers." The peculiarity of the buildings was that they faced the great Lake Michigan, which is an inland sea, several hundred miles long. On the top of every one of these buildings the celebrated star-spangled banner floated in its well-known colors, mingling with flags of other nations, and all together forming a spectacle of beauty and Romance and excitement which took away the fatigue of my long journey. Crowded trains were rushing up every three minutes bringing multitudes of men and women and children to the exposition. The richest and most cultured mingled with the labouring and least cultured classes. Hundreds of thousands literally, were present every day. The cost of the Fair is estimated at more than twenty-two millions of dollars. There are men of such wealth in this country that they could have paid the whole amount out of their own pockets and not have been made poor. But there was the utmost equality between man and man in the grounds of the fair.

The vast buildings solid and wonderful as they looked, were made of such perishable materials that now after the exhibition's close they are being taken down in pieces, and carted away in heaps of rubbish. How a nation can spend so much money for a transient spectacle of a few months is more than we can conceive, but it is supposed the educational value of the exhibition will repay all the money that has been laid out.

The exposition was really a world in miniature and almost all the nationalities of earth were represented. Savage tribes from the outlying islands of the sea, and most refined specimens of civilized peoples were there. The Negro, the Chinaman, the Turk, the Arab, the Hindu, the Southren -Islander, the Dahomy, the Laplander met as brethren. Every great specimen of industrial, art or æsthetic culture was present. The power of man over the brute creation was shown in the promiscuous herding of the wolf and the lamb, the lion and the cow, and the wonder of it was that every man, woman and child present felt at perfect ease, and in their own element. During all the time that I visited the Fair not a single instance of disorder or ill-temper did I ever see, and in all this time only one instance of intemperance showed itself. There seemed to be no occasion for the police to enforce order. I heard only one instance of disorder, and that was on the part of a Director of the Fair who tried to put down one of the guards, in violation of the rules laid down ; if any body wait at all the worse for it—it was the Director himself. When I contrast all this with the rowdyism and violence of English popular gatherings, or of Indian Tamashas, it gives me insight into the spirit of self-government which forms the singularity of the American character. Truly the progress of civilisation is an agency to bring about the brotherhood of men. The Midway Plaisance, a highway of great breadth, was a sort of aorta running through the main part of the grounds as a place of rendezvous. The humble villages of various nations were built on the two sides of it, and there you could see the Turk, the Japanese, the South Sea Islander, the American Indian, and some of our own countrymen,

while passing through The people crowding this place were all full of good temper and seemed to be infected by that spirit of national order and soberness which prevailed every where. The World's Fair will not only be remembered by every American but by the inhabitants of every country who had the privilege of seeing it.

The lagoons and artificial lakes, the illumined fountains, the electric search lights, the days peculiar to each State, observed by hundreds of thousands of people, gave an idea of the progress of this country such as nothing else could. The Parliament of Religions was only a fitting consummation to these spectacles of material progress. The great motto was "Not Things But Men," and indeed, some of the best men of the Earth were there. There for a while matter and spirit seemed to embrace and embody each other in illustrating the triumphs of human fellowship and the aspirations of our race.

Spending twenty-one days in Chicago my whole heart yearned for the company of my dear friends who were in other parts of the country, and notable in Boston. This city I reached on the second of October, and here I have been almost all of my time since then making occasional tours to other places like Washington and New York. Dear brethren, what shall I say of the cordiality, the kindness, the unfailing helpfulness, of American men and women. What shall I say of the sympathy, honor, and attention with which they listened to the message of the New Dispensation in the Brahmo Somaj. It seems to me the farthest West realizes a special affinity to the farthest East in the person of your humble representative and servant. In the triumphant success of our

common cause I feel rewarded and full of exultation. Will you all not rejoice with me?

I hope the " Christian Register " has given you some account of my proceedings here, but no published report can fully represent my experiences. In one word let me assure yot that the principles and ideals of our simple religion have met with a response which has confirmed my faith a hundredfold in the great future that awaits the Brahmo Somaj. Our friends here take no account of the little differences which seem to be so serious to ourselves. They are concerned in the eternal and world-wide principles wherein they see the fulfilment of all religions and the unity of all mankind. Tens of thousands of people have come to listen to me, men as well women, men of the highest position and acquirements and women of such culture, refinement, goodness and sweetness that often I have wished that I could have brought some of our ladies,—at least my own beloved wife—to make their acquaintance; but that was not to be.

I feel the access of a new strength and thankfulness into my whole nature. I have worked very hard indeed but the work instead of weakening me has only created a more irresistible thirst for the service of my country and of my friends every where.

I invite you to realize how gracious God has been to our cause and what new evidence He has furnished that our faith is to be the future faith of mankind. Beloved friends I have not described any of our party feelings, for in the midst of the genius of this land the Brahmo Somaj has been to me more perhaps than it ever was before, one undivided movement a great universal cause, with a good deal of

variety in it of course, but an indivisible and fundamental unity. I have on my head the blessings of vast multitudes and the good wishes and prayers of a great community of devout men and women, but these blessings, dear brethren, include you all quite as much as they include me, and I cannot help feeling that these pleasant, pure relations will end in a higher union both amongst ourselves, and between our people and the people of the whole world. Let me assure you that this good-will is not confined to the Unitarian Communion alone, though I must say that Unitarians have been my staunchest friends, but I have told them, as I now tell you, that the liberals of all denominations are my spiritual kinsmen, and that the communities of all advanced thinkers make a common cause with me.

One significant feature of my work has been that I have addressed the ministers of different communions, Orthodox, Congregational, Episcopalian, Universalist and of course Unitarian. If I had more time at my disposal other encouragements of the same kind would undoubtedly follow. These ministers, some of whom have large congregations, will no doubt speak to their people drawing increased sympathy and appreciation for the principles of the Brahmo Somaj, and thus the interest of the Church of God will find larger support than at any other time.

The culture of the women of America deeply affects me when I contrast with it the condition of my beloved countrywomen. In the Brahmo Somaj indeed we have made a start: but oh, how very far are we yet from the great goal of the elevation of women. Without the American women more than half the brightness, the refinement, the joyousness and

character of this great Republic wonld be gone, and I cannot but painfully realize that if our sisters had similar accomplishments, how much easier, how much more pleasant, will our work in the cause of God surely become. I cannot help feeling that perhaps some day a great American man and a great American woman will travel to India and make their abode with us, and give us that moral intellectual and personal helps whose need I feel almost every day of my life.

I have tried to represent you, to lay your wants and sufferings and sorrows before the great public here to attract their sympathy and good-will towards your aspirations. Indeed I have not spoken of our national sorrows and wants. I feel well assured that I have secured much sympathy and genuine interest, and now I pray to the Spirit of God that these feelings may fructify into permanent relations. But oh, my dear old friends, need I point out to you that everything will depend upon how we behave towards each other at home? Need I explain to you that if we are kind to each other, forbearing and mutually regardful, anxious for the welfare of our women, absorbed and self-forgetful in the interest of our Church, the example of our life will intensify the impulse already awakened in the hearts of our American brethren? To me the interests of the Brahmo Somaj mean the interests of all India, mean the future interests of the religion of the whole world, mean the restorations of the glory which our country once had, but has now lost. From the great distance into which I have been temporarily exiled for the service of my Master, I entreat you to be of one mind with me and of one mind with each other, that these warm anticipations which I am trying to express may before long be realized.

I am not reproachful of Hinduism, I am not reproachful of Christianity in my public utterances. I have done my best to acknowledge my indebtedness to both of these great religions which divide the interests of our country. These two must be fully reconciled in our hearts and in the heart of the Brahmo Somaj before we can worthily claim the sympathy and co-operation of the world for the welfare of our land and people.

My time shortens now every hour, and I am therefore in a hurry to finish this brotherly communication. The blasts of winter have already begun to blow and it is exceedingly cold ; the trees have lost their foliage and stand like dark skeletons; masses of ice have begun to imprison the rivers which I pass in my journeys to and fro. The snow lies thick on the ground, whitening all things falling silently steadily driven by the wind. The fears of the Atlantic voyage are before me. But the Sprit of God fills me within and without. The blessings of thousands of friends encompass me like a maternal embrace. A sense of good work accomplished cheers me, and your love awaits me on my return with greetings and benedictions which I value so much.

Farewell for the present. May the Spirit of God descend upon you. May His graciousness help you. May His influence purify you, and may we all, when we meet again, form that spiritual unity which the loving co-operation of the Lord shall daily exalt, and daily bless.

Ever your devoted servant,

PROTAP CHUNDER MOZOOMDAR.

LOWELL LECTURES.

THE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE OF INDIA.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—What word-painting can give you the picture of our great Himalayas? Bending like a vast double scimitar, the strength and defence of a population of two hundred and eighty-eight millions, more than twice the population of the ancient Roman Empire, bending over a country as large as all Europe minus Russia only, seventeen hundred and fifty miles long, two hundred and fifty miles broad, its known summit over twenty-nine thousand feet above the sea level, the Himalaya is the grandest range of mountains in the world. One of its glaciers is sixty miles long. Its climate, tropical at the base, becomes more and more temperate as you rise, until you stand in the region of eternal snow. Rising crag over crag, peak above peak, snow above snow, it penetrates into the infinite blue of the heavens. *Hima*, snow; *alaya*, abode; the Himalaya means "the abode of snow." So vast, so high, so eternal, so cloud-piercing, it seems not only to be the abode of snow, but the abode of the gods also. From beyond its double walls the greatest rivers take their rise. From within its heart, thirteen thousand feet above the sea level, the Ganges and the Jamuna spring. Three rivers, the Indus, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, all the offspring of the Himalayas, have been strangely populated by three great religions: the Mahommedans dwell on the banks of the Indus, the Hindus dwell on the banks of the Ganges, and the Buddhists on the banks of the Brahmaputra. There is indeed the most intimate

relation between geography and religion. Great is the Ganges, known popularly as the "mother of the Hindus." It is the creator, preserver, and destroyer of the land. Flowing from a height of thirteen thousand eight hundred feet, running through fifteen hundred fifty-seven miles, discharging a volume of one million eight hundred thousand cubic feet of water every second at flood-time the Ganges is a veritable giant. Your Missisisppi discharges about one million two hundred thousand cubic feet of water in a second; and the Nile above Cairo, three hundred and sixty-fwo thousand cubic feet only. I said the Ganges creates, preserves, destroys. It brings down vast quantities of silt and off-washings from the mountain heights, carries away the fertile soil of the great provinces through which it flows; its many tributaries yield to it their solid contents, and thus create islands, create sandbanks, create villages, create lands and property of immense value. It preserves,—preserves cleanliness, health,—forms a high road of commerce, wealth, and communication for the great races dwelling on its banks. It spreads fertility wherever it goes, quenching the thirst of the sunburnt, giving food to the cattle as well as harvests to man; and at last it receives in its bosom the ashes of its faithful children whose dead bodies are burned on its banks. It destroys. When in the month of July the floods come, and the waters rise, and the torrents roar, and the rains descend, and the storms blow, the Ganges is the very image of the deity of destruction. People dwelling near the Ganges tremble. Who knows before to-morrow's sun whether your village shall stand or go? Who knows, when the flood comes, who will survive the attack? Who knows what the fate of your province will be when the "mother of the faithful" has

devoured the land ? Tremendous is the havoc the Ganges makes. When the monsoon comes, vast oceans of vapors rise over the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, rise and march north-ward until they beat against the Himalayas, and there become attenuated either into snow, or fall down in a deluge of rain. The rain-fall of the Himalayas is tremendous. At one point called the Cherrapunji hills four hundred and eighty-nine inches of rain fall in a year: one year eight hundred and five inches fell. This rain-fall creates a luxuriance of verdure for which India is famous. The beautiful species of cypresses, some of them transplanted into English parks, the hundreds of square miles of rhododendrons, pink and white, the spruces, the firs, the pines, the oaks, and the other monarchs the forest, festooned by vast creepers, wearing a bridal veil of orchids and wild flowers in the spring, and in the winter standing like gloomy giants without shedding a single leaf,—the forests of the Himalayas, the woods of India form a marvellous spectacle. With such scenery, amid such mountains, on the banks of such rivers, with such a cloudless sky, with such a glorious sun, is it at all wonderful that the susceptible simple souls of the first settlers of India should have seen God in nature? Where the fogs, half fluid and half solid, cover a land of perpetual cold, when November comes, they say, the Englishman's first thought is to hang himself. When the sleet and the snow hiss in the wind, when the hearth is cold, food is scarce, and clothes are scanty, the poor of Europe cower and tremble in their misery. God seems to be far away from his earth. But among such mountains, near such rivers, in the depth of such forests, the Divine Spirit seems clothed with majesty, with beneficence, with love, call-

ing his children to come and worship him. And when in pre-historic times, the Aryans of Central Asia entered into this magic land, their hearts were at peace with all that they saw, aad they set themselves to compose those mystical hymns of which the ancient scriptures of India, the Vedas, are full. They must have taken great delight in singing those hymns; for in one of the four Vedas, the oldest one, Rig-Veda, there are no less than one thousand five hundred and fifty hymns. Veda means the same thing that "vido" means in Latin, that "eido" means in Greek,—I know,—that "I wit" means in old English, Veda means the knowledge of God.

When I stood near the vast crash of the waterfall at Niagara, the whole heavens seemed to melt in endless masses of the omnipresent fluid. Water above, water below, water streaming out from the horizon, water dancing, jumping, foaming, rushing, roaring, threatening you with destruction, I wondered why the American men and women did not build a mighty cathedral near the Niagara, instead of building steam-engines and manufactories, and with the music of the eternal cadence of the waters worship God, the Creator of all that is great and vast. But every nation has its own genius ; and as in India they had less commerce, they had less cotton, they had less hog-killing, they could afford to worship the Creator of the elements.

THE VEDAS.

All the Vedas, of which there are four, are full asI have said of the worship of God through nature. The whole sceneries of the mountains were transfigured into the abode of the mighty eternal Spirit, sitting on the throne of the creation, His head far above the eternal snow and the ever-lasting

heavens. The Himalayan range is the form of the great God to the Hindus. Every one who goes to the Himalayas is attuned to worship and communion. The river also, mystical and unseen in its origin, mystical and unknowable in its end, is the symbol of the deity. And the great forests, with their mighty rainfall, with their weird majesty, with their daily and nightly darkness, with their bursting vernal beauty, with their unbroken solitude, the woods and forests also seem to be sanctuaries where man ought to give his heart to his God.

Invocations fill the pages of the Vedas, invocations to the glory of God in the sun ; invocations to the peace and calmness and beneficence of God in the dawn, the first rays of light "wiping away darkness like a heavy paternal debt" ; invocations to the deities that ride in darkness over the midnight storms unto their awful destiny ; invocations to the fire that warms when the night is chill and damp, or prepares your food when you are hungry ; invocations to the rains that come and spread coolness and offer bounteous harvests. But rest assured this is not all that makes the Vedas.

Hymns and Ceremonies.

The ancient scriptures of India are divided into two parts : first, the hymns as we call them ; secondly, the ceremonies as you understand them. Half of the contents of the Vedas are hymns, exhortations, praises, prayers, adoration. Half of them are full of those ceremonies those observances sacraments, domestic and social rites, which the people must go through in order that God may be propitiated and religious blessedness obtained.

Is there a religion, can there be a religion, without ceremony ?

Is there or can there be a faith without symbols? I declare, No. The impulse of faith is so deep, high, unutterable, that words fail to give it effect, and from words the devout spontaneously take to acts. Where words fail, acts are eloquent. When we cannot speak we kneel down. When kneeling is insufficient, we prostrate ourselves in the dust. When a look is not enough, we kiss the hand; when kissing the hand is not enough, we clasp our palms in an attitude of supplication. All this lies at the bottom of those ceremonies of which every religion is full. And in a land of imagination. like India, these ceremonies are many and meaningful.

Ladies and gentlemen, be not indifferent to symbols and ceremonies. Rest assured there is no spirit without form, as there is no form without spirit. God the formless, the eternal, the unseen, Spirit, hath made himself seen and embodied in the great creation he has made. The sun is only a thought of the glorious God. The moon is only a spark of the serene effulgence of his being, the thunder is only a faint echo of his might, and the river is a drop of his unspeakable bounteousness. All nature in its various aspects is then a symbol of God that the unseen may be seeable, the unheard may be audible. God, the Spirit, is without any form which our frail faculties can grasp and comprehend; and, as these symbols are from him, so these ceremonies are from us. He is eloquent in his creation: we are eloquent in our worship and our rites. What is the use of the four walls of your sanctuary, the costly wood and gold and stone with which Solomon filled the celebrated temple of the Jews? All the marble, all the sculpture, all the painting of mediæval Christianity, all the sacred vessels and vestments and candle-

sticks, the crucifixes all the consecrated bread and wine of devout Christendom, all what are these but ceremonies to give voice to the unspeakable sentiments of worship within? Hence in the Vedic times one-half of religion was hymn, invocation, and prayer; the other half was ritualism, sacraments, holy acts. That is not all. There is a third section also which is called the hidden wisdom of the Vedas, or the Upanishads. In the Vedas God is beheld, as I said, in the forces of nature: in the Upanishads God is beheld in the spirit of man. After a while we become tired of the repetition of nature's objects and scenery, and the heart longs to come home within itself, and there behold the glory of God, and receive his undying assurances. The Vedas then mean the wisdom of God in nature: the Upanishads mean the secret wisdom of God in the soul. The hymns develop themselves into worship and ceremonies. The ceremonies develop themselves into insight, into meditation, into spiritual communion, into the finding of God in one's own heart, in to the reconciliation of the soul with the supreme Soul. But even in the knowledge of God among the forces and objects of nature there was great sublimity. Now and then puerilities meet you, but the sublimity of the Veda is undeniable. One or two lines I will read, translating some of the passages from the oldest of the Vedas, nearly four thousand years B. C.

SPIRIT OF THE VEDAS.

The Rig-Veda asks "Who is the God to whom we should offer our worship?" Answer: "In the beginning there arose the Golden Child." (One peculiarity of Hinduism is that God is often conceived as the Supreme Child, a conception

not unfamiliar to you in the image of the Madonna and the Holy Child.) " In the beginning there arose the Golden Child. He was the one born Lord of all that is. He established the earth and the sky. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice ? He who gives light, gives strength, whose command all the bright gods revere, whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice ? He who, through his power, is the one king of the breathing and the awakening world ; He who governs all, man and beast. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice ? He through whom the sky is bright and the earth is firm ; he through whom the heaven was established,—nay, the highest heaven ; he who measured the light and the air. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice ? He who, by his might, looked even over the thunder-clouds, the clouds which gave strength and lit the sacrifice,—he alone is God above all gods." Let me read to you a little further: "Absolve us from the sins of our fathers and from those we committed in our own persons. It was our will that led us astray, O Varuna: it was necessity, it was temptation. Wine, anger, dice, or thoughtlessness, the stronger perverts the weaker, even sleep brings sin. Through want of strength have I gone wrong. Thou strong and bright God, have mercy. Almighty, have mercy. I go along trembling like a cloud driven before the wind. Have mercy, Almighty." There is in all this a pathos and a ring of the loftiest psalms that the royal Hebrew sang. I could read you more, but this will give you an insight.

It is said that Hinduism had no idea of immortality, that the life after death is only the discovery which the Christian

missionaries have taken to India. But let me read to you a little prayer which is offered when the dead are burned, and their ashes consigned to the waters of the Ganges. Thus were the dead adjured: "Depart thou by the ancient paths, to the place whither our fathers have departed. Meet with the Ancient Ones: go meet with the Lord of death. Throwing off thy imperfections go to thy home. Become united to a body. Clothe thyself with a shining form." If this is not the counterpart of Christian resurrection I do not know what is. Such is a brief outline of Vedic beliefs.

THE HINDU LAW OF LIFE.

What was the ancient Hindu law of life? It was divided into four parts: first the life of the student, beginning from nine years of age; second, the life of the house-holder; third, the life of the recluse who goes away from the world into the solitude of the forests, and there meditates and seeks God; fourth, the life of the old man, who entirely forsakes the world and takes to mendicancy, having no home, wandering from place to place, never stopping more than one day at a place, absorbed in communion with God. Student life in India was a hard life. They did not wear swallow-tailed coats; did not cultivate embryo mustaches; did not play base ball; did not swallow pork, and beef, and quantities of strong drink. The great vow which they took was the vow of renunciation. Every student for at least nine years, must obey the vow of renunciation. It sometimes extended to eighteen years, sometimes thirty-six years. In sun or rain he must never open an umbrella, never cover the feet with shoes, never use any oil or scents, never drink any fermented liquor; never smoke, not even on the sly, not even

cirgarettes,--smoking is an abomination; never look upto women with bold eyes, nevcr look upon women to contemplate high-heeled kid shoes, but to contemplate the motherliness and purity of the fair sex. Every morning the Brahmin student, even at thc present da y in a town like Poona, goes from house to house begging cooked food for his own support and that of his fellow students. Every day he has to study the sacred writings, and he has to go through various ceremonial observances with the utmost strictness. His obedience to his teacher must be perfect, it may sometimes seem even slavish. Such was student life in those ancient times, 4,000 years B. C. There was not known any printed book, perhaps even he art of writing was unknown ; but the wisdom and th e tradition of the Vedas were so well maintained that they were handed down from generation to generation, and at present you will meet with ragged, stalwart, gaunt, medicant Brahmins, who will recite the four Vedas without a single fault in grammar or accent. Well does Max Muller call such men " the walking libraries of India."

In the second stage of life the house-holder after he is married, had his daily and occasional observances of religious duty. Faithfully must he keep the *sanskaras* day after day He must build a house if his ancestors have not left him any. The divine beings will have oblations. The ancestors will have oblations. Children have to be instructed. The stranger who comes to the house must be fed. The Brahmin will have to be entertained from time to time, the morning and evening devotions have to be gone through, the animals in the house will have to be looked after, the plants will have to be watered. The life of the Hindu house-holder

is not a Sunday life, with bright goods on the back, and fine bonnets on the head, Sunday observance for the sake more of display than for the sake of devotion. The Indian householder's life is a very serious life of self-consecration. And when all the duties of the household shall have been performed, the man is to retire into the wilderness, and there learn the wisdom of spiritual repose. Activity is a good thing, activity brings life, activity does a great deal of good to the world ; but there is an energy and power and activity in spiritual repose, the depths of which have not been searched in the western world. Sitting in a forest solitude, the sage can make a silent exort of thought, the meaning of which the centuries cannot exhaust and foreign lands cannot ignore. That power of wisdom, that energy, that repose, that intense effort of communion, contemplation, form the third stage of Hindu's life.

And, fourthly, when all this was gone through, the old man saw the vanity of the world. He came to the world bringing nothing ; and when he goes hence, he has schooled himself to carry nothing with him. Mendicancy is in all Oriental countries, but nowhere has it been honored and exalted so much as in India, because these wandering men, now visitants at your house, now at mine, may really be angels unawares. These old mendicants, these roving devotees, have often been healers of disease, teachers of knowledge, sometimes the ministers and advisers of kings. They have preserved many a community from disruption, protected many a household from wreck kept back many a youth from ruin. If it had not been for the mature wisdom of the old sages of India, we could not have stood the shock of so many repeated adversities.

Thus these four stages of life, coupled with the secret wisdom of the Upanishads and the Vedas, gave great development to the character and civilisation of the Hindus. And when the soul is stirred, when the heart is inspired, when the mind is enlightened, man is not content merely with worship and observances, but poetry, literature, art, philosophy, all the laws of life, all the practical wisdom about things immediately follow. Hence flourished various arts in those far off times, the antiquity of which the orthodox Christian feels nervous to admit, lest it should interfere with his creation of the world or the chronology of the Bible. But we in India have never pleaded guilty to such nervousness. Our wisdom is in our antiquity; our dignity is in our ancestors; our power is in the dispensations which God gave unto us in the very dawn of humanity. We find therefore Hindu astronomy almost at the foundation of all astronomy; Hindu medicine, which is still being practised in parallel lines with all your homœopaths and allopaths, and all the medical practices and opathies that come to kill our people before their time. The competition which the European doctor finds in the Hindu practitioner now a days is often a serious competition. Hindu literature is now studied in your own universities. Even sceptics, like Schopenhauer and others, admit that if any system of metaphysics is logical and true, it is the metaphysics of the Vedanta. The six schools of Hindu philosophy stand to-day unrivalled in their subtlety of analysis and wisdom of conception. This philosophy, these arts, laws, literature, and these varied developments grew out of what? Out of the impulses of the soul, out of the worship of God, out of

sincere devotion, out of faith and reverence: wherever the same causes shall operate, the same effects shall follow. That religion which is buried in theology, which quarrels with science, whose chronic dislike of criticism and free enquiry nothing can overcome, lest calculations should upset fond beliefs,—that religion is doomed. But that religion which opens out all the possibilities of the human soul, opens out all the laws and secrets of the world, which distributes knowledge in every direction, finds itself in harmony with all,—that is the religion of the future. And if, during the past many centuries Hinduism has suffered a reverse, its progress in ancient times proves that when religion grew, the arts grew, poetry grew, philosophy grew, human nature grew upward and heavenward unto God.

Decline of Hinduism.

Yet there seems to be a fatality in all human progress and after centuries of sovereignty Hinduism declined. The first reason was the prevalence of ceremonialism. I have said there is no spirit without form, no form without spirit; but if the spirit should depart from the form, and if you still persevere to retain that form, it will be tied to your back as when a corpse is tied to the back of a living man. The corpse of a dead form, of a lifeless bygone monasticism, of a ritualism, of a worthless ecclesiasticism is a dead weight, and will carry down the souls of those who bear them to death. And from the abnormal and fearful effects of such things religion suffers a speedy decay. Whatever the forms of the Vedic ceremonialism then, in the course of time the spirit fled from them. But still the forms were there. The Brahmin went through his devotions, not so much to propitiate the Deity as to pro-

pitiate his congregation,—the most wealthy members of his congregation at all events. Worldliness overcame the inspiration of religion. They had not courage to speak the plain words of life to those that sat at their feet to learn; and form after form degraded the instincts of the people and the principles of religion. So great were the sacrifices that six hundred and nine horses were killed on a single day. And the Brahmin coveted lands, gold, possessions, and temporal sovereignty, not unlike some of the ministers and denominations of the Christian faith.

Rise of Buddhism.

What happened? People every day became disgusted; and then there slowly arose a man whose heroic protest made India tremble from one end to the other,—Gautama, Sakya-Muni, Buddha, Siddhartha. Single-handed and single-voiced he uttered a protest which, like a mighty trumpet, rang through the still and contented air of the India of those days. Gautama as you know, was the son of a king. At thirty years of age the sights of human suffering so affected him that he left his kingdom. For six years he was in retirement. At the age of thirty-six he began his career, and labored on until he died, eighty years old. During all these years he established his religion, which still claims five hundred millions of human beings. The religion of Buddha, from one point of view, is a protest. It is a protest against quarrelsome theology, a protest against priestcraft. On the other hand it is a sublime affirmation of humanity, an affirmation of the knowledge of causes and consequences in human happiness. The overcoming of all desires and temptations of life is its morality, and its aim. These three—philo-

sophical insight, sublime humanity, and absolute self-conquest—end in a state of repose or blessedness of supreme joy, and the sense of unity called Nirvana. The philosophy of Bdddhism is the philosophy of Karma,—the philosophy of heredity, the philosophy of cause and effect, the philosophy of moral antecedent and consequent. Sakya-Muni and all Hindus believe that as you sow so you reap. If you have done wrong, misery will overtake you. Nothing can help that. If you have done right, joy will be its sure consequence. They do not want to play tricks with Providence through the subterfuge of theological schemes and historical atonements, which wipe out the past and make life full of such arbitrary inequalities that men of little belief curse God and die. Buddhists make one law uniform for all. If you want to avoid that law, follow another law. If you have followed the law of your desire, you have earned certain consequences which you shall have to meet. Follow the law of renunciation, and when renunciation shall produce its own effect, the effects of the law of desire and self-indulgence will gradually be removed ; and the result of it will be peace,—peace that passes understanding. Overcome all your desires, all thirst. Nothing so clearly describes the carnal nature as the word "thirst." The ceaseless fever, inextinguishable craving seizes hold of the hearts of men and women. The more they enjoy, the greater the thirst for enjoyment. The more they seek pleasure, the greater the attraction of pleasure unto the bitter end of death. Self is the refuge of self. Conquer yourself, kill all thirst, all darkness which is ignorance, kill all desire, and you have rest. What is the process ? There are ten duties which must be performed. Duties of wives

to their husbands, and of husbands to their wives; of children to their parents, and of parents to their children; of masters to their servants, ane of servants to their masters; of religious orders to the lay, and of the lay orders to the religious. There are four rules of conduct,—right speech, right thought, right affections, right energy for earning your living. Four grand laws of life,—toleration and kindness to all men, humanity to all brutes, reverence to the holy, and perfect self-conquest.

Strange to say that, though not even the name of God is once taken in these teachings, yet Buddhism grew and grew until the whole land was overshadowed by its influence. One great man flourished in Buddhistic times, like unto Constantine in Christian times, but a much better and sincerer man. His name was Asoka: he was the emperor of India. So well did he carry out the precepts of his great master that in the end he renounced his kingdom, and became a mendicant, and sent his son to preach religion in Ceylon, and sent his daughter to Ceylon to establish a religious order of nuns. I will give you the edicts of Asoka, which were inscribed all over the country. From this you will know the spirit of Buddhism.

FOURTEEN EDICTS OF ASOKA, 260 B. C.

1. Prohibition of the slaughter of animals for food or for slaughter.

2. Provision of medical aid for men and animals, and of plantations and wells on the roadside.

3. Order of humiliation every five years, and republication of the moral precepts of Buddhistic faith.

4. Comparison between former state of things and those

under Asoka.

5. Appointment of missionaries for foreign countries, to convert the people and foreigners.

6. Appointment of inspectors and guardians of public morality.

7. Expression of desire that there may be uniformity of religion and equality of rank.

8. Contrast of carnal pleasures under other reigns and pious enjoyments under Asoka.

9. Inculcation of the precept that true happiness is in virtue, which surely brings heaven.

10. Contrast of the vain glory of the world with the reward which Asoka looks beyond.

11. Inculcation of the precept that the greatest charity is the giving of virtuous principles.

12. Address to all unbelievers.

13. Rather unintelligible.

14. Summing up of the whole.

Decline of Buddhism.

Thus Buddhism, without God, without soul, without prayer, without worship, conquered India. As a protest against inhumanity, its humanity conquered. As a protest against self-indulgence, its sublime morality conquered. As a protest against false theology, its simple teachings gained the day. But in the course of time the spiritual instincts of the people outgrew all that. They hungered for God, but Buddhism gave them no God. They hungered after spiritual things, but Buddhism did not furnish them. They hungered after worship and prayer, but there was none in Buddhism. And, after Buddhism had conquered Hinduism and reigned for

fifteen hundred years, what happened to it? By a strange economy of Providence, Buddhism was turned out of the whole country. And now, if you travel over Northern India and if you go to the wonderful tree under which Buddha received his enlightenment, you will see not a single Buddhistic devotee, not a single disciple of Gautama bending his knee. The temple is silent, the courts are deserted, the colossal image of the prophet is unhonored and alone.

Such is the end of every system that ignores God. Such is the end of mere ethical culture. For fifteen centuries Buddhism reigned in India and did it immeasurable good; but at last its Nemesis came, then Hinduism arose once more like a giant refreshed, like a mountain upheaval, like the waters of the sea. Hinduism arose, and from every one of its strongholds Buddhism was dislodged, until in the twelfth century there was no more Buddhism left: Hinduism was in the ascendant again.

This, then, is the simple story of the development of religion in ancient India.

SECOND LECTURE.

MODERN RELIGION IN INDIA.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—If pleasure, or interest, or the search for knowledge should ever lead you to India, do not come away without seeing Benares. Benares, the holy city, standing high on the banks of the river Ganges, its stone steps leading over the embankments down into the rippling stream, is the city of the ancient religion and learning of India. Benares, with its two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, with its lanes, purlieus, narrow, winding, dark

and not overclean, its high houses, its temples, turrets, spires and many deities, its beautiful art ware in wood, stone and brass, its delicious sweetmeats and costly cloths of gold, the delight of the hearts of ladies, is the city of the modern religious life of India. Seventy Hindu sects, spread all over the country, send their representatives to Benares. The four Vedas are chanted night, morning, and mid-day on the riverside at Benares. The six schools of Hindu philosophy have their ablest exponents there. All the devotees, Fakirs, and holy-men of every quality congregate there. All the pilgrims of all the four presidencies, and from all the Native States, many of the old men and women of all the Hindu races flock to Benares, not only to live and perform their religious ceremonies, but to die that their ashes might be cast into the Ganges because any one who dies at Benares, is never born again. That city is the link between the ancient and modern religious life in India. All religious reformers, those who were for, and who were against popular Hinduism settled in Benares to test the merits, and try the success of their systems because anything that takes root in Benares flourishes all over the land. When Sakya-muni, five hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ, received his illumination, a bitter enemy as he was to the Vedic religion, where did he go to gather his first disciples but to Benares? Very much later Kabeer, the weaver's son, abusing Hindu idolatry more fiercely than any Scotch evangelist, went and settled in Benares, and planted his religion there. And a thousand years before Sakya-Muni was born and thousands of years before Kabeer, Benares flourished as the seat of Hindu religion and Hindu learning. It drew all the people of India: it was con-

sidered a city beyond the earth. It stands, they say, on the top of the trident of Siva, its titular deity, and the world's sins and the world's pollutions never enter it. But the blind alleys of Benares are so crowded, the houses are so close and ill-ventilated, there is so much of filth and crime of all the country concentrated there, so much scepticism, hypocrisy, and falsehood, and immorality gathered there, that the name " Holy City," like other holy cities, is indeed a misnomer. But nevertheless, it is a strange spectacle, with its drums, and pipes and gongs and conch shells sounding at all hours of the day and night. It is a strange spectacle with its thousand temples, containing tens of thousands deities, containing hundreds of thousands of worshippers. The Christian missionary stands outside of Benares. The Mohammedan tried, he dishonored but never could conquer that city. Thebes and Delphi are in ruins. Jerusalem is in the hands of the Mussulman. Ancient Egypt is dead. All these great sanctuaries and all great religions have passed away; but Benares stands to-day, ancient and modern, the centre of the soul of Hinduism. There you should go if you wish to watch the evolution of modern Hindu life.

Buddhism and Hinduism.

Three periods are important in the development of modern religious life in India. The first is from the ninth to the thirteenth century of the Christian era. During this period Hinduism revived after the Buddhistic predominance. The second is from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century of that era, when Hinduism was gradually modified by the influence of Islam. And the third is from the sixteenth

to the nineteenth century, when Hinduism came in indirect and direct contact with Christianity. The last time I spoke, I said that the great protest made against the religion of Sakya-Muni was in the ninth century, but it took nearly four hundred years for Buddhism to die and disappear from India. During these four hundred years Buddhism and Brahmanism were in daily conflict, Buddhism perpetually losing ground, and Brahmanism perpetually gaining ground. The feeling between the two religions will be clear to you, when I quote a well-known Hindu proverb of Gya: "If a mad bull pursue you, rather die than take refuge in these three places,—in a grog shop, in a courtesan's house, and in a Buddhistic temple." But during the four hundred years that these religions lay alongside of each other, and the fourteen hundred years preceding, when Buddhism had grown and flourished, it exercised, no doubt, considerable influence in the formation of new Hindu life. Buddhism owed everything to the pre-existing Hindu religion. Its philosophy was Hindu philosophy, slightly recast. Its doctrine of Nirvana was well-known in the ancient systems of Hindu thought. The theory of the transmigration of souls notoriously existed as an indispensable article of faith among the sects of Hinduism. And Buddhist discipline, retirement, renunciation, monasticism all its chief moral precepts, were derived mainly from Hindu teaching. But, if Buddhism owed much to Brahmanism, that debt was amply repaid by the obligations which Sakyamuni threw upon the recrudescence of the Hindu faith. Buddhism humanised the Hindu religion. At one of the great sacrifices of the Hindu times, six hundred and nine beasts used to be sacrificed. To all these sacrifices Buddh-

ism put an end for good and all. Then the toleration which characterised the Buddhists in their dealings with the Brahmins could not but influence the mild instincts of the Hindu nature. Siladitya, one of the Buddhist kings, gave alms to Brahmin priests and Buddhist Sramans indiscriminately, and treated both with the same reverence. Then, again, all the unspirituality and priestcraft which had slowly entered into the constitution of the Hindu religion and into Hindu society in the course of many centuries were purged away by the sublime system of ethics and personal character, which, if anything, was the speciality of Sakya-Muni's system.

BUDDHISM AND IMAGE-WORSHIP.

Then, again, Buddhism gave to women an eminence, an education, a part in the share of the affairs of its churchs which could not but tell upon the future of womankind in India. For the first time in history an order of female devotees was established by the Buddhists. In these various ways Buddhism influenced Hinduism. But one great harm it did, not generally known, but very seldom pointed out, yet still there. A singular feature of the Neo-Hinduism that followed the Buddhistic propaganda was its image-worship. How did image-worship first enter into the Hindu religious system? Not one of the four Vedas ever makes the slightest mention of image-worship. Not one of the Upanishads has the least allusion to it. And even so late as the fifth century after Christ, when the great law book called the Institutes of Manu was compiled, there was not only no image-worship, but this legislator, the greatest of all Hindu legislators, emphatically forbade the worship of images in any form. How, then, does it happen that in modern times there is not one, there are

not two deities but thirty-three millions of deities, in the Hindu pantheon ? Whence did it come ? So far as my study and observation have gone, in my mind there is not the slightest doubt that this error emanated from Buddhism. Without the idea of a personal God, without any public worship, without any recognition of the soul as a free agent, without any prayers or invocations in which the Hindu heart has always found expression, how could Buddhism teach image-worship ? Can there be a greater anomaly ? Yet that very principle which forbade the recognition of God's existence and worship was mainly instrumental in producing the greatest idolatry. I will show you how. Though Buddha courted no personal worship, yet, as soon as he died, his millions of followers, in order that they might fully realise his benignant influence and glorious personality, began to make little images, hundreds of them, thousands of them, millions of them, and offered these to the temples. And if you dig into the soil anywhere near the the great Buddhistic temple where Sakya-Muni had arrived at his enlightenment, or even in other Indian provinces, you will brnig up images of Buddha by the cartload. Go to Burmah, to Thibet, to Ceylon, to China, to Tartary, go to every Buddhistic country, and you will see the roadside, the homestead, the temple, the bazar, the place of worship, all crowded with images of Sakya-Muni in various stages and postures of his life. Whether as teaching, or as immersed in contemplation, or as making his missionary travels, or as lying on the bed of death, the various conditions of Sakya-Muni's life are pourtrayed in these numberless images. In the absence of a God, in the absence of a personal centre for reverence, the millions of Buddhist men and women

substituted these images, and enshrined them, worshipped them, honored them, loved them, treasured them from age to age.

Not only was that so, but every relic of Buddha, a toe-nail, or a tooth, or a stray hair from his head, a thread from his garment, whatever could be got hold of, was reverently preserved by the Buddhist worshippers. The Hindus saw the great purpose which this practice served, and were not slow to imitate it. But how? Why, I told you the other day the various forces and personalities that the Hindus worshipped in nature and in history. These gave them a fertile ground out of which to collect their deities, and embody them in images and forms, which the Buddhist taught them could be worshipped with such advantage. Such to my mind is the genesis of the Hindu idolatry of the day.

Devout Idolatry.

Join this Buddhistic love of images and relics to the Hindu conceptions of the great forces of nature, bind these two together, there slowly emerges into modern Hinduism that worship of images which at this day is so difficult to remove. I say this is an evil, but evil not unmixed with good. Because among Hindu idolaters you see not only no dishonor shown to the Supreme God, but only the various powers and attributes and perfections of the Divine nature are embodied in several forms, and made into idols for worship. Because it is said with some truth that God is an abstract entity, and, unless he is turned into concrete forms, we can not realize or love or worship him. Nor can I be so unpatriotic and unfaithful as to deny that among the idola-

trous men and women of my country I have sometimes found a humility and reverence, self-consecration and purity of body and mind, which would do honor to man of those clever sceptics and half-hearted supercilious men and women who boast of higher forms of religion. Myself belonging to a movement that does not hold in honor any image or idol, I am bound to confess that from elderly men and women belonging to orthodox faith of my country I have often learned that lesson of devoutness, simple trust, rigid principle of self sacrifice, without which no religious life is complete.

THE INCARNATION.

But I must not omit to say another word about the formation of image-worship. The Hindu doctrine of incarnation is an all-important doctrine. To my mind, the whole doctrine of incarnation is an all-important and indispensable one. I believe in one God, not in an abstract God, but in a personal God,—a God who can make personalities, who can enter and pervade personalities, who can promote character, who can inspire men and women, who can turn humanity into divinity, and abide in that humanity as in his own flesh and blood. Unless God is seen and known and heard and Handled and imitated in this concrete form, religion becomes dreamy, vague, metaphysical, impersonal, inefficacious, even perfectly useless. And hence I maintain, though I am an uncompromising theist, that incarnation is an all-important doctrine. Now let us see the meaning of incarnation in the Hindu philosophy. The greatest of Hindu books known is the Bhagavatgita, which puts this declaration in the mouth of God himself. "To help the good, to hinder

the wicked, to re-establish religion, I am incarnated ... age to age." The Hindu doctrine of incarnation, therefore, does not confine the descent of God upon man to any one age, or any one individual, or land, or nation; but whenever and wherever the good have to be helped, whenever and wherever the wicked have to be punished, whenever and wherever the kingdom of God has to be established, God descends in the form of the godly man. Consistently with this doctrine, therefore, the Hindu incarnation of God is not one, but many.

Another thing. In the most celebrated system of Hindu philosophy—namely the Sankhya—the nature of God is described as dual. Half of the divine nature is masculine: half is feminine. The male in God is divine will, the female is divine wisdom. The male is divine activity : the female is divine love. The male is God's purpose; the female is divine force, the power of carrying of that purpose into oter acts. And, therefore, in the economy of Hindu incarnation, not only does the masculine part of divine nature enter, but the feminine part enters equally well, sometimes much more efficaciously. When the male and the female are combined, the result is the creation of the universe.

Then, again, in one individual the entire nature of God cannot be incarnated. So vast, so eternal, incomprehensible, so great, how could the fulness of the infinite and omnipotent God descend upon one person only? Therefore, his various attributes are incarnated in various beings. One is the incarnation of his wisdom, another of his beauty, another of his majesty, another of his self-concentration, another of his love, another of his motherliness ; and all these various

attributes in all their shades and grades and applications, incarnated into a system of deities, both gods and goddesses, have filled the Hindu pantheon with the thirty-three *million* deities. The religious books known as the Puranas treat of these. The books are comparatively modern, like the *incarnations* themselves. Let me tell you the incarnations are *still* going on. Any distinguished religious man will be taken as an *avatar* by his faithful disciples. Yet it is not to be understood, and no genuine thoughtful Hindu so understands, that each one of these deities is a being apart, and different from or opposed to the Supreme God. Each of them is but a fragment from the infinite whole. Each of them is but a ray from the infinite central sun, only one atom from the eternal unthinkable Essence. *Why thirty-three millions? If thirty-*there millions were multiplied by thirty-three millions, I wonder if that number could exhaust God's self-revelations, greatnesses and sublimities, the love and wisdom of the eternal perfect Being whom we call our Father.

Though, therefore, to the uneducated and the low-minded these images and incarnations do not mean much, yet to every thoughtful Hindu each of the deities who fills the Hindu pantheon represents some idea, represents an analysis, represents one side of the divine nature. The analysis is somewhat complete; but who can make up the synthesis? Who can combine the thirty-three millions into the one great God of the Vedas and the Upanishads? Who can weld all these he-gods and she-gods into the perfect One, the spiritual, eternal Being? That man, or that woman, or that body of men who can do this will solve the most important problem of modern Hindu life.

HINDU SECTS.

I have said that there are nearly seventy modern Hindu sects. These are worshippers of the various incarnations of God. But you must not think that they are in the same state of culture or enlightenment. As in India there are various climates from the equatorial heat to the eternal snow, as in India there are various complexions from the European white to the Ethiopian black, as in India the fruits and flowers of all climates are to be found, so all stages of culture, of spiritual condition and refinement, are to be found among religious sects in India. But I shall class them thus,—the Yogis, the Bhaktas, and the Saktas.

THE YOGIS.

The Yogis are the worshippers of Siva, the God of communion, wisdom, austerity, and terror ; the Bhaktas, the worshippers of Krishna, or Vishnu, the incarnation of Love; the Shaktas are the worshippers of Sakti, the female deity, or force in divine nature. Generally speaking, these three forms of culture exhaust the seventy sects to which I have alluded. The Yogi comes first. His culture is communion with the Spirit of the universe. Siva, the God about whom so many conflicting interpretations are given, is a being popularly thought to be immersed in eternal communion with the Spirit of the universe. He is the founder of the healing art ; he is the founder of Hindu music ; he is the incarnation of wisdom, the founder of the Hindu practice of renunciation, simplicity, self-forgetfulness. And the Yogi follows the practice of Siva himself. He is always practising terrible austerities, mortifying his flesh. In the month of May he surrounds himself with double walls of blazing fire. In the

cold month of January he, sitting in a contemplative mood, immerses himself in the river down to his neck. The Yogi by these austerities so entirely commands his senses and his faculties that he is supposed to possess supernatural powers. And hence about this Yogi all the romantic fables that have been manufactured for Americans and Englishmen. Certain individuals, half corporeal and half immaterial, are said to dwell upon the Himalayas and in Thibet. I have wandered almost in every province of India. I spend six months in the year in the Himalayan solitudes. I have searched the woods and the caves, and I have never found those astral mummies, and fabled immortals, about whom long-haired men and short haired women descant so eloquently in Boston and elsewhere. I have found some very holy men who practise austerities ; but their religion was always sane, sound, simple, and wholesome. When they spoke, they elevated your mind to the contemplation of God. They never carry your letters without paying postage stamps from one country to another or bring down tea-cups and saucers from the highest heavens into fashionable gardens at hill sanitariums. The Yogis, about whom these fables are manufactured, are not those of genuine Hindu culture. The word Yoga means connection,—intercourse of the soul with the eternal Spirit ; and he who practises that intercourse between his soul and the soul of God is the true devotee. And, inorder that this intercourse may be possible, it is necessary to mortify the flesh and to renounce the desires. Hence the austerities and self-renunciation about which you hear. Renunciation and austerity and self-denial are only the means to an end. The end is oneness with God. This is the whole meaning of the culture of Yoga.

THE BHAKTAS.

Then we come to Bhaktas. The Bhaktas are the worshippers of the incarnation of God's love. Their culture is rapturous devotional love. There are sects in India whose whole religious service consists in not only singing, but dancing. Are they singular in this ? Did not David and Miriam and the Hebrew worshippers also dance and sing before the Lord playing upon clamorous instruments of music ? They are inebriates in the devout sentiments of their hearts. In Persia, in Arabia, in India, this practiec of excitement through God's love forms a great cult. Worship in your part of the world is rigid and regular, so hard and fast that the slightest irregularity either in time or in method brings down the wrath of the worshippers upon the head of the devoted minister. In our part of the world the minister not only leads the service, but leads the souls of the worshippers also. His great object is to see that these men during the time that they worship are entirely under the supreme impulse of piety and the love of God.

THE SHAKTAS.

The third class of worshippers are the Shaktas. They worship the force of God in the form of the Divine Mother : their deity is always a female deity. This has led into various cults and sects, about which I do not wish to say much : some of them are good, and some of them are bad.

THE MOHAMMEDANS.

In the year one thousand of the Christian era the Mohammedans came to India. For eight hundred years the Mussulmans remained in our country. The fierce fanatic Mullah entered into the Indian provinces and the villages, and many

households of India were forcibly converted to Islam. When he could not convert, the Mussulman sometimes desecrated temples and dishonored women, broke down images, slaughtered kine, did all that he could to offend the religious prejudices of the people. This reign of violence was more or less fierce during the different periods of the Mohammedan rule.

Yet though the Mohammedans did all this, they profoundly influenced the Hindu religion. I have told you how Hinduism influenced Buddhism, how Buddhism influenced Hinduism. I am now going to tell you how the Mohammedan influenced the Hindu religion, and *vice versa*. One great virtue in Islam is its strict monotheism. I believe that Mohammed was fully justified in raising that standard of monotheism after the Christian Church in the first five centuries had lapsed into errors, and into superstions, and into malpractices that made the name of Christianity but a by-word. Mohammed's protest of monotheism was absolutely called for.

Another thing for which Mohammedanism is noted is its utter repudiation of caste in any from. I have found among enlightened Christians, who were most eloquent in denouncing the caste system, such a strong and inviolable caste prejudice that the black and white races can never unite. There are hundreds and thousands of English and Christian men aud women in India. Do they mix with our people? Have they open households? Have they common meals? Have they social intercourse even once a week or a month? Have they intermarriages? Have they any common interests? None. Away, aloof, far above our heads, these English luminaries revolve. We look at them, and say, "Twinkle,

twinkle, little star, how I wonder what you are." If this is not caste feeling, I do not know what is. But I have seen Mohammedans of the highest rank and Mohammedans of the lowest rank eat out of the same dish the same food. Your merchants and tradesmen form among themselves distinct communities, and a gulf divides them which no Christianity and no courtesy can bridge over. The barrister in England will not dine at the attorney's house ; and the tradesman is all by himself, apart from "the gentlemen" of the community. This is caste. But among the Mohammedans the lowest man and the highest man will give their children in marriage. They will live together under the same roof; and, when they are under the same roof, they are absolutely equal. I never found such spiritual and moral democracy and brotherhood as I have found among the Mohammedans. And I think that accounts for the remarkable solidarity that characterises the Mohammedan world ; though they are backward in other things, they are wonderfully compact and strong. The Musalman, when he went to India, taught us this monotheism, this social equality : and the result was that from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century there arose a series of religious reformers who repeatedly protested against the hydra-headed image-worship to which I have alluded. And among these reformers the great majority were not Brahmans ; they were low-caste men ; and these men, when they established their different systems, not only had the adherence of all classes, high and low, but many of the Brahmans themselves went and submitted to their discipleship. Thus the fierce Mohammedan religious propaganda has tended to bring about that unity in the nature of God which had been lost before, and the equality of the

castes. But, if the Mohammedan influenced us, we influenced the Mohammedan. A most notable instance of this is the great emperor Akbar. He was the greatest Mohammedan that ever lived, a pious man, a brave man, and a great administrator. He had regular conferences in his palace every Friday, where Christians and Mohammedans and Hindus and Parsees formed, in miniature, a parliament of religions, which we, on a grander scale, celebrated recently at Chicago. To give greater effect to his catholicism, what did he do? He married a Mohammedan wife, and a Christian wife, and a Hindu wife, thus embracing religions in their most amiable forms. And from the days of Akbar various sects have sprung up who accepted the same principles of Hindu devoutness combined with Mohammedan monotheism and brotherhood.

Thus, on the one hand the Mohammedan made us more and more monotheistic, and we, on the other hand, made the Mohammedan more mild and tolerant, less fierce and more loving. The result of this mild influence took shape in the great revival of Nanak in the fifteenth century. He was a simple-minded trader; and he established a religion which, in the course of a few hundred years, consolidated the inhabitants of the Punjab into a disciplined military nationality, before which the British lion sometimes felt disposed to retreat. Those who have read the history of the Sikhs in the Punjab know how valiantly the Sikhs fought the British, and even in the present day the Sikhs are the most valiant soldiers of the British army.

Christian Missions.

In the sixteenth century the first Christian mission went to India. It was a Portuguese mission. In the seventeenth

century the Jesuits went, under the leadership of St. Francis Xavier, a man than whom no greater missionary ever breathed God's air. In 1701 and 1793 the first two Protestant missions went to India. But long before this Christianity had gone there, there is a legend that St. Thomas suffered his martyrdom near Madras, and that the St. Thomas Christians were the first Christian community. There is also a legend that various Nestorian missionaries and Armenian Christians went and settled in the country. So, alongside of the Buddhists and Mohammedans, we find the Christians in those days. Properly speaking, so far as we are concerned, the Protestant Christian missions are the most important missions. For nearly a hundred years they have worked. The native Christians number two millions and a half, more than one-half of these being Roman Catholics. If you go to India, will you find any scratch on the surface of Hindu society made by Christianity? No. If your theology had not been so merciless and mindless, if your church government had not been so high-handed, if you had been more sympathetic with the people, more tolerant with their aspirations, better things might have been done. But you were bent up on thrusting iron-bound Christian creeds down the throats of the Hindus. You were determined not to learn a single lesson from the Hindu, even less than the Mohammedan and the Buddhist learned. The result is that your Missionaries are hard and fast and high and dry, surrounded by the native Christians, who with a few exceptions represent neither the culture of Europe nor of India. The success of Christianity is eminently unsatisfactory both to Christian countries and to our people at large. Yet though these men have not done satisfactorily, you cannot do without Christian missionaries. They are stand-

ing examples of moral character, of good education, of public usefulness. If I had time I would dwell more upon their merits. What I say is to show that I am not unappreciative of their services.

THE BRAHMO SOMAJ.

Though missionaries have failed us, Christ has not failed us. Though Christianity has failed us, Jesus has penetrated into India, and his influence, combined with the Mohammedan and all pre-existing religions, has been instrumental in giving birth to the Brahmo-Somaj to which I belong. That movement holds the simple creed of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man,—a protest against all idolatry, and an affirmation of the simplest and sublimest truths of universal religion. It emancipates and dignifies women, it has enacted many a reform to purify Hindu society. We have our schools and colleges, and in India we have now the anomaly of lady bachelors. We have nearly two dozen newspapers in English and the vernaculars, we publish hundreds of books every year, and our leaders have gone to every province of the country. Our founder and leader Rammohun Roy was the first man to cross the ocean. He never went back to his home. Keshub Chunder Sen, when he was in England, commanded such comprehensive sympathy from all classes of Christians that his name from that day has become almost a household word in that land.

Last of all, and least of all, here stands before you your humble servant, who has for the second time travelled more than thirteen thousand miles to come and seek your sympathy and co-operation in the great work of the Brahmo-Somaj. We not only aspire to bring about religious improvement, but

we aspire to bring about all the improvements which Hindu society needs. We wish to bring all the nations of the world into one great brotherhood without interfering with their respective systems. We do not ask that the Christians should cease to call themselves Christians. Let the Christians remain Christians, the Mohammedans remain Mohammedans, the Hindus remain Hindus. But let each of them worship in his heart so purely, so spiritually, and in such a spirit of love that all men may be brethren, and, in spite of all differences of nationality and climate, they may recognise each other as members of that kingdom which their God will some day establish. Who does not aspire after universal religion? Who does not aspire to establish God as the Father of all the brotherhood of man? We in the Brahmo-Somaj have formulated these ambitions and aspirations into a simple economy and an all-comprehensive church.

This much I can say in conclusion: that, if the aims and objects of the Brahmo-Somaj find fulfilment, those animosities which race and colour foster shall cease, and men shall recognize each other's agreements much sooner than each other's differences. And men shall have a common platform upon which they may all stand, in order that God may be glorified and man be exalted.

Such, in short, ladies and gentlemen, is the statement of the modern religious life in India. I hope, when you go home, you will ponder upon these words, and help each other, and help me in establishing that true brotherhood for which not only the Hindus, but all nations yearn. And may the blessing of God rest upon you all!

THE RACES OF INDIA.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—India is a vast museum of races. You find in it prehistoric races of men, with their flint arrow-heads, their polyandry, their polygamy,—all the costume worn by them a bunch of dry leaves before and another behind. You find human sacrifices, you find blood feuds transmitted from generation to generation. On the other hand, you find all the refinements of the nineteenth century. You find schools and colleges, Western systems of philosophy, Western methods of thought, public spirit, commerce, enterprise, and some of the evils of civilisation also,—gambling on the turf, material agnosticism, muscular Christianity, and all the rest of it. These prehistoric races and their usages are not to be dug out of the earth: you see them in living communities. And as for the civilised parts of the population, wherever you go,—to Calcutta or Bombay or Kurrachee or Madras,—they are most prominently placed before you.

Race Elements.

When four thousand years ago the Aryans first entered into India through the north-western passes, the problem of race was a simple one. There were only two races,—the Aryans, who invaded and conquered, and the non-Aryans, who retreated before them, fighting. But, as these Aryans gradually classified themselves into the four divisions of priests, warriors, traders or cultivators, and Sudras or menials, the race question became more complex. And, when these four divisions established their clans and intermarried with each other, and intermarried also with the aborigines, the question became still more complex. When at last the various invasions from outside India followed one another,—the Greeks coming in the

fourth century before Christ, the Scythians coming in the third century before Christ, the Mohammedans of various tribes and nations pouring in from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries,—all these invaders, who came not only to conquer and go away, but to stay, and, who also intermarried with the people, that made the question still more complex. And thus at the present day the ethnical and national problem of our day is nearly insoluble. There are the pure Aryans with their various tribes, numbering nearly thirty-five millions; there are the Aryans of mixed descent, the result of intermarriage between the different castes and aborigines, numbering nearly one hundred and thirty-eight millions; there are the aborigines, numbering about nineteen millions; there are the Mohammedans of various classes and orders, numbering about sixty millions; there are the Buddhists in Assam and Burmah, numbering about seven millions; there are the native Christians; about two and a half millions; there are the English, numbering about eighty thousand; there are the mixed descent from the English and the people, called the East Indians; and among a population of two hundred and eighty-eight millions the inhabitants of the United States are represented by eighteen or nineteen. It has always been a grave complaint with me that America is not better represented in India, because, though I do not care to flatter your prejudices, I consider the Americans to be the cream of the Anglo-Saxon race. Not long ago, in the village of Concord, I asked one of the ancient worthies there what was the difference between the English and the Americans; and Judge Hoar replied, "The Americans are English, and water." But I think he was too modest to acknowledge the fact that the American re-

presents not only all that is great in the history and traditions of the English, but, what is more, that spirit of progress which the English—outside England, at all events—seem nearly to have lost altogether. All this farrago of nations form a great cosmos with their distinct religions, speaking so many as one hundred and seven different languages. Of these, nearly seventy languages are spoken by people numbering more than one million men. The one hundred and eleven different Native States governed by the princes of the country, with their old feudal laws and their Oriental magnificence; and then the various frontier tribes living both in the eastern and western ends of the country,—men who have scarcely emerged from the state of primitive barbarism,—all these various races taken together make the Indian ethnical problem one of great and insoluble complexity.

The Aborigines.

I shall take up first the aborigines. These primitive people, who had to fight with the Aryans, were gradually driven to the hills and jungles of the country. You find them on the hill slopes of Assam, from whence all the excellent tea of the world comes; you find them congregated on the extensive hill chains and deep woods of Central India; you find them on the inclines and tops of the Himalya Mountains; you find them in large numbers in the southern Presidency, called the Madras Presidency. These aborigines are now divided,—first into the Dravidian, mostly the inhabitants of Southern India; then the Koleranians, savage tribes living in Central India; then the Sonthals, a brave and manly people living in the north of Bengal; then the Thibetans, who migrated from the uplands of Thibet into the lower slopes of the Himalaya, mak-

ing the Bhuteas and Lepchas, and other hill tribes whom you see when you go to Darjeeling; and then the Thibeto-Burmans, the Assamese, and all the diverse population of Assam and Burmah, which has been recently annexed to the Indian Empire.

These five tribes differ in their characteristics. I will not weary you by detailing all their beliefs and their ways. I will only cite one or two examples to show what is best in these aboriginal tribes, and mention the chief characteristics that distinguished the ancient Aryan settlers from the aborigines whom they drove before them. The word "Aryan" means noble-minded. It is a Sanskrit word still in use. Arya is the word. It means gentlemanly, noble-minded, fair-complexioned; and the aborigines were called Dasyus, which means robbers and dark-complexioned men who eat raw flesh, and whose instincts are impure. There is no question, therefore, that the difficulty of color sprang up with our ancestors thousands of years before the present time. Even now the four higher castes are called Varnas, which means superior color. If you go to Bombay or to the Punjab, or even to Bengal, you will find the Brahmans generally of much lighter complexion than the lower castes; and there is no doubt that in former times the Aryans and the non-Aryans were distinguished by certain physical traits quite as much as by certain mental traits.

THE SONTHALS.

The Sonthals, to my mind, make the finest of the aboriginal people. It is curious that they are free from some of the evil practices found in better cultivated and more educated parts of the country. For instance, their women are perfectly free.

Among them there is no question of premature marriage. Then their families and their races are so well governed internally that most of their disputes have never to be carried before any court of justice, but are settled by their own head men. When a child is born, the father enters the chamber of the birth,—the father and mother and child only are present,—and the father lays his hand on the head of the child and initiates him into the family. After ten or twelve days the chief men of the tribe assemble ; and the child is brought before them, and its head is shaven, and it is initiated into the tribe. This is the second ceremony. Then, in the third place, when he has grown about eight or nine years of age, the head men of the race come together, and with certain ceremonies, accompanied by paint and tattooing, he is initiated into the membership of the race. The fourth ceremony is the ceremony of marriage. The girl and the boy always marry by free choice, and the girl is generally the older of the two ; but until the boy is grown up sufficiently, the girl remains in the boy's family, as a sort of half-servant to his parents. When he grows up, then the relatives of the girl come and take a piece of burning charcoal and put it in a vessel and powder it, to show that all connections of the girl with her own tribe have ceased. She belongs to another tribe. The fifth ceremony is when death takes place, and the body is burned. The sixth and last ceremony is when three pieces of the skull of the dead are floated into the streams of the great river Damudar, in order that may go and join the ancients of the race in a better land.

The Sonthals have their family gods, their tribal gods, their race gods, besides a great mob of spirits dwelling in the

rivers and the trees all around. Like the ancient Hindus, they do not see the sublime Eternal through nature's forces. They are to all intents and purposes fetichists and polytheists; and when a Christian missionary once spoke to them of the great, supreme, awful God, the Sonthal just trembled for a moment, and said: "What if the great awful One should come and eat me? I had better not worship him." But I think human nature has intuitions which, if rightly led, would easily grow up to the recognition of the vast unity in the midst of all the detached forces, and arrive at the conception of one God.

The Gonds.

Another aboriginal tribe called the Gonds are also somewhat manly. Their marriage is always by capture,—no courtship, no billing and cooing, and tender love passages; but a grand feast is given by the tribe now and then, and in the midst of the eating and drinking a young man carries away a young woman by force. I am afraid there is considerable malice prepense in it, and the capture is prearranged on both sides. Nevertheless they call it capturing a wife; and when the wife is captured, a certain amount of money has to be paid to the parents of the girl by the parents of the boy. The Gonds also have had the very unamiable practice of offering human sacrifice. These wandering aboriginal tribes have no settlements. They do not live perpetually in one province; but when they go to a hill or a jungle, they burn a large circle and make a clearing, and there they cultivate a number of crops, until the capacity of the soil is exhausted; and then they migrate elsewhere, and try the same experiment. But in order that the earth may yield her due share, the Gonds

have the miserable practice of killing a human victim and distributing its flesh to the members of the various tribes to be laid under the soil. This practice has now been put a stop to by the government of India, but I think they still carry it on quietly. These various aboriginal tribes, with whose many names I do not wish to weary you,—the Sonthals, and the Bhils, and the Gonds, and all the rest of them,—have always been characterised by those who closely watched them as having great truthfulness, great courage, and honesty. Among them there is no thieving, no injustice ; and falsehood and unchastity they dread with a natural instinct. Some of my friends have gone into the villages of Sonthals, and they have found that the men and women were so simple that the contrast struck them as strange after their experiences in the plains. Great fighters, like Clive, Coote, and Outram, have always borne testimony to the unflinching courage of these aboriginal tribes in the face of death. So long as their tribal drums beat and the tribal pipes played, though the hosts of the enemy were overwhelming and defeat certain, these men would never budge an inch ; and the English have often made use of their services in fighting manlier and more disciplined races. Those of you who have read the great Hindu epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, will remember how, when Rama went to Ceylon to fight his twenty-handed and ten-headed adversary, he took along with him great armies of monkeys and bears. People at the present time ridicule the idea. Any one who sees below the surface has no difficulty in finding out that these armies of monkeys and bears and rhinoceroses were nothing more or less than the aboriginal tribes from the jungles of Central India, who were outwardly bar-

barous, looking very much like animals, but who, when the time of battle came, fought like soldiers and heroes.

Yet it is strange that the moment they come into contact with the more cultivated people of the plains, the moment they touch the rum and gunpowder of the Englishman, the moment they jingle the coins of the British mint, the moment the schoolmaster comes out to their settlement their primitive graces are lost. They become artificial; they become cruel, double-dealing, unfaithful. And the contrast appears so soon that it is always remembered. But I suppose primitive barbarism is always simple; and though civilisation, in applying its first polish, artificialises and takes away the charm of prehistoric simplicity, yet, when civilisation goes deep and permeates the whole nature, there is a nobler kind of simplicity by and by, There is a more abiding amount of truthfulness, and when religion enters into its higher mission, it expands into a thousand graces, counterbalancing the one or two the people have lost.

Hard life of the aborigines.

These aboriginal tribes have often a very hard life. They dwell in miserable huts in the middle of the jungle; and some of their grass huts are said to be so small as six by eight feet,—simply dog-kennels. The arrangement is that all the boys and young men sleep in one part of the town, and all the girls and the old women, protected by the heads of the family, sleep in another part of the settlement. But in these rude little tenements, offering frail resistance and imperfect protection, it is no wonder that they should often be open to the attacks or wild animals. The wild animals of India make a fearful feature of our internal history. When you see the

royal tiger and hear him roaring safely within the bars of an iron cage, you laugh at him, and you praise the various points of his physical structure; but when these animals crouch on the lonely path, or growl or roar in the open grange, or spring at you with a fierce rage, or in their midnight prowls enter into the abodes of men, and carry away children and cattle, women and men, it is no longer an esthetic spectacle, but a horrible thing. In the year 1890 twenty-four thousand men were killed by wild animals and snakes, and sixty-eight thousand five hundred cattle were destroyed by them. Just fancy! A great war would not be attended with the slaying of so many human beings. And, though of the wild beasts destroyed in that year there were fourteen thousand six hundred, and five hundred large animals, and ten thousand venomous snakes, yet that did not make much perceptible change in the death-rate from the attacks of these animals. The lion, though not numerous, stalks about over the hills of Western India. The tiger is almost omnipresent. There are elephants, there are hyenas, and there are bears and wild elephants. The least harmful are the wild elephants. The government of India makes a large revenue out of them. About five hundred are captured every year in what is called the Kheddah operation. Some tame elephants are kept in a large area of stockaded ground, and sent out into the jungle; the wild elephants are decoyed into the stockade by the female beasts, and shut up. They are not given anything to eat. They are starved into submission. In this way five hundred elephants are captured every year, yielding on the average an income of six hundred thousand rupees. The aboriginal tribes of whom I have spoken are all disarmed to a man. This disarmament

is felt by the people as a grievous injustice. In such parts of the country where no harm from revolt is apprehended, like Lower Bengal, or Madras, where the possession of arms is indispensable for self-defence, every little pistol is taken away, every large knife is snatched away, and the weapon with which the aboriginal poor have to defend themselves against the attacks of these destructive beasts are clubs of bamboo and wood. Here in America I see that the possession of fire-arms is not an unmixed blessing. Reading the account of the frightful assassination of the virtuous mayor of Chicago the other day, or the account of that man who got up into one of the Exposition buildings and kept firing on the crowds below, I think some restriction is necessary in the use of fire-arms. But in India I am afraid they have carried it to excess.

THE RAJPUTS.

I will now speak of the permanent races,—the Aryan or semi-Aryan population, who make up nearly two hundred million. The principal of these races are, first, the Rajputs. I wonder, ladies and gentlemen, if you have heard of that portion of India called Rajputana. That is the abode of this race of people. A Rajput, you know, means the child of a prince or king. Among the one hundred and eleven independent States of India who have a so-called autonomy, or nominal independence, the Rajput States form the majority of reigning princes. It is said they are descendants of the Scythians, who invaded India in the third century B. C. I do not know how far this is true, but it does seem as though both the Greeks and the Scythians left behind them a large host of descendants to populate India. Even now, the further west you go, you see unmistakable specimens of Greek art in the rude native sculpture of the

far-off provinces. Going into the Punjab museums, you now and then come across a face whose excellently chiselled features bear internal evidence that it must be the product of the Hellenic perfection of artistic culture. The Buddhist followed all these artistic teachings, and out of their original genius the Buddhists improved the architecture of India. Their sculpture they borrowed from the Greek masters. The Rajputs are tall and finely formed, but they are rather indolent and given to the habit of eating or smoking opium. Exceedingly free, they revolted against their Mohammedan rulers, and at last threw off the Mohamedan yoke in the eighteenth century. When the English conquered India, they had to conquer it not so much from the Mogals and the Pathans: they had to conquer it from the Rajputs on the one side, and the Mahrattas on the other. These Rajputs, forming the families of the reigning princes of Rajputana, have as many as five hundred and ninety tribes. These tribes do not always intermarry, though they do sometimes. Hence the Rajput blood, to a large extent, remains pure. They do not care much for English education, and their political history, and the romantic anecdotes of the bravery of both their men and women are known all over the country. Even as late as 1857, when the great Indian mutiny broke out, one of the Ranis, called the Rani of Jhansie, rode a barebacked steed, and, followed by her female attendants, fought in the front ranks of the battle, proving that the courage of the Rajput race had not entirely died out in the nineteenth century.

THE MAHRATTAS.

Next to the Rajputs come the Mahrattas. But the Mahrattas are not so ancient as the Rajputs. The Marhattas

come to the notice of historians in the sixteenth century. A man by the name of Siva Ji, a great guerilla leader, fought with the Mohammedans, and established a little kingdom for himself in Southern India. The Mahrattas greatly extended their territories, receiving one province after another from the hands of the Moghals, until, when the English went to conquer that country, they found the Mahratta kingdom most extensive and powerful. There are powerful States of the Mahrattas still semi-independent. They are called Scindia, Holkar, and Gaekwar. These three princes have between them a pretty large native army and a great native following. The Mahrattas are intelligent, brave, and gifted with powers of administration.

THE SIKHS.

Next to the Mahrattas I must mention the Sikhs. In my first lecture I referred to the fact that the Sikhs were founded in the sixteenth century by a great devotee by the name of Guru Nanak. He was a simple trader, but his heart was suddenly drawn into intense religion. He got a few followers, and established a sect of pure monotheists. Their whole service lies in singing. There is no sermon, no reading of text, no Scripture. The whole service is singing the glory of God, beginning at four o'clock in the morning and ending at eleven o'clock at night. They have an immense hymn-book of many thousand pages. These hymns are taken from the best utterances of Hindu saints and Mohammedan fakirs, and good men of all sects; and in this manner they are as great electics as we men of the Brahmo-Somaj. This book is folded in velvets and satins and brocades, until it swells into enormous proportions. Then two men stand on both sides of the book,

and drive off the flies and fan the book, lest it should feel uncomfortably warm in the month of June. It is put on a golden throne. In fact they have carried the disease of Bibliolatry to its utmost distraction. But the Sikhs, who began their career as a simple sect of monotheists, were persecuted bitterly hy the Mohammedans. There were ten leaders of this sect from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century ; and a great many of them were seized by the reigning Mohammedan princes and illtreated, sometimes murdered. Repeated persecution stirred up the fire of the inhabitants of the Punjab; and the last leader, by the name of Govind Singh, organised the Sikhs into a military sect. Formerly they were strict abstainers from wine and animal food; but Govind Singh taught them to eat meat and drink wine, and he established among them a sort of religious republic called Khalsa (pure organisation), a sort of kingdom of heaven. These men were gradually organised into such a compact fighting sect that at the present time, numbering about one million four hundred thousand men, a great many of whom are soldiers, they make the finest fighters in India. But they have not the administrative ability of the Mahrattas, nor their intelligence, nor their higher traits of character.

The Sikh is a man generally over six feet high, with broad chest, arched eyebrows, fine eyes, his hair and beard allowed to grow, and tied together in a knot behind. He has iron-bangles, an iron disc on his forehead, and five shining pieces of steel always worn about his person. The Sikh is a formidable man. Quarrels break out between them and the Mohammedans. The killing of cows has led to various riots, and is the cause even now of bad feeling between our races. When

I was in Punjab in 1871, some of the butchers amused themselves by throwing the tails and horns and hoofs of cows into the wells from which the Sikhs drew their drinking water. When we got up one morning, we were told that the whole settlement of butchers had been cut to pieces. Who had slaughtered them there was not the slightest sign. About ten families of these butchers were slaughtered in the course of the night, and no trace left who had perpetrated the deed. The crime could not be detected until the murderers came and confessed that they had killed their enemies. They are a great, chivalrous people; and it has seemed to me sometimes that if one could educate them according to the models of the old and gentle theism, the result would be immensely beneficial.

THE PARSEES.

I must say a word about the Parsees. If you have not seen other Indian nationalities, you cannot have failed to see one or two Parsees in the United States. They are a fine, mercantile, enterprising race; but they are not native Indians at all. About three hundred years ago they migrated, and settled in India. They were the original fire-worshippers of Persia; but the Mohammedans fought and persecuted them, and drove them away. Those of you who have read Moore's "Lalla Rookh" will remember the bitterness of the warfare that raged between the Mussulman and the Parsee. These Parsees, numbering about three or four hundred thousand men, applied to the King of Surat in those times to settle in India. The conditions were that the immigrants should wear the costume of the country, that they should speak its language, and never eat the flesh of cows. These three conditions,

which were rigidly submitted to, soon turned the Parsees into a race of India, they having been formerly a section of the primitive Aryans. Their features are very much the same as our features. Their costume being the same, and their language and customs being very much the same also, they have been assimilated into the population of the country. The last census enumerates seventy thousand Parsees in India. They are immensely wealthy. Their enterprise knows no bounds. Their commercial activity extends to every part of the globe. Their fine manners, their fine appearances, their amiable and gentle temperament, have endeared them to all the people to whom they have gone. But of late they have taken very much to the imitation of European customs, and it is feared that in the course of time they will be wholly Anglicised. I hope this is not true, and in time their tendencies will turn.

THE MOHAMMEDANS.

What shall I say of the Mohammedans, of whom I have already told you there are sixty millions in the country? The Mohammedans are by no means united. There are the Shias, the followers of Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed; there are the Sunnis who claim that they derive their descent directly from the prophet; then there are the Wahabees, a very strict race of Mohammedan reformers. The Shias often drink wine, and smoke tobacco, but the Sunnis are much more strict. Then there are the Rohillas, a fine race of men, forming excellent Indian soldiers. Then, also, there are the descendants of the great Mogul, with fine-looking, delicate features, but rather effeminate. Then there are the old Pathans and Afghans, and the frontier-men,—hairy, wild

fierce, fanatical about whom there is no reliance as to what they will do the next day.

The Bengalis.

Last of all come the Bengalis, a race to which your humble servant belongs. We have not been famous for warlike instincts. We came to notice not earlier than the fifteenth century of the Christian era. All our achievements have been literary, theological, devotional, administrative. But at the present time, if you compare the present races of India, perhaps the Bengali carries away the palm. It was in Bengal that the English first established their educational institutions ; and it was in Bengal, therefore, that the first crop of good results was expected. In Bengal, first of all, the law was passed to prevent the burning of widows. In Bengal, first of all, the Brahmo-Somaj movement was planted. In Bengal, first of all, political associations were founded ; and here the first native newspapers were started. Bengal carries the palm in all national activity and public spirit. Perhaps it is for this reason that the Bengali is the most unpopular in the eyes of Englishmen in India. But I hope, in the course of time, when things come to be judged more dispassionately, to our race will be given the credit which is our due.

Unifying Influences.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, how is this great seething cosmos of nationalities to be reduced into order and unity? How shall these tribes of two hundred and eighty-eight millions become one nation? This is the question of questions. In forming our political aspirations, in preaching our religious views, in establishing our reforms, do you know what has been the most powerful agent in our hands? The English lan-

guage. I have told you there are one hundred and seventeen languages spoken in India, which are not mutually understood in the country; but such is the wonderful, almost magical influence of this English language that coming from Lahore to Ceylon, and from Chittagong to Bombay, wherever one expresses one's self through the medium of your imperial and all-conquering Anglo-Saxon tongue, you get audiences and sympathisers whose applause and whose appreciation are significant. It seems this English language will some day make all mankind one. As education proceeds in the country, the course of the English language will be broader and deeper and more beneficial still. There are universities and colleges and mission schools and girls'schools. Altogether, the people under education are two and a half millions, and nearly ten millions of people speak the English language already. There are one hundred and sixty-three thousand women under education, and about four million four hundred and forty-seven thousand write and read some language or other. This is a good nucleus to begin with. Thus education paves the way. But nothing forms a nation more speedily, nothing consolidates it so, as one common religion. When Asoka ruled the Empire of India, it was the Buddhist religion that made the Hindu people one. And in the future, when all our aspirations are matured, and all our instincts are developed, when religion shall reign from end to end in our country, that religion which I look forward to is not to be dogmatism, it is not to be too much theology, nor too much subtlety, but a simple religion of one God, the Father of all, and one brotherhood among humankind.

If our faith could be carried out, if men were allowed to

form their own organisations, and if the one great platform and one bond of union were nothing but this,—one God for the whole country and one brotherhood for all the races,—India would rise in spite of its heterogeneous inhabitants,—it would rise to be one nation, as you are one nation. All nations under this simple faith in one God shall become of one mind, and all humankind shall become one great brotherhood.

HINDU SOCIETY.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Hindu society is a very ancient structure. Its principles, its classification, its laws, its beliefs, both religious and moral, are the results of many ages. One thing peculiar about Hindu social life is this: that its vitality is undying. When alien systems of civilisation have overtaken people,—whether barbarians or semi-civilized, or very civilized,—these people have generally died out. It is not only the aborigines of Australia and America; but where are the Greeks to-day, or the Egyptians, or the Romans, or the Phœnicians, or the ancient Peruvians? They could not adapt themselves to the new environment that formed around them, and they died away. The peculiar thing about Hindu social life is that so many cycles of events and circumstances came, so many orders of environment—so many invasions, so many different kinds of civilisation,—and yet, instead of crushing out the life of Hindu society, that society grew all the better for the changes. It is wonderfully elastic, susceptible, filled with vitality, that Hindu society. When Buddhism raised its standard, and Sakya-Muni denounced the practices and the theologies, the customs, the social distinctions of his

time, though of course Hindu life had to recede before the new ideas, yet in the course of time these ideas were assimilated. The new order of life was adopted: society proved itself elastic enough to take in the new principles; and, instead of Buddhism crushing out Hinduism, Hinduism crushed out Buddhism. Then, when the Greeks rolled into India like a torrent, upsetting thrones, slaying populations, conquering provinces, changing usages, what happened? Instead of the Hindus being exterminated by the Greeks, they absorbed all that was best in the character or the system of their invaders: they imbibed Greek art, Greek philosophy, Greek civilisation. Then, when the Mohammedans came, they were so fierce, so relentless, so unsympathetic, they spared nothing that was national, or Hindu. And yet, when the Mussulman went away, the Hindus were all the more vigorous, more national, more living, more faithful to their own instincts, or, if they changed at all, the change was in the direction of absorbing what was best in the nature of Mohammedanism. And now that the English have come, now that the European civilisation has made its appearance, with all its beneficent influences, with its Christian morality, its humanitarian philosophy, its toleration, its spirit of progress, do you think that Hindu society is likely to die in the midst of this favorable environment? No: the future will be more prosperous than the past; and yet, though we cannot see what that future will be, no doubt it will be a future of progress and of national greatness.

ABLUTIONS.

The personal life of the Hindu, as an element of the social organisation of the country, is so exceedingly simple that it is easily understood. The model Hindu of the present day

(I am not a model Hindu myself) lives as his primitive forefathers did in his dress, in his diet, in his devotions, in his daily pursuits, in all his personal habits. The first thing you notice in the character of the high-caste Hindu is his cleanliness. To the Christian baptism takes place once in life, no man is baptised twice. The Hindu has his daily baptism. Every day he must take a bath by immersion, and not merely for the sake of bodily comfort, but as an unavoidable religious observance. There are certain recitations which have to be said when the Hindu puts his foot in the water of the Ganges, when he advances into the water, and also when he dips his head in the stream. At each one of these acts there are certain proper sacred ejaculations to be uttered ; and when he has bathed, he feels that all his sins are washed away,—that all the pollution of the previous day and night, that all the evil deeds of life, done knowingly or unknowingly, are washed out by the beneficent waters of flowing grace, because the river is nothing more than the embodiment of the nature of God himself. It is quite a scene in Calcutta, and still more in one of the faraway north-western towns, early in the morning before the sun has risen, to watch the long lines of men and women going to have their early ablutions in the river Ganges. One side of the road is reserved for the women, the other side is reserved for the men. One Ghat (bathing place) of the river is reserved for the women, another for the men. They go in a continuous stream from half-past four in the morning until ten o'clock ; and they all bathe, and they are all clad in clean clothes, and return home cheerful, healthy, and free, with the sense of personal purity within and without. In a hot climate like that of India this practice is peculiarly sanitary ;

but it is not at all as a sanitary matter that they practise it, but as a religious duty.

Daily Devotions.

After that bath comes the time of the Hindu's daily devotions. There are three devotions that have to be gone through. One is early in the morning, another is after the bath, and the third is in the evening. The chief worship is after the bath, when the body and the mind are attuned to the thoughts of Him who is pure and serene and glorious and beautiful. It is a very short prayer which the Brahmin says, but it is a prayer which has been consecrated by the piety of thousands of years. It is a short Sanskrit verse, whose translation is thus given. "Now may I meditate upon the effulgence of that Supreme Light who is the source of all intelligence and blessedness." The evening prayer is longer, and sometimes the morning prayer also ; and the three devotions have to be gone through by every thoughtful Hindu.

Garments.

The garments of the Hindu have to be washed thoroughly every day. He has no Chinese laundry where his clothes can be sent. Laundries are so expensive here that we could not afford them in India. He washes his own clothes, or his wife washes them for him. But no high-caste Hindu will use the clothing to-morrow that he has used to-day until it is carefully washed and dried. They are all white, light, flowing garments, going down from the neck to the feet; the feet generally bare, or enclosed in light low slippers, the head covered with a white turban, or a skull-cap. But the Hindu has generally two costumes, one for wearing indoors at his ease, and the other for outdoor wear, when he goes to

office, or to the presence of some great official. The official costume is more elaborate and voluminous. The domestic costume is light, simple, easy, scanty, and also, sometimes, quite graceful. In a climate like India these heavy folds of sombre garment that you wear would be like a funeral-pall,—would be such a load, such an oppression, such a means of extracting all the carbonic acid gas and ammonia in the human system, that both from a sanitary and from a sacred point of view it would be utterly unsuitable.

MEALS.

The Hindu's meal is a simple affair. Every high caste Hindu is a vegetarian. Your vegetarianism here includes so many animal substances that our people stand aghast when they are mentioned. Your vegetarians eat eggs, oftentimes fish, perhaps grease and lard, perhaps soups and broths of doubtful composition. In India the touch of egg, fish or lard would be almost as contaminating as the touch of meat itself. Vegetarianism simply means butter, milk, sugar, flour, rice, pulses, garden-products and herbs. Every one has not the means to buy all this. So the food that is generally eaten is some unleavened white bread and stewed pulses, or some boiled rice with curried vegetables. In Bengal—I do not know under what precedents—the people generally eat fish; but in the upper provinces, or in Bombay and Madras, where Hinduism is more strict, fish is quite as forbidden as meat. During the day the Hindu generally takes an hour's siesta. He gets up at four o'clock in the morning, mind you, and goes to bed from nine to ten o'clock. He works all the time that he is awake,—works on week-days and on Sunday, week in and week out. He has no sabbath. And, as a rest from this

incessant labour, he enjoys an hour's rest during the hottest part of the day.

INDUSTRIES.

But what is his work? Most of the work of the Hindu is agricultural. Seventy-six per cent. of the people are agriculturists. Only twenty-four per cent. follow other industries. The industries of India at one time were magnificent. Our cotton muslins have been imitated, but they have neither been equalled nor surpassed by the products of any country in the world. Our Cashmere woolen fabrics, shawls and chogas, chadars and silks, have been feebly attempted now and then: have they ever been approached, much less surpassed? Not very long ago the reigning Prince of Baroda ordered a piece of cashmere chadar. A chadar is a long shawl, something like a big wrapper. That shawl was inworked with thousands of pearls and brilliants. The groundwork was wool, but the inworking was composed of all the brilliant stones that the Gaekwar could afford; and they estimate that it cost nearly one million sterling. I think it is still in Baroda and is described by Sir John Birdwood in one of his books on "Indian Industries." You know our inlaid work on ivory and sandalwood. Some of the Bombay boxes and Surat articles I have seen in English and American houses. You know their fineness and delicacy and their wonderful designs. You can imagine the laborious and artistic skill required in producing them. You know also our inlaid jewellery and metal ware. How the gold-smith works his wonderous threads of silver and gold and iron, and combines them in such beautiful vases, cups, and necklaces, sword-hilts and ornaments of various descriptions is past one's understanding. Certainly, up to this time

I have not seen any other country attempt their reproduction. All these industries flourished in India at one time; and the people, according to their training, according to the part of the country in which they lived, practised them. They are so poor now, so absolutely unencouraged and unpatronised—that the industries are very fast dying out; and I quote one of the greatest authorities on Indian statistics when I say that the industrial classes consider themselves most fortunate if they can eat one meal a day all the year round. Oftentimes the workman has to go with but one full meal a day: sometimes utter starvation stares him in the face. In the mango season he lives upon a hearty meal of mangoes bought cheap. In the season of melons he buys a copper's worth of melons, and subsists upon that. A hearty round meal, as you call it, he does not get to eat every day in the year. Yet he works from dawn until twelve o'clock. He goes home, in some parts of the country, to take his short meal and have an hour's nap, and returns again and works until dark, and sometimes after that. You can imagine the scorching, penetrating rays of the Indian sun. You have heard of the great torrents of rain that fall down from the skies. I told you the other day that in one year eight hundred and five inches of rain were recorded in a certain part of the country. You have heard of the storms, and hurricanes, and cyclones that root up old trees, drown hundreds of boats, and sweep away villages. In these inclemencies of the weather the poor laborer of the field has to work year in and year out; and the result is that he has not one full meal a day all round the twelve months. His earnings amount to about three dollars a month, and the average earn-

ings among the population of the higher classes seldom amount to about fifteen dollars a month. I think, ladies and gentlemen, some of you pay your coachmen more than fifteen dollars a month. If you strike an average, much less than this is what the high-caste Hindu gets; and it is said by some of our rulers that it is quite enough for him!

How does he bear himself under these hardships? Nature has given such gentleness to his soul,—so much forbearance and calmness and satisfaction, so much dependence upon the will of God,—call it superstition, call it fatalism, call it weakness, call it whatever you like,—the weakness of the Hindu is his greatest strength in the midst of his sorrows and hardships. Truly it is exemplified in the case of the poor Hindu that the weakest are the strongest among the children of God, because the weak depend upon Him; and from God there comes grace that suffices for all the ills to which flesh is heir.

THE HOUSEHOLD.

The next element in Hindu society is the household. The Hindu has what is called the joint family system, the patriarchal system. The father, the mother, the grand-father, the grand-mother, the grand-uncle, the grand-aunt, the nephew, the niece, and the cousins of the first degree and second and third degrees, and mothers-in-law, and sometimes the sisters of mothers-in-law—all come and flock under the same hospitable roof. It cannot be helped. Poor relations in India are not kicked downstairs as in other parts of the world. Every one feels that if a great misfortune happens to his relatives it is his own shame and disgrace: and therefore poor relatives, when they have no means of livelihood,

come, or are called to live in the extensive patriarchal mansion. When a father has a grown-up son, and that son marries, it would be the worst inhumanity on the part of the son to go away with his newly wedded bride into a new home. When the son goes to fetch his bride, the mother holds him by his hands and asks, "Son, where art thou going?" "I am going, mother, to bring thee thy female slave." Of course she is not actually a slave. It is in the language of Oriental politeness that she is called by that opprobrious name. When the wife comes, she is a member of the family; and her future depends upon her submissiveness and humility and tact in the beginning of her career. If a man happens to have five sons, and the five sons are married, the five wives come and live in the same house; and if the wives are at all gifted with any will-force, as all wives are more or less, they insist that their mothers, or some other relatives, shall come and live with them. And so they come; and mothers-in-law are about the same in the east and west and north and south. I have known houses whose inmates were two dozen, three dozen, sometimes four dozen. Then out-houses are built, additions are made to the house, small rooms are built, which in this country you would call dove-cots; and the house keeps increasing until the inmates of the family are like Abraham's seed, as numerous as the sands of the sea! Yet overcrowded and hot as these households are, and filled with misunderstandings (when ladies quarrel, they do not call them quarrels, but always call them misunderstandings), when there are high words and screams and the wreck of household articles, it is disagreeable of course; but, in spite of all this disagreeableness, the wonderful thing is the Hindu's love for his home. Ask the

poorest villager to leave his hovel and travel into some distant province and take up finer quarters, and he will positively refuse. I know, when Lod Dufferin was Governor-General of India, he told me that there were hundreds of miles of land, well wooded and well watered in Central India, and that if I could persuade my countrymen to emigrate there, they would find an easy deliverance from all the hardships to which they were daily subjected. Every attempt made to persuade them in that direction has failed. A Hindu has such a wonderful affection for the few yards of ground where he lives, and his forefathers lived before him, that he will never move out. And hence this system of joint family—a system which has no doubt certain advantages, though I confess the disadvantage is much greater. The disadvantage has scarcely any appreciable effect in diminishing the Hindu's love for his home. Your English and American homes are so refined, so sweet, so enlightened, so full of luxury, so full of all sorts of comfort and good feeling, that when I compare my ragged, rude, simple home with yours, I am at once ready to acknowledge your superiority. But no Yankee or Englishman's fondness for the citadel he calls his home can be greater than the fondness which I bear for my lowly "Peace Cottage," and the few square feet of ground where my wife and myself live in all contentment. And what is my feeling is the feeling of every faithful Hindu. Some day, I know, these homes will show great improvement ; and for that day I wait. But even now if a Hindu has any trait by which he is to be distinguished, it is his home-loving nature. And woman is the centre, is the light, is the life of that home. There are about one hundred and ninety millions of women in British India. In number

they are less than the population of men. These millions of women, of course, belong to different castes and orders; and no general definition will give you an insight into what they actually are. But, certainly, they are not the helots and savages that your travellers and missionaries describe. Some of them are so intelligent and refined, so beautiful and graceful and cultured, that you can form some idea of what they are from your experience of the little Mahratta woman who was here some years ago,—the celebrated Pandita Ramabai. The Pandita, although she would be an honor to the womankind of any land, is by no means the only woman that either the Mahratta country, or India as a whole possesses. When from the standard of intelligence that she and others like her show, you go down layer after layer into society, you find all orders of intelligence, all kinds of manners, from very high to very low. The higher the caste, the purer the blood, and finer the intelligence and character. In India there is such material among the women that if it could be rightly used and developed, the Indian woman might very well occupy her place with the women of any land or any nation.

Hindu Widows.

The life of the Hindu woman is in the household. Her entire ideal of character is domestic virtue. She feels that she is born for no higher place than to be a mother, a wife, a daughter, a household guardian. If Providence should smite her with early widowhood, if she is to go through all the austerities of that hard, long, enforced celibacy, her fate does not necessarily crush her spirit, though she is afflicted more than any one can tell: but she consecrates herself all the more devotedly to the services of the domestic God and the services of those in the house-

hold who are more fortunate than she is herself. In every country, I feel persuaded, there is need for a class of women who will not live for themselves, who have neither husbands nor children, not many personal wants, but who give all their energy, all their attention, all their woman's humanity and woman's heart, for the benefit of the poor, the sick, the wretched, and the helpless. In your country many unmarried ladies do that. In Roman Catholic communities the Sisters of Charity and the nuns do that. In India the widows do that. Their austerities, indeed, are prescribed by the country's customs; but not a few take to these so cheerfully and without a single murmur, without a moment's complaint, that these austerities, instead of making them harsh, or cruel, or indifferent, soften them, develop them, educate them, exalt them, turn them into ministering angels of their home and society. Many of them cannot be persuaded to give up their hardships: they seem to be born ascetics.

MARRIAGE.

In India a woman is born to marry, as the sparks fly upwards. The woman who is not married is a monstrosity. The woman who proposes to herself any other ideal than the domestic ideal is a being undreamed of, unheard of, unnatural. The result is she has to be married very early. She is married, not by her choice, but by the choice of her parents. She is married to a young man—often to a boy—about whose antecedents she is perfectly ignorant, whose features even she has not seen before the day of marriage. Yet these marriages take place; and, if you ask me, Are they happy? I think I keep myself strictly within the truth when I say the average Hindu marriage is quite as happy

as the marriage of any other country or community. Few respectable Hindu women complain of their marriage, but of course there are exceptions to every rule. If you ask a humble husband, like myself, for instance, about my married life, I will say that I never saw my wife before I married her, nor did she know much of me, nor are we rich, or fine, or even comfortable always; but, if all the beauty and education and refinement of the womanhood of the world were placed before me, I would take by the hand no other than the little child whom I wedded when I was a boy, and I would love her to the end as the most devoted husband ever loved his wife. I think, ladies and gentlemen, as in other matters, so in domestic life there is a secret adaptation pre-ordained from above. There is a kind of destiny. If men and women are faithful, self-sacrificing, not too fond of pleasure, or their own tastes and whims, they never need to be very unhappy. Of course, I do not say that the marriage customs of my country are ideal customs: there is great room for improvement. One reads of an age when other usages and better ones prevailed. We hear of the Hindu marriage that used to take place by choice. It was called Swamvara. The girl chose by her own will the person whom she would marry, and elaborate accounts of such marriages are found in the Hindu books. For instance, a prince has an unmarried daughter. Notices are sent to all the provinces and princedoms that such and such a princess is to be married on such and such a day; and all the best young men of the provinces crowd into the bride's father's house. The archer would come with his bow and arrow; the horse-man would come riding on his finest steed; the pandit would come getting by heart the

stiffest passages of Sanskrit philosophy; the poet would come, with the most elaborate verses in his pocket,—if he had any pocket in those days; and they would all sit in a great convocation in the hall, each one according to his rank,—the warriors in one line, the princes in another, the scholars in a third, and so on. At last the bride comes out, decked in garlands and glowing masses of jewelry, painted with sandal, saffron, and vermilion, her silken garments trailing on the ground. She comes smiling and blushing, "demure, buxom, debonnaire," with wreaths of flowers in her hands. She walks through the serried ranks of warriors and princes and expectant scholars. She walks with seeming indifference, without casting a single glance upon any individual, without taking any interest in anything, yet she is exceedingly observant all the time (ladies are up to wonderful tricks of this kind); and directly she has found her man, she plumps the wreath of flowers on his neck. Then all the other applicants rise up, and make an uproar: there is gnashing of teeth and clashing of armor, and the competitors break out into warfare perhaps which lasts for years. Yet the choice the girl has made is irrevocable. This practice existed I do not know at what time. The descriptions of its elaborate ceremonies fill many a Sanskrit book, and form the subjects of many a tradition.

It is different now, I do not know from what cause. I do not wish to lay all the blame upon the shoulders of the Mussalman conquerors. All the marriage preliminaries are settled by relatives. Yet the marriages, on the whole, are not bad. The men are about as bad as they are everywhere. "The beauty and the beast" live side by side all over the world. The women of India are saintly, patient, long-suffering, forgiving,

putting up with a hundred hardships without so much as raising their voice. Such marriages and such homes, ladies and gentlemen, make Hindu society. The ladies have to be secluded. Most of them in all the larger provinces live in their apartments,—not allowed, not liking, to go out. In Bengal this custom of seclusion is particularly rigid. The long prevalence of the custom has created a strong opinion against women appearing in public at all: and of late, though some of us have begun to break the custom, we have had for our boldness to bear a good deal of rough handling. The people have yet to learn to respect the other sex, or allow them their rights.

Divorce and Polygamy.

In Hindu marriage customs there is no divorce. The idea of divorce to the Hindu mind sounds most improper and impious. The increasing numbers of divorces in Christian countries shock us beyond description. If on every frivolous excuse of interest, inconvenience, offence, or temperament, a man and his wife are to be separated, we feel the axe is laid at the very roots of social and domestic morals. Because marriage to the Hindu is neither a social nor a domestic convenience: it is a religious sacrament. Unless a man is married, and his heirs offer oblations to his spirit after his death, he has no admission to heaven. Unless a woman marries, and through the piety of her husband and the sacrificial offerings of her children, is taken into the better regions, she cannot go there at all. Unless a woman is faithful, and the husband performs certain ceremonies, there is no salvation for her. Therefore marriage is a sacrament. It is inviolable. The bond of marriage can never be loosened. You ask what happens when

a wife is absolutely diseased, or when she is insane, or one thing or another. The remedy for that is rather painful to mention. Polygamy is sanctioned by the Hindu shasters. I do not know which is worse, polygamy or divorce, because when a wife who is divorced marries another husband I think it is quite as bad as polygamy. Polygamous marriages in Bengal are becoming fewer and fewer, and in a short time they will be gone. But I can tell you strange stories of a caste of polygamous Brahmans, called Kulins, who once flourished in Bengal, and are still to be found. These men make it a profession to marry wives. The number of people belonging to this high caste of Brahmans being few, it is difficult to make a suitable match for their girls. No girl can marry any suitor below her caste rank. If their children are married into a caste lower than themselves they lose their position. There are certain men who have made it their profession to marry the unmarriageable women, and to charge heavy fees for the favour. Twenty, fifty, or one hundred rupees is the fee exacted sometimes. Though permature marriages in Hindu society are usual, women of this caste sometimes keep unmarried until forty or fifty or sixty years of age; and just before the last unction is administered to them they have to go and get married somewhere and to somebody at any cost. Suppose there is a wedding to be celebrated in some neighbour's house, the poor old unmarried women go tottering on sticks into the court-yard, and pray for the favour of the marriage vow being uttered over their heads before they absolutely depart this life. The proffessional bridegroom will sometimes luxuriate in fifty or sixty wives; and for each visit which he may be asked subsequently to pay to these

wives there are separate fees levied. So it is a flourishing trade for these Brahmans to marry. I am glad to say that this miserable class is slowly dying out, and it is now quite an exceptional thing to hear of a Kulin marrying wives. From this you will perceive that polygamy in India is practically disappearing.

Household Ceremonies.

There are six ceremonies in the Hindu's household. The first ceremony is when the child is born. On the sixth day after the birth of the child the birth chamber is emptied of all occupants. The door is shut, the lamp burns low, and writing materials are at hand. It is believed that the Creator comes down from the heavens, and on the forehead of the child writes the secret of his future destiny. And every human being in India, therefore, is supposed to have a destiny and a vocation in life which was inscribed on his forehead by the hand of the Almighty himself. It is a beautiful ceremony, because I do believe that every man and every woman has a mission in life ; and if that mission were understood and discharged, the whole world would be the better for it.

About six months after the child's birth there is a ceremony to give him a name. The neighbours are invited, and the child is dressed for the first time in bright silken clothes, and is given to eat solid food for the first time in his life. The father sits there, and other relatives ; and the father, or some very near relation puts a morsel of food into the child's mouth. Then the name is given him, a prayer is made, and the blessing of God is asked.

The third ceremony is the ceremony of initiating a child into knowledge. Knowledge, in India, always means religious know-

ledge. The child, in former times, at his ninth year,—now earlier,—is taken to the house of his preceptor who generally used to sit under the overspreading branches of a great Indian fig-tree. His juvenile pupils were around him,—boys in all conditions, of all dimensions; some chattering, some reading aloud, some dozing. The little boy, the applicant for initiation, is brought. The preceptor asks him to take a berry from the tree overhead. The boy does so. He is told to break it, and pick out a seed. Then the teacher tells him to put it under the dry soil and put a drop of water upon it; and then the teacher says, "As that little atom of a seed put under the soil will some time spring into a great tree, giving shadow to bird and beast and man, so may the simple precepts of truth that I shall sow in thy mind grow up into a great tree of wisdom giving shadow and nourishment to thousands."

The fourth ceremony is the ceremony of marriage. From the day of the marriage begins the life of the householder about which I spoke in my first lecture.

The fifth ceremony is the funeral ceremony. The dead body is taken out upon a stretcher, always by relatives and friends, to the sacred riverside; and the same waters that embraced the living man when every morning he went to wash away his sins, receive a handful of his ashes after he is cremated. Cremation is the wisest and best disposal of the dead. The Hindus thoughts o: you are beginning to think so. Some day you will have to adopt it.

And the concluding ceremony of the man's life is the ceremony in which offerings and oblations are given to the Gods and the ancestors that his departed soul may be received into heaven.

Caste Distinctions.

The third element of the Hindu life is the community. The community is called the Somaj, and from that word comes the Brahmo Somaj. Brahmo is the worshipper of God, Somaj is the society; and the whole Hindu community is called the Hindu Somaj. The principal bond in Hindu society is the system of caste. You have heard endless stories of caste, and its abuses have been exposed and pointed out to you. It is as well whipped and kicked about as there was any need that it should be. Primarily, caste sprang from religion, from race, from occupation. Those who professed religion to be their work only, differentiated themselves from the rest of society, and were called Brahmans. Those who fought battles were called Khshettryas, those who tilled the soil were called Vaidyas, and those who served were called Sudras; but, primarily, religion lay at the bottom of the classification. The Brahmans and the Khshettryas were twice born; and others who formed the masses of the people were not that. Twice born means exactly the same thing as the word regenerated means in Christian phraseology. After a man is invested with the sacred thread, after he has gone through his initiation, he is supposed to be regenerated,—twice born. The great distinction between them and the masses of the people was that the latter never could have the same ceremony of initiation performed on them. This was the first distinction. Then there were those great aboriginal races about which I spoke to you. They could never be twice born. So the aborigines made different castes from the Aryans. Thus began the race distinction of caste. Then the hordes of foreign invaders came,—the Greeks, Scythians, Tartars, who formed different

castes again. The offspring of their intermarriage with the native races was also a separate caste. Then stepped in the various occupations. The goldsmith made one caste, the shoemaker another, the tinker another, the physician still another, and so on and so on. Now there are countless castes in Hindu society. The Brahmans alone are said to form as many as four hundred and sixty castes, and the Rajputs form five hundred and ninety castes. And there are innumerable grades and orders and shades of races and occupations, all of which have broken into an endless series of distinct clans in the mighty structure of Hindu society.

MITIGATIONS OF THE CASTE SYSTEM.

The institution of caste has been so well abused, that I may say safely, I think, one word in its favor. There is a great deal of apology for its existence. It is only the institution that concentrates within itself the principle of public opinion in India. So vast is Hindu society that it is impossible for all the people to take notice of the doings of one individual or one section of human beings. In the various classifications each caste takes care of its own members. There is such strong public opinion thus kept up that when a man departs from it, or violates in any important particular of moral or religious life the injunctions of the caste, there comes down upon him a public disgrace which he dares not to incur. Each caste has thus a fixed code by which to judge the moral conduct of those belonging to it. Has a man drunk wine or done something still worse, he is reported to his caste people. Immediately the caste assembles on the roadside or the riverside, or under the shadow of a tree. Calling the culprit before them, they ask him: "Did you do such and

such a thing on such and such a day?" If he admits it, a fine is imposed upon him. If it is a very serious offence, he may be turned out of caste which is a terrible thing. If he compacts with a fine, it is used for a great feast for all the inmates of the caste to which he is admitted.

Caste is so distributed that there are various workers of various professions. What accounts for the skill of the artistic work of India? It is hereditary. Its secrets have come down from father to son for generations. Thus within limited spheres the skill of particular industries is preserved and kept in high perfection. If it had not been for the caste system, who would have taken care of the poor and the diseased and the helpless and the dead at times of public distress? A man has no means to call in a medical attendant when he is ill. He has no means to support himself in the days of famine and scarcity. There is no poorhouse, there is no poor law, there is no parish super- intendence. It is the caste which sometimes performs all these functions. Charities are given, doctors are sent, medicines are supplied; and when at last death comes, the most serious difficulty comes. Who is to carry the body for cremation? No fashionable undertaker, no professional corpse-bearers; but it is the members of the caste who take the dead on their shoulders, and carry him with due honors to dispose of the remains. If it had not been for caste, where would the Hindus have been in the great storms of foreign invasion that whirled everything before them, and heeded neither the usages of the men, nor the honor of the women? What saved the Hindu religion, what saved Hindu philosophy, what saved Hindu learning, what saved the purity of the Hindu blood, but those

rigid rules of caste which even in death do not relax their hold? The Mohammedans came: they ceased to reign. The Greeks came and disappeared. The Scythians and the Monghals came, and they went away. But, after they were gone, the scattered remnants of the Hindu society came together, revived, and flourished again. What knitted them, what kept them intact? Only that rigid hold of their caste usages, which were powerful enough in all these revolutions to maintain their integrity. And in the present day, go where you like,—to Poonah, or Benares, or Calcuttâ, or anywhere else,—you will see Hindu society—all its types, all its arts, all its institutions, at least nominally—the same as before. Such are the conserving influences of the institution of caste.

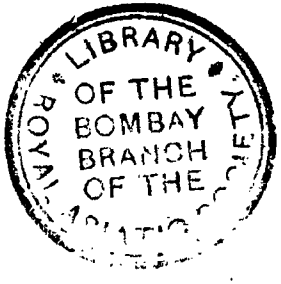
THE CHANGE DEMANDED.

But the time has come when a change has to take place. The civilisation of Europe brings new ideals, new aspirations, new necessities every day. If we fight and reject them, as a nation we are doomed. If we adopt them indiscriminately, the same fate will overtake us. Therefore, the movement to which I belong, as I told you the other day, has worked for various reforms, with the object of improving the institutions of the land, whether it be caste, or the education of woman. The trumpet of reform has sounded the message of a new religion and a new society. What will be the result? The new ideas, if they overturn and destroy the old instincts, will never find root or soil. Those who accept them will be isolated and alienated. On the other hand, if the old ideas remain as they now are, and are not affected by the new impulses and the new circumstances that have come, that will destroy the vitality of the nation. The great work before us is

this,—how to combine the old with the new, how to engraft new reforms upon the old spiritual and moral constitution of the Hindu. The spirit of progress must be assimilated into reformed usages, into instincts and aspirations which the Hindu has inherited from his prehistoric forefathers. Very slow, therefore, is the growth of social reform. We never hurry, we never get impatient, we never aspire to accomplish the work of centuries in the course of a week, a year, a decade. If woman is to be exalted from her present low condition, she must rise slowly and naturally, by the gradations of that universal law which is the only law of human emancipation and perfection. If castes are to be consolidated, communities must not be forcibly married and combined together. Education must slowly relax the old ideas, the old opinions; and by the diffusion of knowledge, by the action of circumstances, and by levelling influences of the age, the various races, retaining their moral and social integrity, shall form one brotherhood. Already, under the Brahmo Somaj influence, you see at least four or five hundred families in Bengal and other provinces, who have come to unite on this new basis. But even we are sometimes perplexed by the new state of things. When men go in for social revolution, they generally rush head-long; but, where purity is concerned, where the relations of the sexes are concerned, where the sanctities of the household are concerned, no progress cannot be too gradual. Yet the new era has come; the old has to change. And who but the Spirit of that God, who creates men and who combines them into the household, caste, community, or nation—who but his Spirit can teach us to solve the most difficult problem of reconciling the national spirit with universal progress? What

but His wisdom can teach us to keep intact our instincts, inherited from our forefathers,—our ideals, our moral conceptions, our religious feelings,—and yet take part in the universal march of progress that all mankind is making toward a great, far-off brotherhood?

I have unfolded to you in four different statements what I know of my country. Friends, will you listen to me, and go away, and do nothing to help us in the difficult work of purifying and reforming and exalting India? India stands at your door as your applicant. Give us your progress, give us your manliness, give us your culture, give us your heart, and take us, a backward nation, along with you in that way of national greatness whereto our forefathers helped yours at one time. The light once came from the East; and, if the light now returns from the West to the East, it is only a mutual duty that has to be discharged. May God's Spirit rest with yon and rest with us, and may our relations become nearer, until we make one great humanity unto the glory of our Father in heaven!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H. P. BLAVATSKY.

H. P. BLAVATSKY.

Sixteen years and a half have gone since Helena Petrovna Blavatsky passed away from this mortal world. Yet attacks are still made upon her veracity, upon her character, and good and sympathetic men still turn away from the Theosophical Society with: "Oh! I do not care to belong to it; it was founded by Mme. Blavatsky, who was convicted of fraud by the Psychical Research Society." The articles which defended her at the time have long been out of print, and are forgotten; Dr. Hodgson, the writer of the S.P.R. report, became a believer in phenomena far more wonderful than those which he denied in his youthful self-confidence, and also became himself the victim of misrepresentation and ridicule. The large circulation of Mme. Blavatsky's priceless works, the spread of the ideas which she spent her life in learning and teaching, the growth of the Theosophical Society which she founded at the orders of her Master, and with the aid of her colleague, Colonel H. S. Olcott, the ever-increasing literature published by her pupils—all these form her substantial defence, the justification of her life's work. But it is not right that the continued crucifixion of the Teacher should be regarded with complacency, while the world profits by the teachings, nor that she should be branded as fraud and impostor who brought to this age the truths now gaining such world-wide acceptance. It is but just that her defence should be obtainable so long as she is slandered. Therefore I—who reverence her as my first Teacher, and who keep her in my heart with unceasing gratitude as the one who led me to my Master, whom I have now served with ever-increasing thankfulness for more than eighteen years—place here on record the facts of the past, with such comment as seems necessary.

Helena Petrovna was the daughter of Colonel Peter Hahn, and the grand-daughter of Lieut.-General Alexis Hahn von Rottenstein-Hahn; her mother was Helena

Fadéeff, daughter of Privy-Councillor André Fadéeff and the Princess Helena Dolgorouki. The following letter—translated from the French original, which lies before me—by Lieut.-Major-General R. Fadéeff, to A. P. Sinnett, Esq., c/o H. H. the Viceroy's Private Secretary, through the Prince Dondoukoff-Horsanoff, Governor-General of the Caucasus, testifies to her identity: "I certify by these presents that Madam Helena Petrovna Blavacki,[1] now dwelling in Simla (British India), is, on her father's side, daughter of Colonel Peter, and grand-daughter of Lieut.-General Alexis Hahn de Rottenstein-Hahn (a noble family of Mecklenburg, settled in Russia), and, on her mother's side, daughter of Helena Fadéeff, and grand-daughter of Privy-Councillor André Fadéeff, and the Princess Helena Dolgouki,[2] and that she is the widow of the Councillor of State, Nicéphore Blavacki, late Vice-Governor of the Province of Erivan (Caucasus).

Major-General ROSTISLAW FADÉEFF,
Joint Secretary of the Minister of the Interior, Count Ignatieff, Attaché of the État-Major of the Minister of War.

S. Petersbourg, Little Morskaia, 23.
18/30 September, 1881."

With this was a letter, saying that a formal Government certificate would follow in a few days.

Helena Petrovna was born in 1831, and her aunt, Madame N. A. Fadéeff, writing in Odessa on 8/20 of May, 1877, bears witness to the marvels surrounding her from childhood. Madame Fadéeff states that she had herself always been profoundly interested in psychological phenomena, and had taken every opportunity of observing them. She proceeds: "The phenomena produced by the mediumistic power of my niece Helena are very curious and wonderful, veritable marvels; but they are not exceptional or unique. Many times have I been told of, and I have often read in works dealing with spiritualism, sacred and profane, astonishing accounts of phenomena resembling those which you mention in your letter, but they have generally been isolated occurrences, or coming from different sources. But so much force concentrated in a single individual—a whole group of the most extraordinary manifestations emanating from a single source, as in the case of Madame Blavatsky—that is certainly exceedingly rare and perhaps unparallelled. I have long known her to be possessed of mediumistic power, the greatest with which

[1] *Anglice*, Blavatsky. [2] *Anglice*, Dolgorouki.

I have met; but when she was here this power was in a condition far inferior to that which it has now reached. My niece Helena is a being quite apart, and cannot be compared with anyone else. As child, as young girl, as woman, she was always too superior to her environment to be appreciated at her real value. She received the education of a girl of good family. She was well brought up, but was not at all learned, and as for scholarship, of that there was no question. But the unusual richness of her intellectual nature, the delicacy and swiftness of her thought, her marvellous facility in understanding, grasping and assimilating the most difficult subjects, such as would require from anybody else years of laborious study; an eminently developed intelligence, united with a character loyal, straightforward, frank, energetic—these gave her such an unusual superiority, raised her so high above the ordinary level of the insipid majority of human societies, that she could never avoid attracting general attention, and the consequent envy and animosity of all those who, in their trivial inferiority, felt wounded by the splendor of the faculties and talents of this really marvellous woman.

You ask what languages she has studied. From childhood, in addition to Russian, her native tongue, she knew only French and English. Long afterwards, during her travels in Europe, she picked up a little Italian. The last time that I saw her, four years from that time, that was all she knew in the way of languages; of that I am positively certain, I can assure you. As to the unfathomable depths of her erudition, at the time I speak of, four years after, as I say, there was no shadow of it, not even the least promise thereof. She was well brought up, well educated as a woman of the world, that is to say, very superficially. But as to serious and abstract studies, the religious mysteries of antiquity, Alexandrian Theurgy, ancient philosophies and philologies, the science of hieroglyphs, Hebrew, Samskrit, Greek, Latin, etc., she never saw them even in a dream. I can swear to it. She had not the least idea of the very alphabet of such things."

To return: Helena Petrovna was married, as a girl of seventeen, to an old man, and promptly took flight from her husband, on discovering what marriage meant, and roamed about the world in search of knowledge. In August, 1851, we find her in London, and there, on a moonlight night, as her diary tells us, beside the Serpentine, "I met the Master of my dreams." He then told her that he had chosen her to work in a society, and some time afterwards, with her father's permission, she went into training for her future mission, passing through seven and ten years of probation, trial and hard work. Mme. Fadéeff may

again help us. She writes from Paris, under date June 26th, 1884: "I wrote to Mr. Sinnett two or three years ago, in answer to one of his letters, and I think that I told him what occurred in connection with a letter received by me phenomenally, when my niece was on the other side of the world, or when, to speak the fact, no one knew where she was—which was exactly the thing that troubled us. All our enquiries had ended in nothing. We were ready to believe her dead, when —I think in the year 1870, or soon after—I received a letter from the Being whom you call, I think, Koot-Hoomi, which was brought to me in the most incomprehensible and mysterious way, in my own house, by a messenger with an Asiatic face, who vanished before my eyes. This letter, which begged me not to be anxious and assured me that she was safe, is still in my possession, but at Odessa. When I return I will forward it to you, and I shall be very glad if it is of use to you. Excuse me, but is difficult, almost impossible, for me to believe that there can be people sufficiently stupid to think that either my niece, or yourself, invented the men whom you call Mahâtmâs.

"I do not know if you have long known them personally, but my niece spoke to me about them, and that very fully, years ago. She wrote to me that she had seen and reknitted her connection with several of them before she wrote her *Isis*. Why should she have invented these personages? With what object? and what good could they do her if they did not exist? Your enemies are neither wicked nor dishonest, I think; they are, if they accuse you of that, only idiotic. If I, who am, I hope, to remain to my death a fervent Christian, believe in the existence of these men—though not in all the miracles alleged about them—why should not others believe? I can certify to the existence of one of them, at least. Who could have written to reassure me in the moment when I most needed such reassurance, if it were not one of these Adepts they talk of? It is true that I do not know the writing, but the way in which it was delivered to me was so phenomenal that no one, save an adept in occult science, could have accomplished it. It promised me the return of my niece, and the promise was fulfilled. Anyhow, I will send it to you in a fortnight, and you will receive it in London."

The letter was duly forwarded ten days later, enclosed in a note from Madame Fadéeff; it was written on Chinese rice-paper, "backed with the glassy hand-made paper one sees in Kashmîr and the Panjâb, and enclosed in an envelope of the same paper. The address is: 'To the Honourable, Very Honourable, Lady Nadejka Andriewna Fadéeff, Odessa.' In

one corner, in the handwriting of Madame Fadéeff, is the note in the Russian language in pencil, 'Received at Odessa, November 7th, about Lelinka (H.P.B.'s pet name), probably from Tibet. November 11th, 1870, Nadejka F.' The note says: 'The noble relatives of Madame H. Blavatsky have no cause to mourn. Their daughter and niece has not departed from this world. She lives, and wishes to make known to those she loves, that she is well, and feels very happy in the distant and unknown retreat that she has chosen. . . Let the ladies of her family comfort themselves. Before 18 new moons have risen, she will have returned to her home.' Both the note and the envelope are written in the now familiar handwriting of the Mahâṭmâ K.H." [1]

The following dates are taken from a scrap of paper, found at Adyar, in a writing I do not recognise, and unsigned. I give them for what they are worth.

In 1848, immediately after her marriage, she left the Caucasus and went to Egypt, travelling with the Countess Kiselef. She visited Athens, Smyrna and Asia Minor, and made her first effort to enter Tibet, but failed. In 1853, at the time of the visit of the Nepaulese Embassy to London (but in 1851, according to her own diary), she was in London, and met there her Master. Thence she went to South America, and through the Pacific islands to India, and made her second ineffectual attempt to enter Tibet. She returned to England, *viâ* China, Japan and America, about 1853. She then travelled to the United States and Central America, and back to England in 1855 or '56. Thence she again went to India, *viâ* Egypt, and just before the outbreak of the Sepoys she made her third unsuccessful attempt to enter Tibet. She then disappears, turning up in Russia at the end of 1858 or beginning of 1859. She was in Tiflis from 1861 to 1863, and then went to Egypt, and thence to Persia, crossing over Central Asia and penetrated to Tibet about 1864. She paid a flying visit to Italy in 1866, and then back to India and the north, to the Kumlun mountains and Lake Palti and Tibet. She returned to Odessa, *viâ* Egypt and Greece, in 1872.

In 1872, according to the *Theosophist*, Madame Blavatsky was shipwrecked, and was given help and shelter, while awaiting remittances from Russia, by some people who were to work her much harm in later days—the Coulombs, then keeping a hotel in Cairo, Egypt. Madame Coulomb seems to have been a medium, and to have interested Madame Blavatsky. Their acquaintance was brief, for the latter

[1] *Report of the Result of an Investigation into the charges against Madame Blavatsky*. Pp. 95, 96.

shortly went on to Russia, and thence to France and America, meeting in the latter country Colonel Olcott, with whom, on November 17th, 1875, she founded, in pursuance of the order she had received, the Theosophical Society. The story of that time may be read in the *Old Diary Leaves*,[1] by Colonel Olcott, wherein is given an account of her extraordinary powers, and of the phenomena which surrounded her. From America, the two founders came to India, and fixed their headquarters for a time in Bombay. There Madame Blavatsky received a letter from Madame Coulomb, dated June 10th, 1879, telling her of the troubles she had passed through, and begging her to lend her Rs. 200[2]. In the late spring of 1880, she and her husband came to Bombay in great poverty, and Madame Blavatsky took pity on them and helped them, afterwards establishing them in the headquarters at Adyar, M. Coulomb as librarian and man-of-all-work—for the library was in the future—and Madame Coulomb as housekeeper and caretaker.

The work of Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott in India is well known; the same marvels surrounded her in India as in America, and, joined to her wonderful insight into the truths underlying all religions, and her intense love for India, "the motherland of my Master," drew round her crowds of the cultured classes of India. Here, again, the *Old Diary Leaves* may be read by those who desire to see the evidence for the extraordinary strength and range of her occult powers. Her brilliant articles in the *Theosophist* show her knowledge, and the frequent appearances of the Masters and Their constant communications with her, and with those around her, became widely known. Mr. Sinnett in his *Occult World*, has placed on record his own experiences and those of the circle round him; perhaps the greatest phenomenon of all was the change effected in this sceptical Anglo-Indian, the Editor of the *Pioneer*, who, by his contact with the Master K.H., into which he was brought by Madame Blavatsky, became His faithful and loyal disciple, steadfastly serving him through all vicissitudes.[3]

If human evidence can ever substantiate a fact, the fact of the appearance of the Masters, and of the communications received from Them during these years, is placed beyond the possibility of doubt. Let me take a few at random. Mr. S.

[1] It would be useless to fill these pages with quotations from books now in circulation, and which can be consulted by anyone wishing to know the facts.

[2] *Report of the Result*, etc. Pp. 131, 132.

[3] As already said, I am not giving here evidence open to all in books now in circulation; any serious student can study *The Occult World*, with its invaluable information, for himself.

Râmasvâmier, a District Registrar, on December 1st., 1881, gave a note in a closed envelope to Madame Blavatsky, and then went out for a drive with her, Colonel Olcott and Damoḍar; on returning to the house they all saw, leaning over the balcony, a man, recognised by the Colonel and Damoḍar as Madame Blavatsky's Master; He raised His hand and dropped a letter to the ground; it was written in Tibetan characters, and was an answer to the note of Mr. Râmasvâmier, who certifies, under date December 28th, 1881, that Madame Blavatsky was not out of his sight from the moment he gave her his note to the time he saw the figure drop the answer.[1] Mr. and Mrs. Scott—Mr. Scott was a civil servant in India who rose to the position of Judicial Commissioner of Ouḍh—Colonel Olcott, Madame Blavatsky, Mr. M. Muraḍ Ali Beg, Mr. Damoḍar K. Mavalankar, and Paṇḍiṭ Bhavâni Shankar, were sitting together on a balcony, from which the library in partial darkness, and a room beyond brilliantly lighted, were visible. Mr. Scott saw a man, whom he recognised from His portrait, as Master M., step into the lighted room; all saw Him clearly; He walked towards a table, and on that, subsequently, a letter was found in the familiar writing.[2] Colonel Olcott writes, under date 30th September, 1881; "This same Brother once visited me in the flesh at Bombay, coming in full daylight and on horseback. He had me called by a servant into the front room of H. P. B.'s bangalow (she being at the time in the other bangalow, talking with those who were there). He came to scold me roundly for something I had done in T. S. matters, and as H. P. B. was also to blame, He telegraphed to her to come, that is to say He turned His face and extended His finger in the direction of the place she was in. She came over at once with a rush, and seeing Him dropped on her knees and paid Him reverence. My voice and His had been heard by those in the other bangalow, but only H. P. B. and I, and the servant *saw* Him. Another time two, if not three persons, sitting in the verandah of my bangalow in the Girgaum compound, saw a Hinḍu gentleman ride in, dismount under H. P. B.'s portico and enter her study. They called me, and I went and watched the horse until the visitor came out, remounted and rode off. That also was a Brother in flesh and bones."[3]

During this time M. and Mme. Coulomb were living in the Bombay Headquarters, and Mme. Coulomb, as a Spiritualist, was not sceptical as to the reality of the phenomena, but,

[1] *Hints on Esoteric Philosophy*. Pp. 72, 73.
[2] *Ibid*. Pp. 74-76.
[3] *Ibid*. P. 80.

as a fanatical and superstitious Christian, she considered them—they being so connected with non-Christians—as the work of the devil. Mr. Marṭanḍrao B. Nâgnâṭh, who was much with the founders at Bombay from 1879 to 1889, records instances of his seeing the "generally unseen Brothers of the 1st Section of the Theosophical Society." (The Theosophical Society, in its early days, was organised in three sections, the first section consisting of the Masters.) In 1881, he, with three brother Theosophists, was talking with Mme. Blavatsky, Mme. Coulomb being also present, when they saw the Master K. H. " about eight or ten yards distant." " He was wearing a white loose gown or robe, with long wavy hair and a beard; and was gradually forming, as it were, in front of a shrub or number of shrubs, some twenty or thirty yards away from us, until He stood to a full height. Mme. Coulomb was asked in our presence by Mme. Blavatsky: 'Is this good Brother a devil?' as she used to think and say so, when seeing the Brothers, and was afraid. She then answered: 'No, this one is a man.' He then showed His full figure for about two or three minutes, then gradually disappearing, melting away into the shrub." This statement, which contains an account of various other phenomena, is dated Bombay, 14th February, 1882.[1] It is confirmed by Paṇḍiṭ Bhavâni Shankar.[2]

After the Headquarters of the Society were moved to Aḍyar, Maḍras (Dec. 30th, 1882), similar appearances of the Masters frequently took place: it was a household custom for the workers to gather on the flat roof in the evening, and thither, now and again, would come a Master visibly, and graciously talk with and instruct them. On this, Mr. C. W. Leadbeater, who was working at Aḍyar and elsewhere in India and Ceylon for the Society from 1884 to 1888, writes as follows: "I am very glad to testify that I have on many occasions seen the Masters appear in materialised form at the Headquarters at Aḍyar. Under such conditions I have seen the Master M., the Master K. H., the Master D. K., and also another member of the Brotherhood, besides one or two pupils who acted as messengers. Such appearances occurred sometimes on the flat roof of the main building, sometimes in my own room by the riverside, and on several occasions in the garden. The materialisations were frequently maintained for twenty minutes, and on at least two occasions for considerably over half-an-hour."

These appearances of the Masters were not, however, confined to the Headquarters at Bombay and at Madras.

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[1] *Hints on Esoteric Philosophy*. P. 105. [2] *Report of the Result*, etc. Pp. 76, 77.

Mr. T. Brown states the following in *My Experiences in India*. "Lahore has a special interest, because there we saw, in his own physical body, Mahâṭmâ Kooṭ Hoomi himself. On the afternoon of the 19th November, I saw the Master in broad daylight, and recognised him, and on the morning of the 20th he came to my tent and said: 'Now you see me before you in the flesh: look, and assure yourself that it is I,' and left a letter of instructions and a silk handkerchief, both of which are now in my possession. The letter is as usual written seemingly with blue pencil, is in the same handwriting as that in which is written the communication received at Maḍras, and has been identified by about a dozen persons as bearing the caligraphy of Mahâṭmâ Kooṭ Hoomi. The letter was to the effect that I had first seen him in visions, then in his astral form, then in body at a distance, and that finally I now saw him in his own physical body, so close to me as to enable me to give to my countrymen the assurance that I was, from personal knowledge, as sure of the existence of the Mahâṭmâs as I was of my own. The letter is a private one, and I am not enabled to quote from it at length. On the evening of the 21st, Colonel Olcott, Damoḍar and I were sitting outside the shamiâna, when we were visited by . . . . (the Master's head Chelâ, now an Initiate), who informed us that the Master was about to come. The Master then came near to us, gave instructions to Damoḍar, and walked away."[1]

Of this same visit to Lahore, November, 1883, Damoḍar himself gives many details. Of the Mahâṭmâ K.H. he says: "There I was visited by Him in body, for three nights consecutively, for about three hours every time, while I myself retained full consciousness, and in one case even went to meet Him outside the house. Him whom I saw in person at Lahore was the same I had seen in astral form at the Headquarters of the Theosophical Society, and the same again whom I, in visions and trances, had seen at His house, thousands of miles off, to reach which in my astral Ego I was permitted, owing, of course, to His direct help and protection. In those instances, with my psychic powers hardly developed yet, I had always seen Him as a rather hazy form, although His features were perfectly distinct, and their remembrance was profoundly graven on my soul's eye and memory. While now at Lahore, Jammu, and elsewhere, the impression was utterly different. In the former cases, when making pranâm (salutation) my hands passed through His form, while on the latter occasions they met solid garments and flesh. Here I

[1] *Report of the Result*, etc. Pp. 74, 75.

saw *a living man* before me, the same in features, though far more imposing in His general appearance and bearing than Him I had so often looked upon in the portrait in Mme. Blavatsky's possession, and in the one with Mr. Sinnett. I shall not here dwell upon the fact of His having been corporeally seen by both Colonel Olcott and Mr. Brown separately, for two nights at Lahore, as they can do so better, each for himself, if they so choose. At Jammu again, where we proceeded from Lahore, Mr. Brown saw Him on the evening of the third day of our arrival there, and from Him received a letter in His familiar handwriting, not to speak of His visits to me almost every day, and what happened the next morning almost everyone in Jammu is aware of. The fact is, that I had the good fortune of being sent for, and permitted to visit a sacred Âshrama, where I remained for a few days in the blessed company of several of the Mahâṭmâs of Himavaṭ and Their disciples. There I met not only my beloved Guruḍeva and Colonel Olcott's Master, but several others of the Fraternity, including one of the highest. I regret the extremely personal nature of my visit to those regions prevents my saying more of it. Suffice it that the place I was permitted to visit is in the Himâlayas, not in any fanciful summer land, and that I saw Him in my own sthûlasharîra (physical body), and found my Master identical with the form I had seen in the earlier days of my Chelâship. Thus I saw my beloved Guru not only as a *living* man, but actually as a young one in comparison with some other Sâḍhus of the blessed company, only far kinder, and not above a merry remark and conversation at times. Thus, on the second day of my arrival, after the meal hour, I was permitted to hold an intercourse for over an hour with my Master. Asked by Him smilingly what it was that made me look at Him so perplexed, I asked in my turn: "How is it, Master, that some of the members of our Society have taken into their heads a notion that you were 'an elderly man,' and that they have even seen you clairvoyantly, looking an old man past sixty?' To which He pleasantly smiled and said that this latest misconception was due to the reports of a certain Brahmachârî, a pupil of a Vedântic Svâmi in the N.W.P., who had met last year in Tibet the chief of a sect, an elderly Lâma, who was His (my Master's) travelling companion at that time. The said Brahmachârî, having spoken of the encounter in India, had led several persons to mistake the Lâma for Himself. As to His being perceived clairvoyantly as 'an elderly man,' that could never be, He added, as *real* clairvoyance could lead no one into such a mistaken notion, and then He kindly

reprimanded me for giving any importance to the age of a Guru, adding that appearances were often false, etc., and explaining other points." [1]

Pandit Bhavâni Shankar says that while travelling in the North in the spring of 1884, Mahâtmâ M. was seen by Mr. Nivaran Chandra Mukerji and himself, in His astral body, at a Branch meeting, and goes on: "I have seen the same Mahâtmâ, *viz.*, Madame Blavatsky's Master, several times in His double during my travels in the North. Not only have I seen Madame Blavatsky's Master in His double, but also my venerated Gurudeva K.H. I have also seen the latter, *viz.*, my Master, in His physical body, and recognised Him." [2]

Mr. Mohini M. Chatterji, writing on September 30th, 1884, says: "To a Brâhmana, like myself, it is repugnant to speak of the sacredly confidential relationship existing between a spiritual teacher and his pupil. Yet, duty compels me in this instance to say that I have personal and absolute knowledge of the existence of the Mahâtmâ, who has corresponded with Mr. Sinnett, and is known to the Western world as 'Koot Hoomi.' I had knowledge of the Mahâtmâ in question before I knew Mme. Blavatsky, and I met Him in person when He passed through the Madras Presidency to China—last year." [3]

Mr. S. Râmasvâmier, setting off to Tibet in search of his Guru, was met on the road to Sikkim by "a solitary horseman, galloping towards me from the opposite direction. . . . As He approached me, He reined in His steed. I looked at Him, and recognised Him instantly. I was in the presence of the same Mahâtmâ, my own revered Guru, whom I had seen before in His astral body, on the balcony of the Theosophical Headquarters. It was He of the ever-memorable night of December 1st, who had dropped a letter in answer to one I had given in a sealed envelope to Madame Blavatsky—whom I had never for one moment during the interval lost sight of—but an hour or so before. . . . I was at last face to face with the 'Mahâtmâ of the Himavat,' and He was no myth, no 'creation of the imagination.' It was not night; it was between nine and ten o'clock of the forenoon. My happiness made me dumb." [4] Mr. R. Casava Pillai also, near Sikkim, "saw the Mahâtmâs in their physical bodies, and found them to be identical with those whom he had seen in dreams and visions, or in astral form as above stated" (in Bombay). [5]

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[1] *Report of the Result*, etc. Pp. 82-84.

[2] *Report of the Result*, etc. Pp. 79, 80. [3] *Ibid.* P. 74.

[4] *Report of the Result*, etc. Pp. 85, 86.

[5] *Ibid.* P. 89.

Here we have a number of independent witnesses, bearing testimony to their meeting these same Masters in the flesh.

Leaving now the direct manifestations of the Masters, I select from among the numerous communications received in a superphysical manner from Them, the following, merely as illustrations: at Bombay, on the 2nd February, 1882, the Hon. J. Smith, member of the Legislative Council, N.S.W., Professor in Sydney University, went with Madame Blavatsky into his own bedroom, he having first entered it alone and seen that it was as usual; they sat down together, and in doing so "she took my hands in both of hers. In a few seconds a letter fell at my feet. It seemed to me to appear first a little above the level of my head. On opening the envelope I found a sheet of note-paper headed with a Government stamp of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and the following words written with red pencil, in exactly the same hand-writing as that in the letters of the previous evening: 'No chance of writing to you inside your letters, but I can write *direct*. Work for us in Australia, and we will not prove ungrateful, but will prove to you our actual existence, and thank you.' A fair review of the circumstances excludes, in my opinion, any theory of fraud. J. SMITH." Prof. Smith, later, writing from Nice to Madame Blavatsky, under date of January 31st, 1883, gives the following account of a communication received by him: "You think that my note to M. was a failure, but let me now tell you the facts. You may remember that you concluded your letter with a P. S. requesting me not to be angry with the Brother. This was followed by a few words in red ink in M.'s hand, to the effect that your advice was very kind and considerate (evidently sarcastic). But more than that. Inside your letter was a small envelope, curiously folded and gummed and addressed to me in red. On cutting this open, I found my own little note to M. *absolutely intact*. My wife, who sewed it up, and other ladies to whom I shewed it, are satisfied that the stitching had never been disturbed. At first I was inclined to think that it had come back just as it went, but on cutting it open, what was the astonishment of all of us when I drew out a piece of Chinese paper with a curious picture on it, and some writing in red ink round the margin, with M.'s signature or rather cryptograph. The sentence began: 'Your ladies, I see, are unbelievers, and they are better needlewomen than our Hindu and Tibetan lasses,' etc. To me and my wife the test is as satisfactory as it is gratifying and astonishing. How did that Chinese paper get inside my note? Not by any means known to ordinary mortals. I scarcely dared to hope for anything so good when

I enclosed the note to M., and I am very grateful to him for it. I am encouraged to enclose another note for him in the hope of getting a reply, but I do not make it any test. I wish only for information. But if he should see fit, voluntarily, to give me some additional proof of his 'miraculous' powers (for with our received notions of matter this affair of the note may be so designated) I shall be intensely pleased. I am more than ever sorry that I did not stay with you a week longer, that I might have had a chance of seeing M., and perhaps becoming personally acquainted with him. When you mention the disappearance of my note to M., you add: 'To all my questions I received one reply: "Mind your business," etc.' In what way were the questions made? By mental impressions simply? Or in actual conversations with M.'s double or projection? And do you know why M. took away my letter to you as well as the note to himself? (that is, supposing he *did* take it), for by so doing your answer to me and his own communication to me, were greatly delayed. . . . My wife desires me to send you her very kind regards. She hopes to see you sometime. You say you trust she will then *believe* a little more than she does. But I think I told you that she believed the facts included under the term Spiritualism, and now she is quite satisfied with this test sent by M., feeling sure that by no known means could that piece of Chinese paper have been inserted into the note sewn up by her."

I have in my hands many of the letters sent by the Masters during these years, some scribbled down on the letter requiring the answer, some independent. They came in all ways—by post, by sudden appearance on a table, in a drawer, falling through the air, etc. On February 10th, 1882, a letter was seen to fall to the ground perpendicularly, in the open air, ten paces from Mme. Blavatsky's chair, and seven from the little group who saw it fall. Another fell in a railway carriage, containing Mme. Blavatsky, Mr. and Mrs. Oakley and Mr. Leadbeater, blaming her for what she was doing at the moment. But the instances are innumerable. The phenomenal delivery of letters was by no means confined to Mme. Blavatsky's immediate neighborhood. Dr. Hartmann tells us that a pair of pincers was wanted, and "remembering that I had such a pair of pincers in the drawer of my writing desk, I went down stairs into my room to get them. I opened the drawer, saw the pincers and a few other things in there, but no vestige of any letter, as I had removed my papers the day before to another place. I took the pincers and was about to close the drawer, when—there lay *in the drawer* a great envelope, addressed to me in the well-known handwriting of the Master

and sealed with the seal bearing His initials in Tibetan characters. On opening it, I found a long, very kind letter treating of the identical questions, about which I had just been talking with Mme. Blavatsky,[1] besides giving a detailed and very satisfactory answer to the very question which had so perplexed my mind, and a satisfactory explanation of certain matters, which for some time had been foremost in my mind, but of which I had said nothing at all. Moreover there was in the same envelope a photograph, cabinet-size, of the Master's face, with a dedication to me at the back. Now, if I know anything at all, I know that my drawer contained no such letter when I opened it, and that there was nobody visible in my room at that time. The letter, giving a detailed answer to my question, must have been written, sealed and put into the drawer in less than four minutes, while it took exactly forty minutes to copy it the next day; and finally, it treated a very difficult problem in such an elaborate and yet concise manner, that only an intelligence of the highest order could have done the same (February 5th, 1884)."[2]

On the 17th March, 1884, Mr. Navaṭram Ooṭaram Triveḍi, was at the Headquarters, Aḍyar, and wrote out some questions on a sheet of foolscap: "I wanted Damoḍar to have the questions answered, but he did not take any notice of them. At about noon I sat at a table, with Mr. Damodar opposite to me. This was in the office room downstairs. I read over to myself the questions that I had written out, and laid the paper upon the table. In a few minutes, while I was talking to Damoḍar, the paper disappeared, and I silently remarked this, but I kept on talking, and in a short while an envelope was found lying upon the floor. It was addressed to me, and, on opening it, I found my own sheet of questions written over in blue pencil. The answers to my questions were full, and had been written close to each of the questions on my own paper. The handwriting was that of Mahâṭmâ K. H. Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott were then not at Aḍyar, but had proceeded to Europe, and were probably in Paris."[3]

Says Mr. R. Casava Pillai: "In the year 1882, while I was travelling by railway between the Allahabâḍ and Mogal

[1] He had broken off his conversation with Madame Blavatsky in order to go downstairs for the pincers.

[2] *Report of Observations made during a nine months' stay at the Headquarters of the T.S.* By F. Ḥartmann, M.D. Pp. 29-30.

[3] *Report of the Result*, etc. Pp. 61, 62. The questions and answers are printed in the *Theosophist* for July, 1907. I copied them from the original document.

Serai stations, a letter fell in the compartment of the railway carriage in which I was sitting. I was alone in the compartment, and the carriage was in motion. I had wished that Mahâṭmâ K. H. should give me instructions regarding a certain matter about which I was then thinking, and when I opened the letter I found that my thoughts had been answered, and that the letter was in the handwriting of Mahâṭmâ K. H., whose writing I know so well. Madame Blavatsky was then in Bombay."[1]

As Madame Blavatsky once wrote on the margin of such an account: "Who was the fraud here?"

When Paṇḍiṭ Bhavâni Shankar was staying at Mr. Sinnett's house in Allahabâḍ, in March, 1882, Madame Blavatsky was in Bombay. Mr. Sinnett one evening gave him a note addressed to the Mahâṭmâ K. H. The Paṇḍiṭ put the letter near his pillow, locked his doors, lighted his lamp, and was alone. Between ten and eleven he saw his Master astrally, and He took the letter. The next morning he found the answer under his pillow, addressed to Mr. Sinnett, and handed it to him. On the 8th of November, 1883, at Bareilly, Paṇḍiṭ Bhavâni was talking with a European friend. He had a courier-bag hanging across his shoulder, and during the conversation he received, inside this bag, a letter from his Master, in a Chinese envelope.[2]

Damoḍar gives an account of various letters received by him, altogether apart from Madame Blavatsky. Towards the end of 1880, at Headquarters, some days after Madame Blavatsky had gone, he received from his father a letter about family business, which caused him much thought; he wrote down the decision he had come to, hoping the Mahâṭmâs would note on it whether he were right or wrong, and locked it away in his table drawer; then, thinking that if he were making a mistake, he would be corrected, he opened the drawer and destroyed his note. The next morning he found in the drawer a letter from his Master in Hinḍi. On August 21st, 1881, he was in Bombay, at Headquarters; Colonel Olcott was in Ceylon, Madame Blavatsky in Simla. One evening he was sitting near his bed, feeling very despondent because of family troubles; he saw forming, on a little table in front of him, a letter, which proved to be from his Master. In 1882, Madame Blavatsky being in Darjeeling, he was sitting in the open balcony, thinking over an idea that had come into his mind. On this occasion he was not alone; M.

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[1] *Report of the Result*, etc. Pp. 60, 61.

[2] *Report of the Result*, etc. Pp. 77-79.

Coulomb was there. As the latter was lighting his cigarette, Damodar felt a slight electric shock, and saw a letter lying at his feet; it contained a reply to his thought, as well as some information to be sent to a brother Theosophist. During Madame Blavatsky's absence in Ootacamund, in July, 1883, various letters were received in the Shrine at Adyar, Damodar placing them within it and taking out the replies. He also received letters in the well-known writing before and after the coming of the Coulombs, away from Headquarters as well as in them, and notes written on letters from others, delivered into his own hands by the postman.[1] In all these cases, Madame Blavatsky was away, but the writing was identical with that of the letters so often received through her instrumentality.

On the 1st August, 1884, Madame Blavatsky being in England, Colonel Olcott and Dr. Hübbe-Schleiden were travelling from Elberfeld to Dresden by express. As the latter partly rose from his seat to hand the railway tickets to the guard, Colonel Olcott noticed something white lying on the seat; it turned out to be a Tibetan envelope, in which was a letter from Mahâtmâ K.H. in His well-known writing.

Before dealing with the communications received during a short time in the famous "Shrine" at Adyar, it is necessary to describe the rooms which afterwards became famous. Madame Blavatsky occupied two out of the three rooms on the upper storey, opening on to a large hall. There was a sitting-room, which opened into a bedroom, and this again into a third room; the wall between the bedroom and this third room was made of two partitions with twelve inches between them, lightly built, there being no support below, and with a door in the middle, the door being thus sunk in a recess. This third room was set apart for occult purposes, and was called the Occult Room. On the partition wall, loosely hanging, was a cupboard, originally over the door,[2] in which were placed two pictures of the Masters, a silver bowl, and other articles; the cupboard had a solid back and

[1] *Ibid.* Pp. 103-116.

[2] Mrs. Morgan, the wife of General Morgan, said: "I can state for a fact, that during my stay at Adyar, during December, 1883, Madame Blavatsky took Mr. C. and myself and showed us the back of the shrine, and the wall she had built behind it, where there had been a door, and the people were welcome to inspect this and see it was barred and bolted; yet she thought it would remove the least occasion for suspicion were it bricked up, and so had it done. The wall then presented a fine, highly polished, white surface. This wall I shortly afterwards saw papered, as I superintended the hanging of the paper."—*Report of the Result*, etc Pp. 99, 100.

shelves, and was merely hung on the wall, so that it could be removed easily. This cupboard was called "The Shrine." The wall was smoothly plastered over, and various people—after it had been tampered with by the Coulombs—bore witness to the fact that at least up to February 17th, 1884—H.P.B. left Adyar on February 7th—it was intact. General Morgan states that he first saw the Occult Room in August, 1883, when he visited Adyar in Madame Blavatsky's absence, and, probably in consequence of a remarkable phenomenon that happened on his visit, he examined the Shrine and its surroundings with great care; he affirms that, up to January, 1884, when he left the Headquarters, "any trickery was impossible."

Colonel Olcott carries the date up to the 15th February, 1884, a week after Madame Blavatsky had left Adyar. On the 15th December, 1883, he had been told to try a certain experiment by making some marks "on the spots of the wall corresponding to the centre and four corners of the cupboard." He removed the shrine for this purpose, and, having made his experiment, rehung it in its place. After the Anniversary, he went to Ceylon, returning to Adyar on February 13th, 1884, *i.e.*, after Madame Blavatsky's departure, and leaving again to join her on February 15th. During this time he again took down the shrine in order to examine the marks, and at that date he found no hole in the wall.[1] It must be remembered, in this connexion, that no one has ever made the slightest imputation on Colonel Olcott's honor. He has been called a dupe, but never an accomplice.

The testimony as to the nature of the Shrine, and of the wall behind it, is overwhelming.

Judge Sir S. Subramania Aiyer, of the High Court, Madras, is perhaps the most highly respected Indian in Madras, honored alike by Europeans and Indians. He states (January 10th, 1884), that he was present at Adyar during the Anniversary of 1883, and saw certain phenomena there on the 26th and 28th of December. "The room in question is situated upstairs. In the room is the shrine—a wooden cupboard, put up against a wall. It is not fixed to the wall, but only touches it. I have carefully examined the shrine inside and outside, and also the wall against which it is put. I found nothing to suspect the existence of any contrivances which could account for what I saw. Inside the cupboard are two framed likenesses of two of the Mahâtmâs overhung with pieces of yellow silk, a silver bowl and some images. . . .

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[1] *Report of a Result*, etc. P. 102.

I saw no room for deception, no wire, no springs inside or outside the shrine. I requested permission to examine the shrine and was allowed to do so. Not only did I not see any wire, or spring, or any contrivance, but I *felt* none when I put my hand into the shrine, and examined it." [1]

Mr. R. Casava Pillai, an Inspector of Police, states: "When I was at the Headquarters at Adyar last January (1883), I went into the Occult Room five or six times. Of these, on four occasions during daytime. On two of these occasions during the day, there happened to come into the room several Theosophists from Southern India, who were desired by Madame Blavatsky on one occasion, and Mr. Damodar on the other, to examine the shrine and the walls of the room. These persons, after very careful examination, found nothing suspicious. The shrine was found attached to a solid wall behind, and there were no wires or other contrivances which could escape the trained eye of a police officer like myself, who was watching close by."—R. Casava Pillai. [2]

A Government Engineer writes:—"I went to the Headquarters of the Theosophical Society, at Adyar, on 5th July, 1883. I examined the rear, top, bottom, and side planking of the shrine, as also the walls in its vicinity, most carefully and minutely, and found no cause to suspect fraud."—C. Sambiah Chetty. [3]

The value of the evidence of the Editor of the *Philosophic Inquirer*, Mr. P. Ruthnavelu, is great, because he examined the shrine and its surroundings before *and after* the missionary attack. He writes: "I witnessed a phenomenon (on 1st April, 1883), a full account of which was published by me in the *Philosophic Inquirer* of the 8th April, 1883. I went up to the shrine with two sceptical friends of mine, and the doors were opened for me to inspect closely. I carefully examined everything, touching the several parts with my hand. There was no opening or hole on this side of the cupboard. I was then led into the adjoining room to see the other side of the wall to which the shrine is attached. There was a large almirah [4] standing against this wall, but it was removed at my request, that I might see the wall from that side. I tapped it and otherwise examined it, to see if there was no deception, but I was thoroughly satisfied that no deception was possible.

"On 14th September, 1884, after reading the missionary

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[1] *Report of the Result*, etc. Pp. 63, 64.

[2] *Report of the Result*, etc. P. 97.

[3] *Ibid.* P. 99.

[4] *Anglice*, wardrobe.

article, I again went to see the room at 8 a.m., and was met by Mr. Judge, Dr. Hartmann and Mr. Damodar, who took me upstairs. On the other side of the wall, at the back of the shrine, I saw close to the wall an ingenious furniture-like apparatus, to which was fastened a sliding door, which, when opened, showed a small aperture in the wall. Inside of this there was hollow space, large enough for a lean lad to stand in, if he could but creep into it through the aperture, and hold his breath for a few seconds. I attempted in vain to creep in through the opening, and afterwards stretched out my hand with difficulty into the small hollow, to see the internal structure. *There was no communication* with the back-board of the Shrine. I could see that the machinery had not been finished, and the sliding panels, etc., all bore the stamp of the freshness of unfinished work." [1]

Professor J. N. Unwalla, a Parsî gentlemen of high education and standing, bears witness: "In May, 1883, when I was a guest at the Headquarters, I had many opportunities of being in the Occult Room, and of examining it and the Shrine, and once I very carefully examined the Shrine at the desire of Madame Blavatsky, before and after the occurrence of a phenomenon that I saw. I can safely say, without any equivocation or reservation, that in the Occult Room or anywhere within the precincts of the Headquarters, I never could find any apparatus or appliances of any kind suggestive of fraud or tricks." [2]

I might add to these statements, but it seems scarcely worth while to do so; they are already so conclusive. But the facts are important, as the first part of the Coulomb plot, and of Mr. Hodgson's Report, centred in and round the Shrine.

A few phenomena, out of the many connected with it, may be put on record here, though it may be remarked that the Shrine was in existence but a short time, and played no part in the great majority of the phenomena connected with Madame Blavatsky.

Of one of these, General Morgan has written an account. It occurred in August, 1883. Madame Blavatsky, then at Ootacamund, had asked him to look at the picture in the Shrine, as it was a very peculiar work. Madame Coulomb took him upstairs, and they went into the Occult Room. "On entering the room she hurriedly approached the shrine or cupboard, and quickly opened the double doors. As she did so, a China saucer, which appeared to have been placed leaning against the door, fell down on to the chunam floor, and was

[1] *Ibid.* Pp. 97, 98.
[2] *Ibid.* Pp. 102, 103.

broken to pieces. On this she exhibited great consternation, exclaiming that it was a much cherished article of Madame's, and she did not know what she should do. She and her husband, who had come with us, picked up the pieces. She then tied them up in a cloth and replaced them in the shrine, *in* the silver bowl, *not behind* it. The doors were shut, and Damodar took up his position on a chair right in front of the shrine, and only a few feet distant from it. He sat intently regarding the shrine, and in a listening attitude. I was not then aware, as I am now, of the fact that the astral electric current causes a sound exactly like that of the ordinary telegraph to be distinctly heard in the shrine. Unaware of this, I resumed conversation with the Coulombs regarding the accident. When I remarked, that it would be well if he got some mastic or glue and tried to put the pieces together, he started to get some, which, he said, he had in his bangalow, situated about 100 yards from the house; and I, turning to his wife, remarked: 'If the matter is of sufficient importance, the Mahâtmâs could cause its repair. If not, you must do the best you can.' Hardly had I uttered this, when Damodar said: 'There is a message,' and he immediately opened the door of the shrine, and took down the silver bowl (in which the letters are generally found), and sure enough there was a note, which, on opening, contained the following lines:

"'To the small audience present as witnesses. Now, Madame Coulomb has occasion to assure herself that the devil is neither as black nor as wicked as he is generally represented. The mischief is easily repaired.—K.H.'

"We then opened the cloth containing the broken saucer, found it intact and whole! *Three* minutes had not elapsed since I had suggested that the glue should be procured! and shortly after, Coulomb returned with the glue in his hand. If he could have gone all round the upper rooms, got behind the shrine, removed the broken saucer, tied up the parcel, having placed a whole one in its stead and written the note regarding the repair of the saucer (my remark about which he had not heard), then, I say, his feat rivalled that of the Masters. When I spoke to the woman about the wonderful manner in which the saucer had been restored, she replied: 'It must be the work of the devil.'" And, in fact, she wrote to Madame Blavatsky (13th Aug., 1883), that "I verily believe I shall go silly if I stay with you." She then gives an account of what had happened, and concludes: "I say you have dealings with old Nick." [1]

[1] *Reply to a Report of an Examination by J..D. B. Gribble.* By H. R. Morgan, Major-General. Pp. 14-17.

Another case was that of Judge Srînivâsa Rao, and he states as follows: "On the 4th March, 1884 (Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott were at this time on the ocean, having left Bombay on Feb. 20th, for Marseilles) I, owing to certain domestic afflictions, felt exceedingly miserable all day." He went to Aḍyar, and on seeing Damoḍar, said he wished to see the Shrine. "He conducted me to the Occult Room upstairs forthwith, and unlocked the Shrine. He and I were standing hardly five seconds looking at the Mahâṭmâ K. H.'s portrait in the Shrine, when he (Mr. Damoḍar) told me that he had orders to close the Shrine, and did so immediately. This was extremely disappointing to me. But Mr. Damoḍar re-opened in an instant the Shrine. My eye immediately fell upon a letter in a Tibetan envelope in the cup in the Shrine, which was quite empty before. I took the letter, and finding that it was addressed to me by Mahâṭmâ K. H., I opened and read it." [1]

Judge Sir S. Subramania Aiyer bears witness to another phenomenon produced for the benefit of this same Mr. Srînivâsa Rao; he says: "On the 28th Dec., 1883, I went to the Shrine at 10-30 a.m. Seven persons were present. The windows were open, and it was broad daylight. Madame Blavatsky gave the key of the Shrine to Mr. P. Srînivâsa Rao, Small Cause Judge, Maḍras, and stood aside amongst us. Mr. Srînivâsa Rao opened the Shrine, took out the silver bowl, and showed it to all present. There was nothing in it. He put it into the Shrine, locked it and kept the key. About five minutes after, he was told by Madame Blavatsky to open the Shrine, which he did. He then took out the self-same silver bowl, and in it was an envelope well gummed, addressed to Mr. Srînivâsa Rao. I saw him open the envelope, and found it to contain a letter in the handwriting of Mahâṭmâ K. H., and currency notes for Rs. 500." [2]

Judge T. Râmachanḍra Rao and Mr. R. Ranga Rao went into the Occult Room: "We examined all very carefully, and the Shrine was locked. We did not, however, move from the place, and within half a minute, Madame Blavatsky told us to open it. We did so ourselves, and found the whole cupboard—where there was nothing when we looked at it half a minute before—filled with fresh flowers and leaves. Each of us took a number of them, and we found that there were also some peculiar kind of leaves which could not be found in any part of Maḍras, to our knowledge. We made a careful

[1] *Report of the Result*, etc. P. 59.

[2] *Ibid.* Pp. 63, 64.

survey of the whole room and its surroundings, and found nothing to warrant or justify any suspicion of trickery. T. RÂMACHANDRA RAO.

"The phenomenon, as described above, took place in my presence. R. RANGA RAO.[1]"

Madame Coulomb, in consequence of her jealous and intriguing nature, had been a source of great trouble at Head-quarters, and was much disliked by the inmates. Dr. Hartmann, who arrived at Aḍyar on December 4th, 1883, gives a vivid picture of her. "Imagine a weird witchlike creature, with wrinkled features, a stinging look and an uncouth form. Her duty was to patronise the servants, to nurse like a mother a decrepit old horse and several mangy dogs which were unable to walk. She seemed to consider it her special purpose of life to pry into everybody's private affairs, pick up stray letters here and there, that were not addressed to her, probably for the purpose of studying the handwriting; she attempted to wriggle herself into the confidence of new-comers, and had a way of finding out their secrets by pretending to tell their fortunes by means of a pack of cards, while at the same time she would try to awaken the sympathies of strangers by her tales, how from a life of luxury she had sunk down to a position of servitude, and if she found a willing ear she would never hesitate a moment to insinuate that the whole Society was a humbug, the phenomena produced by fraud, and 'that she could tell many things if she only wanted to do so.' She would tell the aspirant for Theosophical honours kindly and confidentially that Colonel Olcott was a fool, who was led by the nose by Madame Blavatsky. If asked to explain herself she would say: 'My mouth is shut up, I cannot talk against the people whose bread I eat,' and when she was told that occult phenomena occurred when Madame Blavatsky was a thousand miles away, she would say that 'She knew what she knew.'[2]" It should perhaps be remembered as some sort of excuse for Madame Coulomb, that she was a superstitious Christian, and was really alarmed by the things that took place around her; she, as we have seen, believed the phenomena to be "of the devil." On the other hand, it was paradise to her to live at Aḍyar in comfort, after all her troubles, and she could not summon up courage to leave her refuge: perhaps her treachery to her benefactors was at least partly the result of a belated and distorted conscience. The temptation to remain was too

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[1] *Ibid.* Pp. 68, 69.

[2] *Report of Observations.* P. 25.

great. Dr. Hartmann proceeds: "She had arrived at Headquarters penniless, and had been taken into the house by Madame Blavatsky, out of charity, and been given full control over everything, including the purse; and when she left the Headquarters she sported a large roll of bank-notes. (The household expenses at the Headquarters since the Coulombs left have been each month 230 to 270 rupees less than the monthly expenses during their presence)." Besides, there were many generous visitors, and "loans" could be obtained; the failure to gain one of these led to the catastrophe. Prince Harisinghji, of Kaṭhiawâr, cousin of the Mahârâja of Bhavnagar, was at the Convention of December, 1883, and Madame Coulomb approached him with a request for a loan Rs. 2000. The Prince evaded the request, saying that perhaps he would help her some day, and departed to his home.

On February 7th, 1884, Madame Blavatsky left Aḍyar, and as she proposed to pay a visit to Prince Harisinghji before going to Bombay *en route* for Europe, Madame Coulomb asked, and was permitted, to go with her. After arriving at the Prince's house, Madame Coulomb renewed her attack on his purse, pleading that he had promised to help her, and the Prince complained at last to Madame Blavatsky, who promptly crushed the proceedings. Dr. Hartmann, who was present, remarks: "Her fury knew no bounds, and her passionate outbursts of anger and jealousy were in no way soothed down by Madame Blavatsky reproaching her for her unjust attempt at extortion. . . . . A few tears shed by Madame Coulomb, with the assistance of a handkerchief, set the matter all right, and we proceeded to Bombay, where we met Colonel Olcott and Mr. St. George Lane-Fox, the well-known electrician, while Madame Coulomb went to visit some bishop and other clergymen, whose names are unknown to me."[1] Dr. Hartmann caustically remarks, that when Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky embarked, on February 21st: "One more sob, one more embrace, and Madame Coulomb, with red eyes and faltering steps, moved out of the cabin. Stepping into her boat, she waved a last adieu to Babula, the servant of Madame Blavatsky, and said to him: 'I shall be revenged on your mistress for preventing me from getting my 2000 rupees!'"[2] The said Babula later stated: "When Madame Coulomb was leaving the steamer after bidding Madame Blavatsky good-bye, she, Madame Coulomb, said that she would be revenged on my mistress for preventing Harisinghji from giving her, Madame Coulomb, two thousand

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[1] *Ibid.* P. 31. [2] *Ibid.* P. 32.

rupees. . . . . On another occasion, in Dr. Dudley's house in Bombay, she said that she hated Madame Blavatsky." [1] Major-General H. R. Morgan writes, as follows, about the Coulombs: "They were received by Madame Blavatsky, at Bombay, in a penniless state; were befriended by her, because they had rendered her some assistance in Egypt. The woman Coulomb became a sort of confidential housekeeper, and, as Mr. Gribble truly remarks, was the cause of Mr. Wimbridge and Miss Bates leaving the Society at Bombay. By this we see she began her malicious interference early.

"That malice is her chief characteristic I will show by the following: When at Bombay she tried to sell her knowledge of the Society to the *Guardian*, a Bombay paper, when she could have known very little, and when the correspondence now sold to the *Christian College Magazine* was not in existence nor the false phenomena which she now records; it is evident she was, so long ago as 1879, prepared with fabricated letters and phenomena. At that very time her Machiavellian nature prompted her to prepare for the downfall of her benefactor, for she asserted to more than one Theosophist that she had never thrown away a slip of Madame Blavatsky's writing, and had been the lucky finder of mischievous letters blown to her feet by the wind! Why should she have laid such store by these scraps when she was the possessor of the voluminous correspondence she has now so profitably disposed of? When we consider the characteristics of this woman, her eavesdropping, purloining of letters, her hatred of the members composing the Society, her swearing she would be revenged, her incessant espionage of Madame Blavatsky, and those she might be talking with, the motive and manner of her concocting these letters is not difficult to understand. Her malice carried itself to such an extent that she actually kept a pack of mangy diseased dogs to worry the high caste Brahmins, and drive them away. Her object was to have sole possession of the purse, and access to the purses of others, and when her little plans were frustrated by Madame Blavatsky, she hated her accordingly.

"It may be asked why any single member of the Society tolerated her, knowing all this. The answer is—that she is a Spiritualist of the most pronounced character, is given to practising black magic, and is believed to be obsessed. Hence she was tolerated as a person hardly responsible for her actions. Added to all this, her habit of confiding her hatred of the Society and its objects, under the seal of secrecy, closed

[1] *Report of the Result*, etc. Pp. 133, 134.

the mouths of many who would otherwise have exposed her, and have demanded her expulsion. Further, the exceeding kind-heartedness of Colonel Olcott, and Madame Blavatsky, made them overlook many of her faults, and tolerate her,—partly for her utility as housekeeper, and partly out of charity. It was only when matters culminated in the Coulombs being expelled, that members began to compare notes, and the exceeding cunning and iniquity of the woman became apparent to all." [1]

This was the woman whom Madame Blavatsky, with characteristic carelessness—sure of her own honesty and ever too trustful of the honesty of others—left in charge of her rooms at Adyar; but she had been sufficiently annoyed by the Harisinghji incident to ask Dr. Hartmann to get rid of the Coulombs before her return.

The threatened revenge was now prepared; while Madame Coulomb was writing to Madame Blavatsky complaints of all at Headquarters, she was speaking to each of these against Madame Blavatsky, and dropping hints as to coming revelations. In sending to Madame Blavatsky an account of all that led up to the dismissal of the Coulombs from Headquarters, Damodar, the most trusted of the Indian workers, wrote on June 14th, 1884, that during this time she implied, though she did not openly state, that "all phenomena were fraud, and that you were an impostor"; she dropped hints about secret passages, trap-doors, etc., she did not use these words, but implied them." "Her sole attempt was to sow seeds of disunion amongst us . . . she attempted to set one member of the Board against another, but ultimately failed ignominiously." The Coulombs would not allow anyone at Headquarters to go into Madame Blavatsky's room—which had always before been freely used by the staff during her frequent absences—and explained the carrying up of workman's tools by the statement that the roof leaked, and that M. Coulomb was mending it. Disgusted with the trouble they were causing, the Board of Control determined to get rid of them; says Dr. Hartmann: "Affidavits sent in by several members went to show that the Coulombs were guilty of gross misconduct, of lying about the Society, slandering its officers, wasting the funds of the Society, etc. We therefore concluded to impeach them in a formal manner." [2] While they were sitting with this object, however, the astral form of a chelâ appeared, and handed to Damodar a note from the Master K.H., addressed to Dr. Hartmann,

[1] *Reply to a Report*, etc. Pp. 3-5.

[2] *Report of Observations*, etc. P. 33.

desiring them to carry out reforms, but to be merciful to Madame Coulomb. They obeyed, and dropped the charges, and Dr. Hartmann remarks in a footnote that it was well they did so, as Colonel Olcott's work in Europe would have been seriously interfered with had trouble occurred at Aḍyar at that juncture.[1] For some time after this things went smoothly. A letter of T. V. Charlu's to Madame Blavatsky, dated March 12th, 1884, reports work as going well; Dr. Hartmann had been elected President of the Board of Control, Mr. Lane-Fox was to deliver two lectures in the Patchyappa's Hall, and several of the workers were going up to Ooṭacamuṇḍ in April, including Madame Coulomb. He mentions the occurrence of two phenomena, two letters received respectively by Prince Harisinghji and Judge Srînivâsa Rao. H. H. the Thakur Saheb of Waḍhwân and Prince Harisinghji had been visiting Headquarters; the latter had put a letter in the Shrine, and later placed on record what occurred. "I was at Headquarters very often during my sojourn with my friend H. H. the Thakur Saheb of Waḍhwân at Maḍras, whither we had gone last March for the celebration of his marriage with the daughter of the Hon. Gajapaṭi Rao. One day I asked Mr. D. M. Mavalankar [Damoḍar] to let me put a letter from me to my revered Master K. H. in the Shrine. It was in a closed envelope, and was regarding private personal matters, which I need not lay before the public. Mr. Damoḍar allowed me to put the letter in the Shrine. The day after, I visited again the Shrine in company with my wife. On opening the Shrine I did find my letter unopened, but addressed to me in blue pencil, while my original superscription, 'My revered Master,' had a pencil line running through it. This was in the presence of Mr. Mavalankar, Dr. Hartmann, and others. The envelope was intact. I opened it, and on the unused portion of my note was an answer from my Master K. H. in His, to me familiar, writing. I should very much like to know how others will explain this, when, as a fact, both the Founders were thousands of miles away. HARISINGHJI RÛPSINGHJI."[2]

A few days after this, Judge Srînivâsa Rao came, and asked to be allowed to sit for awhile before the shrine. Damoḍar took him upstairs and opened the shrine. There was nothing in it beyond its ordinary contents. He was immediately told by his Guru to shut it, and then to re-open. A letter addressed to the Judge lay within.[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Report of Observations*, etc. P. 57, note.

[3] T. V. Charlu's letter. Judge Srînivâsa Rao's own report has been given previously.

But this calm was deceptive. Colonel Olcott received in London an envelope, post-marked Madras, containing a letter addressed to Madame Coulomb—then at Ootacamund—from Adyar, under date April 28th, 1884, by Dr. Hartmann. It expressed the writer's disbelief in Madame Blavatsky, and alleged that Mr. Lane-Fox had "received secret instructions from the London Fellows" to find out about her trickery. The letter was ill expressed and ill spelt, and the Colonel wrote to Dr. Hartmann, under date July 20th, 1884, that "I offset my personal knowledge of you against this blackguard note." He further said that he had put it away in his dispatch-box, but had noticed that morning on turning over the papers, that the Master had written on it, and that He then told him to send it on to Dr. Hartmann. Dr. Hartmann remarks that the letter was in "a tolerably good imitation of my handwriting." Master M. had written on it: "A clumsy forgery, but good enough to show how much an enterprising enemy can do in that direction. They may call this at Adyar, a pioneer." [1] Truly was it a pioneer of the crop of forged letters published in the Christian College Magazine a few months later, and done by the same hand.

Meanwhile warnings were being given at Adyar. "At about the time when the forged letter was written, I received a letter from a friend in Europe, and when I opened it I found written on the inside in the handwriting of the Master: 'The matter is serious. I will send you a letter through Damodar. Study it carefully,' etc. A few days after this a letter addressed to me dropped into Damodar's room at Ootacamund [Dr. Hartmann was at Adyar,] of which he took notice and then sent it to me, after showing it to Mr. Lane-Fox. It was again in the unmistakable handwriting of the Master. I submit the following extract: 'April 26th, 1884. For some time already the woman has opened communication—a regular diplomatic *pourparler*—with the enemies of the cause, certain padris. She hopes for more than 2000 Rupees from them, if she helps them, ruining, or at least injuring, the Society by injuring the reputation of the Founders. Hence hints as to "trap-doors" and tricks. Moreover when *needed*, trap-doors *will be found*, as they have been forthcoming for some time. They are sole masters of the top storey. They have full entrance to and control of the premises. "Monsieur" is clever and cunning at every handicraft, good mechanic and carpenter and good at walls likewise. *Take note of this, ye Theosophists.* They hate you

[1] *The Latest Attack on the Theosophical Society.* Issued by the Council of the London Lodge. Pp. 17, 18.

with the hatred of failure against success; the Society, Henry, H. P. B., Theosophists, and, aye, the very name Theosophy. The—— are ready to lay out a good sum for the ruin of the Society they hate. . . . Moreover the J—— in India are in direct understanding with those of London and Paris. . . . Keep all said above in strictest confidence, if you would be strongest. Let her not suspect you know it, but if you would have my advice be prudent. Yet act without delay. M.'" [1]

Madame Coulomb was at Ootacamund. M. Coulomb was at Adyar, nibbling at an offer made to him by Dr. Hartmann to go to America; then came a letter from Colonel Olcott, dated Paris, April 2nd, 1884, in which he reproved Madame Coulomb for speaking against the Society and plotting mischief. Back from Ootacamund came Madame Coulcomb, Damodar and Mr. Lane-Fox; a request from Dr. Hartmann to the Coulombs—still hoping to get rid of them quietly—that they should leave Adyar was met with a flat refusal; Madame Blavatsky wrote that she would not return to Adyar unless the Coulombs were sent away, and the General Council was called to meet on the 14th May, 1884. The meeting was held and affidavits were presented to it charging: that Madame Coulomb had stated that the object of the Society was to overthrow British Rule in India; that its objects were inimical to true religion; that the phenomena were frauds, and works of the devil; that she had attempted to extort money from members; that she had wasted the Society's funds; that she had been guilty of lying and backbiting; that she had grossly slandered H. P. B.; that her presence at Headquarters was mischievous to the Society. Letters showed that she had sent a black-mailing letter to H. P. B. M. Coulomb was charged with aiding and abetting his wife, and disobeying the orders of the Board of Control. Only the first three charges were tried, and Madame Coulomb neither admitted nor denied them; the evidence was overwhelming, and she was expelled. M. Coulomb was asked to resign, and failing that was expelled, and both were requested to leave. After some further trouble M. Coulomb surrendered the keys of the upper rooms, and Dr. Hartmann, Mr. T. Subba Rao, Judge Srînivâsa Rao, Mr. Brown, Mr. Damodar K. Mavalankar and some others, entered the rooms of Madame Blavatsky, from which the Coulombs had excluded all save themselves. Then was seen the work on which M. Coulomb had been engaged. General and Mrs. Morgan had seen the wall intact, and Mrs. Morgan had superintended its papering

[1] *Report of Observations*, etc. Pp. 35, 36.

in December, 1883, as already said. Now, on the side on Madame Blavatsky's bed-room a hole had been broken where the door had once been, and gaped there with broken plaster and rough ends of laths; the wall, as before said, had been lightly built of two partitions of lath and plaster—as there was no support below—separated by a space of twelve inches, partly filled with projecting pieces of laths; the partition on the side of the Occult Room was still intact, but it was evident that the aperture was to have been repeated in the second partition, and presumably the back of the Shrine was to have been made removable, so as to take out and put in objects. In consequence of the Master's warning, however, Dr. Hartmann had "acted without delay," and had stopped the nefarious work before it was completed. The hole in the partition in Madame Blavatsky's bed-room measured 14 inches wide and 27 high, "sufficiently large," says Dr. Hartmann caustically, "for a little boy (who was not afraid of suffocation) to crawl in." A heavy wardrobe covered this hole, and a sliding panel had been made in the back of this wardrobe; the panel was new and very hard to move, yielding with considerable noise to the blows of a mallet. Three other panels, all equally new and stiff, were made in other parts of the two rooms, the purpose of which was not—and is not—clear. "M. Coulomb confessed to having made all these tricks, holes and trap-doors with his own hand, but excused himself by saying that they were made by H. P. Blavatsky's order. He denied having any secret understanding with Missionaries for the purpose of injuring the Society. He then turned over the keys to Mr. Damodar K. Mavalankar, who took possession of the rooms, and it was decided to leave all the holes and sliding panels unrepaired until further decision. It is evident that with very little labor those traps could have been finished and be made to look very suspicious, and we have reason to believe that it was M. Coulomb's intention to finish them before Madame Blavatsky's return from Europe."[1]

In the before-quoted letter of Damodar to Mme. Blavatsky (June 14th, 1884), he relates these occurrences, and says: "We have purposely left the hole and the sliding panels untouched. They bear on their very face the mark of your innocence. The passage behind the Shrine is so small that it is enough to kill a man of suffocation if he were to be two minutes inside. Moreover, it does not communicate with the Shrine. The sliding panels are so new that they can be worked but with force and difficulty, and moreover make a

[1] *Report of Observations*, etc. Pp. 35, 36.

terrible noise. This proves that they could never have been used before."

The Coulombs left Adyar on May 25th, 1884, the first part of the plot having failed by its too prompt discovery. It was, however, to be revived in the future by the agent of the Psychical Research Society, and, owing to his misrepresentation of the facts, few people know that, admittedly at the time, none of these arrangements existed while Mme. Blavatsky was at Adyar, and while the phenomena were occurring, and that all traces of them had been removed before she returned. They were new in May, 1884, and still incomplete, *the wooden back of the Shrine and the wall on which it hung being still intact, so that there was no communication between Mme. Blavatsky's room and the Occult Room.* All was shown to the numerous visitors at Headquarters during the summer of 1884, the wall and panels being left for a time as they were found. Mr. Judge, who came to Adyar on May 26th, thus describes the hole: "It was a rough, unfinished hole in the wall, opening into the space left when the old door had been bricked up. . . . This hole began at the floor, and extended up about 22 inches. From each edge projected pieces of lath, some three inches, others five inches long, so that the opening was thus further curtailed . . . the plaster was newly broken off, the ends of the laths presented the appearance of freshly broken wood, and the wall-paper had been freshly torn off." These facts were seen and signed to by over thirty gentlemen sent for by Mr. Judge as witnesses. Mr. Judge further tells us that, at his request, Mr. Damodar tried to get into the recess through the hole, but could not; Mr. Judge himself tried and failed, as did a "thin coolie;" finally, "a small boy about ten years of age" squeezed in, but found that he could not stand upright, for there were large pieces of hard mortar projecting from the sides. Mr. Judge then sent for a man, who "in my presence bricked up the aperture, re-plastered it, and then re-papered the whole space." And this was done, be it remembered, in the autumn of 1884, before the return of Mme. Blavatsky.

In vain did Madame Coulomb try to make mischief outside. She went to accuse the Society to the Collector of the district—her charge that the T.S. was against British rule was really dangerous—but he told Mr. Lane-Fox that the woman talked such incoherent nonsense that he did not believe a word she said: she was crazy, and he refused to see her when she called again. A Small Cause Judge remarked that the woman must be a lunatic to believe that anyone could be deceived by her tricks. The Missionaries failed to make any capital out of it. "Not one respectable gentleman believes her," writes

Damoḍar, "but they on the contrary sympathise the more with you and the Society." So hopelessly failed had the attempt, that Madame Coulomb herself disavowed it, and wrote to Madame Blavatsky: "I may have said something in my rage, but I swear on all that is sacred for me that I never said fraud, secret passages, traps, nor that my husband had helped you in any way. If my mouth has uttered these words, I pray to the Almighty to shower on my head the worst maledictions in nature." Foiled for the moment, the Coulombs were not disheartened, and their second attempt was fated to be more successful than the first. M. Coulomb's writing was curiously like that of Madame Blavatsky, Major-General Morgan tells us,[1] and the forged letter sent to London, significantly termed by the Master "a pioneer," indicated the line of the coming attack. In London, the Psychical Research Society, to some extent, apparently, impressed by what they had heard and seen in connexion with Madame Blavatsky—Mr. F. W. Myers having himself seen some phenomena which, he enthusiastically declared, he could never doubt—appointed a Committee to take "such evidence as to the alleged phenomena connected with the Theosophical Society as might be offered by members of that body at the time in England, or as could be collected elsewhere," and this Committee afterwards sent one of their number, Mr. Hodgson, to India to investigate matters on the spot. Meanwhile the Coulombs had been busy; casting about for some way of improving their financial position, and furious with the Society, they approached the Missionaries—Madame Coulomb in the character of a repentant Christian—who had been carrying on a vigorous but unsuccessful crusade against Theosophy. Some twenty letters were offered to the Missionaries, which purported to be written by Madame Blavatsky to Madame Coulomb, in which the former lady unblushingly confessed to a number of frauds, writing to Madame Coulomb as to her confederate. There is some dispute as to the payment made for these; soon after the publication, Prof. Patterson, of the Christian College, Madras, said in answer to a question of Dr. Hartmann, that they had agreed to pay Madame Coulomb Rs. 1000, but had only so far given her Rs. 75; this statement was made in the presence of Mr. Judge, who published it in the *Madras Mail* the following day; General Morgan says that they paid Rs. 150—the sum is unimportant. What is certain is that they bought the letters, and published them in the *Christian College Magazine* for September 1884, and

[1] *Reply to a Report*, etc. P. xvi.

the following months. On the face of them, to anyone acquainted with Madame Blavatsky, the letters are forgeries, for they are the letters of an uneducated woman, whereas the style of Madame Blavatsky was brilliant, however familiar and conversational; they showed ignorance of Indian titles, creating by an absurd blunder, a Mahârâja of Lahore; and they were at once recognised as worthless by those best qualified to judge. Mr. Lane-Fox, writing to the *Times*, stated: "As to the letters purporting to have been written by Madame Blavatsky, which have recently been published in an Indian 'Christian' paper, I, in common with all who are acquainted with the circumstances of the case, have no doubt whatever that, whoever wrote them, they are not written by Madame Blavatsky."

Mr. A. O. Hume, well acquainted with Madame Blavatsky, and not very friendly to her, wrote the following to the Calcutta *Statesman*:

SIR,—I have seen an article in the *Times of India*, referring to certain letters alleged to have been written by Madame Blavatsky to Madame Coulomb, and your brief notice of the same. I desire to warn your readers and the public generally against accepting these supposed letters as altogether genuine. I can do this with the better grace that *all connection between myself, Madame Blavatsky, Col. Olcott, Mr. Damodar, has long since ceased.* I was unable to approve of many things in the conduct of the Society and of its journal, and hence, though still warmly sympathizing in its avowed objects, I have, for the last two years or more, been only a nominal member of the Theosophical Society. It is wholly without bias therefore that I advise all persons interested in the question to suspend their judgments as to the authenticity of these supposed letters. I will not now raise the question as to whether Madame Blavatsky is capable of participating in foolish frauds, such as these letters would make her appear to have directed. All I desire to point out is this: *Madame Blavatsky is no fool;* on the contrary, as all who know her, be they friends or foes, will admit, she is an exceptionally clever and far-sighted woman, with a remarkably keen perception of character. Would such a woman ever give a person like Madame Coulomb the entire power over her future, that the *writing* of such letters involves? Or again, say she *had*, in some mad mood, written such letters, would she have come to an open rupture with the holder of them? Parts of the letters may be genuine enough; one passage cited has a meaning quite different from that in which I see that the *Times of India* accepts it, but believe me, Madame Blavatsky is far too

shrewd a woman to have ever *written* to any one, anything that could *convict* her of *fraud*.

"Simla, September, 1884." ALLAN HUME.

Mr. J. C. Mitter points out the weakness of the allegations: "You will allow that the 'completeness' of the so-called exposure of Madame Blavatsky depends only upon the uncorroborated evidence of one who, according to her own statement, was an active accomplice in the frauds, and who has been aggrieved by expulsion from the Society. A sifting inquiry should be made, and the evidence on both sides heard before judgment is passed, instead of passing our opinion on the statement of an accomplice of whose veracity very little is known, excepting that she herself was a participator in the fraud! Why did not Madame Coulomb publish the letters, &c., she now publishes, immediately she had been ousted from the pale of the Theosophical Society? Was she in need of time for preparation?"

Madame Blavatsky herself met the foul accusation with characteristic indignation and warmth of language: "I swear by the Master whom I serve faithfully, and for the sake of carrying whose orders I suffer now, let Him curse me in the future birth, aye, in a dozen of births, if I have ever done anything on my own hook, if I have ever written one line of these infernal letters. I care not for the experts; I care not for the missionaries, court, jury, or the devil on earth himself. What I tell you now I will maintain in any court before all the Judges of Asia, Europe and America. *I have not written the 'Coulomb letters.'* And if the only person I believe implicitly on earth—MASTER—came and told me I had, then I would lay it at His door; for nothing and no one in this world could have taken away the recollection of that deed—that idiotic, insane deed—from my brain and memory but Himself. So you had better shut up and ask *Him*. The idea of it! Had I been such an ass, I would have never gone to Europe; I would have turned heaven and earth to prevent the Board of Control from turning them out; I would have returned home at the first intimation of danger. . . . I suffer for my misdeeds of centuries ago. I know for *what* I suffer, and bow low my diminished head in humility and resignation. But I bow only to Karma and my Master. I will never bow before the padris or the fear of them. You may publish this letter now, or when I am dead, to let them know." Again: "If you or any one of you verily believe that I was ever guilty consciously of any trick, or that I used the Coulombs as confederates, or any one else, and that I am not quite the victim of the most damnable

conspiracy ever set on foot, a conspiracy which was being *prepared for five years*—then telegraph me where I am, *Never show your face again in the Society*, and I will not. Let me perish, but let the Society live and thrive."

It is but a small matter, and yet significant: Would Madame Coulomb, as a confederate in fraud, have written to Madame Blavatsky, on August 13th, 1883: "I verily believe that I shall go silly if I stay with you," relate the Morgan incident, and conclude with, "I say you have dealings with Old Nick," if, at that time, she was a party to fraud, and had herself arranged the phenomenon, as she afterwards pretended? If she were a confederate, she might well have kept up the farce before witnesses, but she certainly would not have kept it up between themselves in private letters, especially at the very time when, according to her, Madame Blavatsky was writing to her with such shameless openness. Such a gratuitous and objectless falsehood as the letter of Aug. 13th is not credible. The letter is quite natural, from a frightened and superstitious Christian; it is incomprehensible from a confederate in an impudent fraud.

No one has ever accused Madame Blavatsky of being a fool, yet only a fool could have penned such insanely compromising letters, and then have quarrelled with the woman who held them. The commonest caution would have prevented such behavior. In 1889, I summed up the evidence on this matter in a letter to the *Methodist Times* (November 28th), and that summary may be reproduced here:—

"Dear Sir,—My attention has been called to a letter from Professor Patterson in your issue of October 31st. My note—to which it is a reply—was called forth by your direct challenge to myself to investigate the evidence against my friend, Madame Blavatsky, and I had no intention of provoking a prolonged correspondence. It is clear that we are face to face with absolutely contradictory assertions. Professor Patterson says Madame Coulomb was not paid for the letters: Major-General Morgan says (pamphlet published in 1884, *Reply to a Report*, etc.) that the Scottish missionaries 'paid them (the Coulombs) Rs. 150 as a commencement.' Professor Patterson says every Theosophist who has expressed a wish to see the letters has been permitted to do so. Madame Blavatsky tells me she asked, and was refused; Mr. B. Keightley tells me he asked, and was refused, and that to his personal knowledge other prominent Theosophists met with the same refusal. I do not know Professor Patterson; I do know these Theosophists; and I prefer to accept their word.

But my belief in the forgery of the letters does not rest on

hese comparative trifles; it rests on a review of the whole case. On one side, a man and woman who had been expelled from a Society, the latter for attempts to extort money—four affidavits of such attempts are in evidence; a woman who had been prevented by Madame Blavatsky from obtaining money, and had vowed to be revenged—affidavit giving this threat; a woman who had attempted to blackmail Madame Blavatsky—letter sent by her; a woman who had forged letters from Dr. Hartmann and Major-General Morgan, and who, bringing a suit against the latter for accusing her of forgery, dropped it before it came to trial (the pretence that it was dropped because Madame Blavatsky had left is absurd; what had that lady to do with the forgery of Major-General Morgan's letter?);—a woman who, by her own confession, had been guilty of fraud. On the other side, the evidence of a committee, including Dr. Hartmann, Major-General Morgan, A. J. Cooper-Oakley, Dr. Gebhard, and ten Indian gentlemen of rank, learning and proved ability, who investigated every charge at the time, and declared each one to be fully disproved; the testimony of those who saw the letters that they were manifest forgeries (see Report, 1885); the testimony of Mr. G. Row, 'from my experience as a judicial officer of twenty-five years' standing,' 'I came to the conclusion that every one of the letters was a forgery' (Official Report, 1884); the parallel forgeries on Dr. Hartmann and Major-General Morgan, alleging their disbelief in Madame Blavatsky—forgeries at once denounced and exposed by them on the spot; the internal evidence of the letters, such as the illiterate French, whereas Madame Blavatsky speaks and writes French perfectly, like most educated Russians; the fact that Madame Coulomb was disgraced and expelled, and had everything to gain by currying favour with the missionaries; the fact that the letters were published while Madame Blavatsky was in Europe, that she hurried back to meet the accusation, remained while the matter was investigated, and only left again when the accusations were disproved. (So far from flying secretly, she was assisted into the steamer by the Presidency Magistrate himself, and left at the peremptory order of Dr. Scharlieb, her medical attendant, who feared for her life if she remained in the Madras climate. She had not been called as a witness in the Coulomb-Morgan case, having no concern in it.) I might add to all this the oath of Madame Coulomb: 'I may have said something in my rage, but I swear on all that is sacred for me that I never said fraud, secret passages, traps, nor that my husband had helped you in any way. If my mouth has uttered these words, I pray to the Almighty to shower on my head the worst

maledictions in nature.' Emphatic, very; but I do not lay stress on an oath from such lips.

As to Professor Patterson's final threat, let him publish. If any compromising documents existed, those who used Madame Coulomb can have no scruples which would prevent the publication. Madame Blavatsky is poor, a worn-out invalid; she is not likely to go to India to prosecute him.

19, Avenue-road, N.W. ANNIE BESANT."

Madame Blavatsky was eager to prosecute the *Christian College Magazine* for libel, but Colonel Olcott insisted that the matter was one for the Society to decide: "I have represented to Mme. Blavatsky that it is her duty to be governed by the sense of the General Council, and not to undertake to decide for herself. I have told her that she and I, having called into existence this important Society, are now bound to consider ourselves its agents in all things affecting its interests; and that we must subordinate, to the prime question of its welfare, our private reputations, no less than our strength and our means."[1] A committee was appointed, and unanimously decided that she should not prosecute; she reluctantly submitted, only half comforted by the vehement affection and trust shown towards her.

Mr. Hodgson, the gentleman sent by the S.P.R., was present at this memorable Convention Meeting of December, 1884, the Colonel, in the innocence of his heart, extending to him a warm welcome. Mr. Hodgson's appearance of friendship was, however, a mere pretence to cover his real aim; he simulated honest enquiry only the more surely to destroy. A man entrusted with such a task as that confided to Mr. Hodgson should have, above all things, ability, honesty and accuracy. Unfortunately, for himself and all concerned, these special qualities were not prominent in Mr. Hodgson. He was a young man, very sure of himself, and profoundly ignorant of Indian ways and of occult facts; later in life he became convinced of the reality of many forces which he then light-heartedly ridiculed, and of occurrences which he then regarded as impossible, and therefore ignorantly stigmatised as fraud. His evil karma had made him the agent for inflicting a great sorrow on a—in this life—innocent woman, and of striking through her a necessary blow on a great spiritual movement. "The Son of Man indeed goeth as it was written of Him, but woe unto that man by whom the Son of Man is betrayed." Mr. Hodgson had not, before leaving

[1] *Ninth Report of the T.S.*, p. 12. This issue also contains the Report of the Committee.

England, shown any specially brilliant powers, and he came to investigate super-physical occurrences among a people who regarded the English as unworthy to share in their own knowledge, and many of whom, like Mr. T. Subbar Rao, bitterly resented the way in which Madame Blavatsky had thrown aside the veil with which they had covered their secrets from generation to generation. It is indubitable that he, with his English ignorance of Hindu thought and his English contempt for Hindu veracity, was pitted against the brains of the subtlest race in the world, a race, moreover, that to guard its holy things from the insolent foreigner will deny point-blank a belief that will be frankly acknowledged among sympathisers. I do not blame poor Mr. Hodgson that he was befooled to the top of his bent—it may have been more his misfortune than his fault—but I blame him for the prejudice which made him welcome every unproved suspicion or charge made by known enemies of the Theosophical Society, and ignore all evidence tendered by friends. His attitude throughout was not the attitude of the investigator, but that of the sceptic, searching only for proofs of fraud. Mr. Sinnett put the position well, after the issue of Mr. Hodgson's Report. He writes: "Nothing in his Report, even as it now stands—amended with the protracted assistance of more experienced persons unfriendly to the Theosophical movement—suggests that even yet he has begun to understand the primary conditions of the mysteries he set himself to unravel. He has naïvely supposed that every one in India visibly devoted to the work of the Theosophical Society might be assumed, on that account, desirous of securing his good opinion and of persuading him that the alleged phenomena were genuine. He shows himself to have been watching their demeanor and stray phrases to catch admissions that might be turned against the Theosophical case. He seems never to have suspected what any more experienced inquirer would have been aware of from the beginning, that the Theosophical movement, in so far as it has been concerned with making known to the world at large the existence in India of persons called Mahâṭmâs—very far advanced in the comprehension of occult science—and of the philosophical views they hold, has been one which many of the native devotees of these Mahâṭmâs and many among the most ardent disciples and students of their occult teaching, have regarded with profound irritation. The traditional attitude of mind in which Indian occultists regard their treasures of knowledge, is one in which devotion is largely tinged with jealousy of all who would endeavor to penetrate the secrecy in which these treasures have hitherto

been shrouded. These have been regarded as only the rightful acquirement of persons passing through the usual ordeals and probations. The Theosophical movement in India, however, involved a breach of this secrecy. The old rules were infringed under an authority so great that occultists who found themselves entangled with the work could not but submit. But in many cases such submission has been no more than superficial. Any one more intimately acquainted than the agent of the S.P.R. with the history and growth of the Theosophical Society would have been able to indicate many persons among its most faithful native members, whose fidelity was owing entirely to the Masters they served, and not to the idea on which they were employed—at all events not so far as it was connected with the demonstration of the fact that abnormal physical phenomena could be produced by Indian proficients in occult science. Now for such persons the notion that European outsiders, who had, as they conceived, so undeservedly been admitted to the inner arcana of Eastern occultism, were blundering into the belief that they had been deceived—that there was no such thing as Indian occultism, that the Theosophical movement was a sham and a delusion with which they would no more concern themselves—was enchanting in its attractions; and the arrival in their midst of an exceedingly self-reliant young man from England attempting the investigation of occult mysteries by the methods of a Scotland Yard detective, and laid open by total unfamiliarity with the tone and temper of modern occultism to every sort of misapprehension, was naturally to them a source of intense satisfaction. Does the committee of the S.P.R. imagine that the native occultists of the Theosophical Society in India are writhing at this moment under the judgment it has passed? I am quite certain, on the contrary, that for the most part they are chuckling over it with delight. They may find the situation complicated as regards their relations with their Masters in so far as they have consciously contributed to the easy misdirection of Mr. Hodgson's mind, but the ludicrous spectacle of himself which Mr. Hodgson furnishes in his Report—where we see him catching up unfinished sentences and pointing out weak places in the evidence of some among the Indian chelâs, against whom, if he had better understood the task before him, he ought to have been most on his guard—is, at all events, one which we can understand them to find amusing." [1]

After the competency of the reporter, his honesty is the

[1] *The Occult World Phenomena.* By A. P. Sinnett. Pp. 2-4.

next point of importance. Was Mr. Hodgson honest? On this, I regret to say, there is one convincing proof in the negative, a fact that I published in March, 1891, in a then well-known Magazine, *Time*, and which, so far as I know, has never been contradicted; it is, in fact, incapable of contradiction. Mr. Hodgson, in his Report, publishes a "plan of the Occult Room with shrine and surroundings (from measurements taken by R. Hodgson, assisted by the statements of Theosophic witnesses)." On p. 220 Mr. Hodgson says that "the accompanying rough sketch, made from measurements of my own, shows the positions." The reader will now see why I laid stress on the fact that Mr. Judge had, in the summer of 1884, bricked up the hole, plastered the wall, and then re-papered it; this having been done in the summer of 1884, how could Mr. Hodgson have made a rough sketch of the positions from his own measurements in the spring of 1885? It may be asked: "How then did Mr. Hodgson obtain his plan?" The answer is simple; Mr. Judge gives it. He says: "I made a plan of how it had been left by Coulomb, and that plan it is that Hodgson pirated in his report, and desires people to think his, and to be that which he made on the spot, while looking at that which he thus pretends to have drawn." All that Mr. Hodgson could have seen was a blank wall. I reprint here the comment I made in *Time* on this remarkable proceeding: "I venture to suggest that the pirating of another person's plan, with 'measurements' of things that no longer existed when Mr. Hodgson visited Aḍyar, is not consistent with good faith. Yet the whole terrible charge against Mme. Blavatsky rests on this man's testimony. The Society of Psychical Research, which has taken the responsibility of the report, has no knowledge of the facts, other than that afforded by Mr. Hodgson. Everything turns on his veracity. And he issues another man's plan as his own, and makes imaginary measurements of vanished objects."

Thirdly, was Mr. Hodgson accurate, or was he hasty and slipshod? A single instance will suffice to show the extreme carelessness with which he flung out accusations. Mr. Mohini M. Chatterji makes the following remarks on pp. 357-8 of the Report: "Briefly stated, the phenomenon consisted in my hearing at the same time two voices—Madame Blavatsky's and another—while sitting with her alone in her room in the house of the late Mr. Nobin K. Bannerji *at Darjiling*. 'Concerning this incident,' Mr. Hodgson says, 'I need only remind the reader of the hollow in the wall which was near the corner of Madame Blavatsky's room. The confederate may have

been Babula, previously instructed in the reply, and with a mangoe-leaf in his mouth to disguise his voice.' In regard to this hypothesis I, in my turn, need only remind the reader that the incident did not take place at Madras, where Mr. Hodgson examined Madame Blavatsky's rooms, but *at Darjiling*, in the Himâlayas, months before the house at Madras was bought or occupied. What light is thrown on Mr. Hodgson's conclusions by this inaccuracy, after all his patient and searching enquiry, in which great attention is always professed to have been paid to facts, I leave others to determine." [1]

The first point made in the Report is the presence of trap-doors, and other arrangements for fraud in the rooms occupied by Madame Blavatsky at Adyar. This presence is fully explained in the preceding pages, which make it abundantly clear that if—contrary to all the evidence—Madame Blavatsky had contemplated the use of these fraudulent means for performing phenomena, that use lay in the future, as these appliances were not in existence when she left India, February, 1884, and were not completed and ready for use even in May, 1884, when they were discovered. But if this be true—and the truth of it is abundantly proven—what becomes of Mr. Hodgson's detailed account of the elaborate arrangement by which a communication was made between Madame Blavatsky's bed-room and the inside of the cupboard—the Shrine—in the Occult Room? He alleges that the top half of the panel at the back of the cupboard was made to slide—Mr. Hodgson did not see the cupboard, and Dr. Hartmann, who did see it and examine it, says it had "a solid, unmovable back," [2] and this is confirmed by others; a mirror was hung in the cupboard to hide the line of separation—no one has ever mentioned this mirror, but there was one on a wall at right-angles, concealing another sliding panel, which was, however, visible in the hall outside; a hole was made through the wall —this was never made, as we have seen; next a panel in the

[1] *The Occult World Phenomena.* P. 47.

[2] "The so-called 'shrine' was a simple cupboard hung loosely to a wall in Madame Blavatsky's room. I examined it on this occasion [the evening of his arrival] and more carefully afterwards, and found it like any other cupboard provided with shelves, and a solid unmovable back, hung upon an apparently solid and plastered wall. However, as a door had been in that wall before, which, as Madame Blavatsky told me, had been walled up, and as a wall without any adequate support from below would be so very heavy that the joists upon which it rested might give way, the interior of the wall was not filled up with bricks, but was left hollow, leaving a space between the bricks of some twelve inches in depth." (*Report of Observations*, etc. P. 12).

blocked-up door was made to slide—this is presumably the hole made in the partition, the door having been removed; lastly a sliding panel was made in the back of the wardrobe. If anyone went into the wardrobe, opened the back of the wardrobe and the panel of the door—with blows of a mallet, to announce his coming?—he could slip into the space between the door and the brickwork—if a very small boy, who did not object to suffocation—and then, through the hole in the brickwork, slide up the top of the panel in the cupboard—which would thus appear to the expectant letter-receiver in the Occult Room, and explain the blows of the mallet—and come on the back of the mirror—on the other wall of the room; and push it aside. All this Mr. Hodgson learned from the veracious M. Coulomb, and *from nobody else.* If M. Coulomb had added that this was his plan, although he had unfortunately been interrupted in its execution, all would have been sufficiently probable; Madame Coulomb had been a medium in Cairo, of not very good reputation, and M. Coulomb may have acquired his carpentering skill and his ingenious ideas in her service; the Coulombs may even have thought of utilising the Shrine—with its already high reputation—for phenomena of their own, with the view of increasing their slender resources; for Madame Blavatsky tells how angry Madame Coulomb often was with her, because she would never show any phenomena for money, nor produce them in a way to bring about gifts. Madame Coulomb could not see the sense of neglecting such an obvious way of filling an often depleted exchequer, and it is possible that the making of holes and sliding panels was intended for the use of the Coulombs only, with a view to extracting cash from the pockets of recalcitrant Indian Princes, rather than as an elaborate plot against Mme. Blavatsky. On the whole of this matter, Mr. Hodgson simply repeats M. Coulomb; he is not a judge, but a mouth-piece of an accuser—a *soi-disant* accomplice, turned King's evidence. "M. Coulomb states," a "statement of M. Coulomb," "according to M. Coulomb"—such are the reiterated assertions. And of evidence of these frauds outside this tainted source—none.

It may be worth while to complete the evidence destroying this part of Mr. Hodgson's case—or that of the Coulombs, as they are identical—by a statement made by Mr. Gribble, "the gentleman employed by the missionaries as an expert" in connection with the forged letters. After their publication, he visited Adyar to inspect the "machinery for trickery" which, it was stated, in the *Christian College Magazine*, "undoubtedly exists, and is admirably adapted for the production of the

Adyar phenomena. Two theories are possible respecting it. Either: (1) It was constructed for, and used by Madame Blavatsky in the production of these phenomena; or, (2) It was constructed after Madame Blavatsky's departure, in order to ruin her reputation." There is a third possibility, the one just suggested, that it may have been meant for the private use of the Coulombs during Madame Blavatsky's frequent absences. The first theory has been proved to be false, as the wall and back of the Shrine were both intact after, as well as before, she left Adyar. The second theory, therefore, holds the ground. Mr. Gribble says: "I was also shown two of the sliding doors and panels said to have been made by M. Coulomb after Madame Blavatsky's departure. One of these is on the outside of the so-called Occult Room upstairs. Both of these have been made without the slightest attempt at concealment. The former is at the top of a back staircase, and consists of two doors which open into a kind of bookshelf."

There was a book-case on the wall separating the Occult Room from the outer hall, and this panel was behind a mirror, hanging between the two parts of the book-case, with a shelf in front of it; this is probably the mirror spoken of by M. Coulomb to Mr. Hodgson, removed into the Shrine, for the sake of the story. To proceed with Mr. Gribble: "This gives the idea of having been constructed so as to place food on the shelves inside, without opening the door.[1] The other contrivance is a sliding panel which lifts up,[2] and opens and shuts with some difficulty. It is evidently of recent construction. Certainly in its present state it would be difficult to carry out any phenomena by its means. Neither of these two appliances communicates with the shrine, which is situated on the cross-wall dividing the Occult Room from an adjoining bedroom."[3] Mr. Gribble appears to have been a veritable Balaam, brought by the missionaries to curse their enemies, and blessing them instead.

Surely, with this overwhelming evidence, from so many sources, opposed to the one statement of M. Coulomb, written down by Mr. Hodgson, we ought to hear no more about fraudulent phenomena connected with the Shrine in the Occult Room at Adyar.

A final paragraph may be added on this part of the case:

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[1] This idea of the good missionary-agent will doubtless recommend itself to Hindus, who are accustomed to having food handed into their pûjâ rooms!

[2] Probably the one intended for the back of the Shrine.

[3] *Report of the Result*, etc. P. 103.

the Shrine was not fastened to the wall, as we have seen, but was merely hanging thereon and was easily removable. Would anyone out of Bedlam have concocted an elaborate apparatus for the fraudulent production of phenomena within it, and then have allowed it to hang loosely over the opening, so that anyone could peep behind it and see the opening, or might remove it and expose the whole affair? Apart from this, Madame Blavatsky was surrounded with phenomena wherever she went, and the Shrine was only made in 1883, after she went to Adyar; she could only at most have used it for the few months during which she was staying there, and its presence cannot explain the phenomena which are borne witness to by reputable American, European and Indian gentlemen, from 1874 to 1882. Moreover, the phenomena in connection with the Shrine also occurred after she had left Adyar for Europe. It is necessary, if the S.P.R. Report is to be credited, not only to condemn Madame Blavatsky as a fraud, but to condemn also the honorable gentlemen associated with her during all these years, as her fellow-conspirators and cheats. Even if they were her dupes while she was present, they must have become active participants in fraud when she was absent.

Mr. Hodgson's second charge consists of the forged letters produced by Madame Coulomb, and alleged by her to have come from Madame Blavatsky. The only evidence for their genuineness is the word of Madame Coulomb, and the opinion of two experts, Messrs. Netherclift & Sims. This opinion is much discounted by the fact that Mr. Netherclift and Mr. Sims—in this matter of the recognition of Madame Blavatsky's writing—varied and contradicted themselves; Mr. Hodgson submitted to them some writing which he thought was done by her, and was "surprised to find" that they thought it was not hers. When, however, this *same writing* was "re-submitted to him" (Mr. Netherclift) he thought that it was hers "without doubt," Mr. Sims complaisantly changing his opinion also. The value of such expert opinion was well shown in the suit brought by Mr. Parnell against the *Times*; the *Times* had been duped, as Mr. Hodgson was, by a clever forger, and paid heavily for its trust in experts of the Netherclift type. Their evidence was proved to be worthless, and the forger, convicted of fraud, made the public apology of suicide. Mr. Montague Williams, Q.C., the eminent counsel, relates a case in which this same Mr. Netherclift and another expert swore positively to some writing as that of one man, while it was proved to be that of another; he considers their evidence on handwriting to be worthless, and says: "In my opinion they are utterly

unreliable."[1] Yet this utterly unreliable man, with his worthless evidence, is to be held to outweigh the great mass of testimony to the obvious identity of the writing in the letters received through Madame Blavatsky, and those received far away from her. Against Madame Coulomb's word and the worthless opinion of the experts, I place the evidence given above on pp. 17-20, and contentedly leave the public to form its own opinion.

Mr. Hodgson's third charge is that certain letters alleged to be from the Mahâṭmâ Kooṭ Hoomi were written by Madame Blavatsky, or in some cases by Damoḍar. With regard to this young Hinḍu gentleman it may be said that he gave up family, wealth, and friends and became an outcaste, in order to devote himself to ceaseless work and hardships of all kinds, for the sake of the Theosophical Society. He lost everything for it, and only gained—his Master.

The gain, truly, outweighed a million times the loss, *if the gain were real.* But on the hypothesis that Damoḍar made himself a party to a fraud, postulating a non-existent Master, one asks oneself: "To what end?" The high-class Brâhmana does not readily live and eat with Europeans, and become impoverished and an outcaste for their sake. Is it conceivable that he would suffer thus, in order to take part in a fraud which gave him nothing? At any rate, he believed in the fraud sufficiently strongly to leave Aḍyar, when he became convinced that Madame Blavatsky would not return, to travel northwards, to plunge into the fastnesses of the Himâlayas, and to climb over their snow-covered passes, in order to find the hermitage of Him in whom he believed. Thus he passed out of the story of the Society.

The before-mentioned experts varied together as to the authorship of the letters submitted to them; first they said they were not done by Madame Blavatsky; then, this not satisfying Mr. Hodgson, they said they were. As against this variable opinion of theirs may be put that of Herr Ernst Schütze, the Court expert in caligraphy at Berlin, who gave evidence on oath that the letter of Master K. H. "has not the remotest resemblance with the letter of Madame Blavatsky," and who wrote: "I must assure you most positively that if you have believed that both letters came from one and the same hand, you have labored under a most complete mistake." Mr. Hodgson has made a minute examination of the letters and thinks that she wrote them; dozens of other people have come to the exactly opposite

[1] *Leaves from a Life.* P. 263.

conclusion. Certainly, on the surface, the two handwritings are as different as any two could be, and when we remember the immense mass of such letters received through her, it is difficult to conceive it to be possible that she should have written these innumerable sheets of MS without a falter, in the clear beautiful hand so unlike her own by no means admirable, though characteristic, caligraphy. But the really insuperable difficulty which lies in the way of Mr. Hodgson's theory is that letters in this same beautiful and delicate script came to people in all sorts of ways in which Madame Blavatsky could, by no possibility, have taken part. Such letters were received, not by post, when she was thousands of miles away, and I have given above a number of cases of such writing having been received where it was physically impossible that she could have had anything to do with it. These are the solid facts placed against Mr. Hodgson's suppositions.

The airy and baseless character of his assumptions, in the absence of facts, strikes strangely on the sober reader. "It may have thus"; "it is probable that"; "it may be suggested"; so and so "may have done" such a thing. These are the variations from quotations from M. Coulomb.

The one really original idea in the Report is the motive suggested by Mr. Hodgson for Mme. Blavatsky's alleged proceedings. Here is a Russian lady, of admittedly high birth and social position, playing the fool in Europe, America and India, to her own financial and social ruin, gaining nothing but abuse and slander, when she might be living luxuriously in high dignity in her own land. Mr. Hodgson rejects the idea that she is a religious monomaniac; he admits that pecuniary gain was not her object, and discards the theory of a "morbid yearning for notoriety." "A casual conversation opened" his eyes at last, and he discovered the secret of her strange career: she was a Russian agent, and "her ultimate object has been the furtherance of Russian interests." This sapient conclusion is, perhaps, the best criterion of Mr. Hodgson's ability, the more so as it is partly based on a "fragmentary script which forms one of the Blavatsky-Coulomb documents"—in plain English, a torn scrap picked out of Madame Blavatsky's waste-paper basket by Madame Coulomb.

Mr. Sinnett cruelly strikes down this great discovery in an indignant protest against the S.P.R. for publishing, "with all the authority their proceedings can confer, a groundless and monstrous invention concerning Mme. Blavatsky, which Mr. Hodgson puts forward at the conclusion of his report to prop up its obvious weakness as regards the whole hypothesis on which it rests. For it is evident that there is a powerful

presumption against any theory that imputes conscious imposture and vulgar trickery to a person who, on the face of things, has devoted her life to a philanthropic idea, at the manifest sacrifice of all the considerations which generally supply motives of action to mankind. Mr. Hodgson is alive to the necessity of furnishing Mme. Blavatsky with a motive as degraded as the conduct he has been taught by M. and Mme. Coulomb to believe her guilty of, and he triumphs over the difficulty by suggesting that she may be a Russian political agent, working in India to foster disloyalty to the British Government. It is nothing to Mr. Hodgson that she has notoriously been doing the reverse; that she has frequently assured the natives orally, by writings, at public meetings, and in letters that can be produced, that with all its faults the British Government is the best available for India, and repeatedly from the point of view of one speaking *en connaissance de cause* she has declared that the Russian would be immeasurably worse. It is nothing to Mr. Hodgson that her life has been passed *coram populo* to an almost ludicrous extent, ever since she has been in India, that her whole energies and work have been employed on the Theosophic cause, or that the Government of India, after looking into the matter with the help of its police when she first came to the country, soon read the riddle aright, and abandoned all suspicion of her motives. Mr. Hodgson is careless of the fact that everyone who has known her for any length of time laughs at the absurdity of his hypothesis. He has obtained from his guide and counsellor — Mme. Coulomb — a fragment of Mme. Blavatsky's handwriting, picked up, it would seem, some years ago, and cherished for any use that might ultimately be made of it—which refers to Russian politics, and reads like part of an argument in favor of the Russian advance in Central Asia. This is enough for the Psychical Researcher, and the text of this document appears in his Report in support of his scandalous insinuation against Mme. Blavatsky's integrity. The simple explanation of the paper is that it is evidently a discarded fragment from a long translation of Colonel Grodekoff's Travels in Central Asia (or whatever title the series bore) which Mme. Blavatsky made at my request for the *Pioneer* (the Indian Government organ), of which I was at that time Editor. I will not delay this pamphlet to write to India and get the dates at which the Grodekoff series of articles appeared in the *Pioneer*. They ran for some weeks, and must have appeared in one of the latter years of the last decade, or possibly in 1880. By applying to the *Pioneer* printers, Mr. Hodgson could perhaps obtain, if the MS. of this

translation has been preserved, several hundred pages of Mme. Blavatsky's writing, blazing with sentiments of the most ardent Anglo-phobia. It is most likely, as I say, that the pilfered slip of which he is so proud, was some rejected page from that translation, unless, indeed, which would be more amusing still, it should happen to have fallen from some other Russian translations which Mme. Blavatsky, to my certain knowledge, once made for the Indian Foreign Office during one of her visits to Simla, when she made the acquaintance of some of the officials in that department, and was employed to do some work in its service.

"I venture to think that if Madame Blavatsky had not been known to be too ill supplied with money to claim redress at the costly bar of British justice—if she had *not* been steeped to the lips in the flavor, so ungrateful to British law courts, of psychic mystery, the committee of the S.P.R. would hardly have thought it well to accuse her, in a published document, of infamous conduct, which, if she were really guilty of it, would render her a public foe in the land of her adoption and an object of scorn to honorable men—at the flippant suggestion of their private agent in desperate need of an explanation for conclusions which no amount of pedantically ordered circumstances could render, without it, otherwise than incredible." [1]

It was, as a matter of fact, part of the translation of Grodekoff's *Travels*, which Mr. Hodgson obtained from Madame Coulomb. This is the only motive that Mr. Hodgson can discover for the frauds of which he accuses her, and these, be it remembered, must have been begun in America in 1874. If the Report should live, through its connexion with the noble woman whom it slanders, surely, in the centuries to come, this charge of Mr. Hodgson's will be met with inextinguishable laughter, and men will wonder at the folly of those who gave any credit to this young man.

Mr. Hodgson's Report was presented to his Committee, consisting of Messrs. E. Gurney, F. W. H. Myers, F. Podmore, H. Sidgwick and J. H. Stack, and these gentlemen, on June 24th, 1885, announced their agreement with its conclusions. The Report itself was published in the December number of the Society's *Proceedings*. Mr. Sinnett comments very strongly, but not too strongly, on the utter unfairness of the Committee's action, and indeed it is hard to understand—were not history full of similar injustices perpetrated on those who are ahead of their time—how such men as are named above could lend themselves to, and lead their Society into, the unjust

[1] *The Occult World Phenomena.* Pp. 9-11.

and cruel action of the publication of this infamous Report. Mr. Sinnett says: "I regard the committee of the S.P.R.—Messrs. E. Gurney, F. W. H. Myers, F. Podmore, H. Sidgwick and J. H. Stack—much more to blame for presuming to pass judgment by the light of their own unaided reflections on the raw and misleading report supplied to them by Mr. Hodgson, than he for his part is to blame, even for misunderstanding so lamentably the problems he set out naturally ill-qualified to investigate. It would have been easy for them to have called in any of several people in London, qualified to do so by long experience of the Theosophical movement, to report in their turn on the *prima facie* case, so made out against the authenticity of the Theosophical phenomena, before proceeding to pass judgment on the whole accusation in the hearing of the public at large. We have all heard of cases in which judges think it unnecessary to call on the defence; but these have generally been cases in which the judges have decided against the theory of the prosecution. The committee of the S.P.R. furnish us with what is probably an unprecedented example of a judicial refusal to hear a defence on the ground that the *ex parte* statement of the prosecutor has been convincing by itself. The committee brooded, however, in secret over the report of their agent, consulted no one in a position to open their eyes as to the erroneous method in which Mr. Hodgson had gone to work, and concluded their but too independent investigation by denouncing as one of the most remarkable impostors of history, a lady held in the highest honour by a considerable body of persons, including old friends and relations of unblemished character, and who has undeniably given up station and comfort to struggle for long years in the service of the Theosophical cause amidst obloquy and privation."

He speaks contemptuously, with reference to the attack upon himself, made in the same Report, of "the whole catalogue of minute conjectures which Mr. Hodgson has put together in his Report, while abusing the hospitality which was extended to him at the Headquarters of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, and while leading the guileless representatives of the movement in Madras to suppose, that by opening their hearts and records to his inspection, by giving him the free-est access to their apartments and their diaries, they would best persuade him of the simple truthfulness of their lives, and the improbability that they were slaving amidst penury and self-sacrifice for the propagation of an empty delusion and the cruel deception of their best friends."[1]

[1] *The Occult World Phenomena.* Pp. 7, 8 and 12.

Needless to say, the issue of the *Proceedings* raised a storm, and for a time it seemed as though the Society would be slain by the blow. Not only the outer world, ever ready to believe evil, welcomed the idea that the superphysical marvels were fraudulent, but many of the members of the Society fell away. Madame Blavatsky writes: "Our Fellows, influenced by Hodgson and Hume, begin, or have already, 'lost confidence in the Founders.' Mistakes were made, showing that we are not protected by the Mahâṭmâs. Indeed? And the chief mistake is pointed out as being that of having taken in and kept for five years the Coulombs. 'How could the Mahâṭmâs allow this, knowing they were such rascals, and foreseeing things, if They do foresee?' is asked. As well accuse the first Christians of believing in Christ and His phenomena when he kept Judas for three years as His Disciple, to be betrayed by, and crucified through, him. 'Feed even the hungry snake, without fear of its bite,' said the Lord Buḍḍha. 'Help the hungry spirits (pisâchas); never refuse hospitality to the homeless, or food to the hungry, for fear that he might thank you by robbing or murdering you.' Such is the policy of the Mahâṭmâs. The karma of the Coulombs is theirs, ours is our own. I would do it over again. There are periods of probation for Societies as well as for individual members. If the latter have misunderstood the Mahâṭmâs and Their policy it is their, not our, fault. The Masters will not interfere with karma."

Of all the accusations made against her the one that most wounded her sense of pride and dignity was Mr. Hodgson's dastard allegation that she was a Russian spy. She declared that unless she were allowed to sue him for libel on this, she would never return to India—and she never did. Mr. Sinnett —who stood gallantly by her through this bitter storm— printed in his pamphlet, *The Occult World Phenomena*, a protest from her pen. I give it here:

MADAME BLAVATSKY'S PROTEST.

"The 'Society for Psychical Research' have now published the Report made to one of their Committees by Mr. Hodgson, the agent sent out to India to investigate the character of certain phenomena, described as having taken place at the Headquarters of the Theosophical Society in India and elsewhere, and with the production of some of which I have been directly or indirectly concerned. This Report imputes to me a conspiracy with the Coulombs and several Hinḍus to impose on the credulity of various persons around me by fraudulent devices, and declares to be genuine a series

of letters alleged to be written by me to Mme. Coulomb in connection with the supposed conspiracy, which letters I have already myself declared to be in large part fabrications. Strange to say, from the time the investigation was begun, fourteen months ago, and to this day, when I am declared guilty by my self-instituted judges, I was never permitted to see those incriminating letters. I draw the attention of every fair-minded and *honorable Englishman* to this fact.

"Without at present going into a minute examination of the errors, inconsistencies, and bad reasoning of this Report, I wish to make as publicly as possible my indignant and emphatic protest against the gross aspersions thus put upon me by the Committee of the Psychical Research Society at the instigation of the single, incompetent, and unfair inquirer whose conclusions they have accepted. There is no charge against me in the whole of the present Report that could stand the test of an impartial inquiry on the spot, where my own explanations could be checked by the examination of witnesses. They have been developed in Mr. Hodgson's own mind, and kept back from my friends and colleagues while he remained at Madras abusing the hospitality and unrestrained assistance in his inquiries supplied to him at the Headquarters of the Society at Adyar, where he took up the attitude of a friend, though he now represents the persons with whom he thus associated—as cheats and liars. These charges are now brought forward supported by the one-sided evidence collected by him, and when the time has gone by at which even he could be confronted with antagonistic evidence and with arguments with which his very limited knowledge of the subject he attempted to deal with do not supply him. Mr. Hodgson, having thus constituted himself prosecutor and advocate in the first instance, and having dispensed with a defence in the complicated transactions he was investigating, finds me guilty of all the offences he has imputed to me in his capacity as judge, and declares that I am proved to be an arch-impostor.

"The Committee of the P. R. S. have not hesitated to accept the general substance of the judgment which Mr. Hodgson thus pronounces, and have insulted me publicly by giving their opinion in favor of their agent's conclusions—an opinion which rests wholly and solely on the Report of their single deputy.

"Wherever the principles of fairness and honorable care for the reputation of slandered persons may be understood, I think the conduct of the Committee will be regarded with some feeling resembling the profound indignation of which I am sensible. That Mr. Hodgson's elaborate but misdirected

inquiries, his affected precision, which spends infinite patience over trifles and is blind to facts of importance, his contradictory reasoning and his manifold incapacity to deal with such problems as those he endeavored to solve, will be exposed by other writers in due course, I make no doubt. Many friends who know me better than the Committee of the P. R. S. will remain unaffected by the opinions of that body, and in their hands I must leave my much-abused reputation. But one passage in this monstrous Report I must, at all events, answer in my own name.

"Plainly alive to the comprehensive absurdity of his own conclusions about me as long as they remained totally unsupported by any theory of a motive which could account for my life-long devotion to my Theosophical work at the sacrifice of my natural place in society in my own country, Mr. Hodgson has been base enough to concoct the assumption that I am a Russian political agent, inventing a sham religious movement for the sake of undermining the British Government in India! Availing himself, to give color to this hypothesis, of an old bit of my writing, apparently supplied to him by Madame Coulomb, but which he did not know to be as it was, *a fragment of an old translation* I made for the *Pioneer* from some Russian travels in Central Asia, Mr. Hodgson has promulgated this theory about me in the Report, which the gentlemen of the S. P. R. have not been ashamed to publish. Seeing that I was naturalised nearly eight years ago a citizen of the United States, which led to my losing every right to my pension of 5,000 roubles yearly as the widow of a high official in Russia; that my voice has been invariably raised in India to answer all native friends that bad as I think the English Government in some respects—by reason of its unsympathetic character—the Russian would be a thousand times worse; that I wrote letters to that effect to Indian friends before I left America on my way to India, in 1879; that every one familiar with my pursuits and habits and very undisguised life in India, is aware that I have no taste for or affinity with politics whatever, but an intense dislike to them; that the Government of India, which suspected me as a spy because I was a Russian, when I first went to India, soon abandoned its needless *espionage*, and has never, to my knowledge, had the smallest inclination to suspect me since—the Russian spy theory about me which Mr. Hodgson has thus resuscitated from the grave, where it had been buried with ridicule for years, will merely help to render his extravagant conclusions about me more stupid even than they would have been otherwise in the estimation of my friends, and of all who really know me. But looking

upon the character of a spy with the disgust which only a Russian who is *not* one can feel, I am impelled irresistibly to repudiate Mr. Hodgson's groundless and infamous calumny with a concentration of the general contempt his method of procedure in this inquiry seems to me to merit, and to be equally deserved by the Committee of the Society he has served. They have shown themselves, by their wholesale adoption of his blunders, a group of persons less fitted to explore the mysteries of psychic phenomena than I should have thought—in the present day, after all that has been written and published on the subject of late years—could have been found among educated men in England.

"Mr. Hodgson knows, and the Committee doubtless share his knowledge, that he is safe from actions for libel at my hands, because I have no money to conduct costly proceedings (having given all I ever had to the cause I serve), and also because my vindication would involve the examination into psychic mysteries which cannot be dealt fairly with in a court of law; and again because there are questions which I am solemnly pledged never to answer, but which a legal investigation of these slanders would inevitably bring to the front, while my silence and refusal to answer certain queries would be misconstrued into 'contempt of court.' This condition of things explains the shameless attack that has been made upon an almost defenceless woman, and the inaction in face of it to which I am so cruelly condemned.

Jan. 14, 1886. H. P. BLAVATSKY."

There was one policy with regard to the Masters, the phenomena worked by her, and Their communications, which she would not tolerate: the attempts to separate the occult from the philosophical, and to evade the criticism and the hostility of an ignorant world by exalting the philosophical at the expense of the occult. To do this, she repeatedly declared, was to invite the destruction of the Society. She was bitterly conscious of the unfairness with which she had been treated, and of the way in which many Theosophists were willing to sacrifice her to the mob, while profiting by her teachings, and declaring that the Theosophical Society had its own foundation, and could continue to exist, even if she were regarded as a fraud. Protesting against this, she wrote to Adyar from Switzerland, declaring that while she was ready to sacrifice her life and her honor for the sake of the Society, it meant death to the Society if the manifestations of the Masters and Their communications to members were to be given up as fraudulent; she quoted with approval those who

"tell me that the T.S., minus Masters, is an absurdity; and that I am their only means of communication with the Masters and for giving out Their philosophy—the Society, unless I work for it as in the past, is a dead thing." That the Society was only worthy to live, if it were a witness to and a channel for the Masters' teachings, was her constant declaration, and she only cared for it as an instrument for carrying out Their work in the world.

What H. P. Blavatsky was the world may some day know. She was of heroic stature, and smaller souls instinctively resented her strength, her titanic nature. Unconventional, careless of appearances, frank to unwisdom—as the world estimates wisdom—too honest to calculate against the dishonesty of others, she laid herself open to continual criticism and misunderstanding. Full of intellectual strength and with extraordinary knowledge, she was humble as a little child. Brave to recklessness, she was pitiful and tender. Passionately indignant when accused of sins she loathed, she was generous and forgiving to a repentant foe. She had a hundred splendid virtues, and a few petty failings. May the Master she served with unfaltering courage, with unwavering devotion, send back to us again "the Brother you know as H. P. B., but we—otherwise."

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INDIAN SPIRITUALITY;

OR,

THE TRAVELS AND TEACHINGS OF SIVANARAYAN.

BY

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI, M.A.,

AUTHOR OF AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE "BHAGAVAD GITA."

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BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

INDIAN SPIRITUALITY.

CHAPTER I.

Parentage—Early instruction—Brahminical thread—Holy ascetics—Breaking off ties—Renunciation of caste—At service—Rampore Boalia—Fighting Pundits.

Sivanarayan, who in time came to be known as the Paramhansa Sivanarayan Swāmi, was born in a Brahmin family, near Benares. His father was named Vyāsdeva, his mother Gangā Devi. He was one of a family of four sons. Further particulars of his birth and family are not known.

At the age of 5 years the thought constantly arose in his mind—"Who am I? What is my real nature? People speak of God, but who is He? Where was I all this time, and whither have I to go? What is there for me to do?" Sometimes he would ask himself—"Who has made this body of mine with its organs and faculties of action and sensation? I or my parents? If I made it, why is it I do not remember my own act, and why is it I cannot unmake the body at will, and why, above all, am I perplexed with doubts concerning all these things?"

One day, troubled by his anxious thoughts, the boy Sivanarayan spoke to his mother—"Did you make this body of mine or did somebody else make it? If somebody else, show me that person." The question sorely grieved the mother. "Alas!" she cried in tears, "that my little child should lose his mind." Turning to her son Lakhshmi Narayan, she asked him to fetch the father to see what had come over the child.

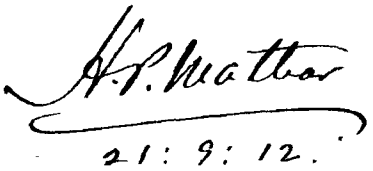
The father was perplexed. He scolded Sivanarayan for talking nonsense, and sent him to the family schoolmaster, himself teaching the boy at the same time the practice of devotion according to certain rules. Sivanarayan obeyed his father. But his love of learning could not keep pace with his zeal for the practice of religion. In the result he gained inwardly in strength, truth, and joy, and received constant attention from the schoolmaster's rod.

The pedagogic discipline forced many thoughts on Sivanarayan's mind. "I can well see," he reflected, "the fruits of learning. The teacher sees not what is in my mind, but is busy in dealing out punishment. The learned and unlearned alike eat, drink, and die. The only difference I see is that the well-instructed man can discriminate between truth and error, and thus perform his temporal and spiritual duties better than the ignorant man. Else what good is there in learning which can only bring as its reward money and worldly position? The learned and unlearned are equally ignorant of what preceded birth and what follows death, and in deep dreamless slumber the learned know not their learning and the unlearned their want of it."

Sivanarayan received his Brahminical thread between 8 and 9 years of age. "Why have my parents," he thought, "put round my neck strings of thread like the halter of a domestic beast? God has not ordained this. Else He would have created the Brahmin's thread along with limbs of his body. The wise will never mistake it for a gift from God. This is merely a distinction, imagined by man, as the dyed garments of the religious mendicant. If, leaving aside these outer things, the eye is turned to the body of flesh and blood and the subtle faculties of action and sensation that work in and through that body, all are seen to be alike and the distinctions disappear." To avoid giving pain, Sivanarayan kept his thoughts to

CORRIGENDA.

Page 21, line 16, *add a comma after* pilgrims.
„ 21 „ 2 *of note, read* pilgrims and as temple attendants.
„ 26 „ 21, *for* in *read* on.
„ 35 „ 26, *for* Baroda *read* ruling.
„ 56 „ 32, *for* in the search *read* in their search.
„ 65 „ 15, *for* ghat *read* ghāt.
„ 76 „ 14, *for* shrines *read* shrine.
„ 79 „ 32, *for* Brahmanic *read* Brahminic.
„ 90 „ 28, 29, *for* can alone *read* alone can.
„ 97 „ 17, 18, *for* drowns all human voice *read* drowns the voice of man.
„ 125 „ 24, *for* Vyāritis *read* Vyāhritis.
„ 126 „ 35, *for* knows *and* shows *read* know *and* show.
„ 141 „ 4, *for* trouble *read* troubles.



FOREWORD.

THE ensuing pages are put forth in the hope that they will not be refused welcome by those interested in a spiritual survey of India, those in search of spiritual light, those warring with errors and superstitions, which rob man's arm of strength, his heart of sympathy, and his soul of God.

The substance of this volume has, in different forms, seen the light in some of the Indian vernaculars.

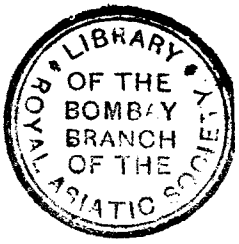
In view of the unfamiliar names and expressions occurring in the text, a glossary is given at the end, which, it is believed, will prove useful.

A. P. Mattar
23:12:12

INDIAN SPIRITUALITY;

OR,

THE TRAVELS AND TEACHINGS OF SIVANARAYAN.



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himself, and persevered in the practice of devotion, leaving for a future day to decide the question of the holy thread. Hearing people speak of the holiness of religious ascetics—'sādhus' and 'mahātmās'—Sivanarayan sought for opportunities of meeting them. One day he heard that a great and holy mahātmā had arrived in the village. Having approached him with humility Sivanarayan laid before him, when alone, the questionings of his boyish mind.

"What is an ascetic, whom men variously call 'sādhu,' 'sannyāsi,' and 'mahātmā'?" asked Sivanarayan. "What thing is indicated by these names? The limbs and members of the body are the same in an ascetic as in a householder. The organs of sensation and action are also the same in both. What peculiar thing, then, is called an ascetic? If speech be that thing, it equally belongs to the householder. If daubing with mud and ashes be the ascetic, then hogs and buffaloes can claim that name. If long, matted hair (*jatā*) be the ascetic, then an ancient banyan is entitled to that epithet. Is that red, black, or white which men call an ascetic? Be pleased to remove my doubts. Men say you are a great ascetic, but why do they say so? What is it, after all?"

The man of ascetic holiness in great wrath raised his stick over the boy, but gave him only a slap or two.

"You were born only yesterday," he said, "and you want to make fun of me."

Sivanarayan tried to soothe him by further humility, but was chased away with blows. A complaint was made to the father, who admonished the boy in the orthodox fashion, with cuffs and slaps. Sivanarayan found by experience great renouncers of the world were often great men of wrath. To put a doubt before them for solution was an unfailing source of hard knocks and harder words.

Some time thereafter a 'sādhu' came to the place who

was of a different mould. He was gentle in manner and speech, of a joyous and radiant nature, truth-loving, just, and devoted to God. Sivanarayan questioned him as he had questioned the others. With sweet gentleness, he asked who had put such doubts into the boy's mind. Learning that the doubts arose of themselves, untaught by man, he declared his inability to remove them.

"He who has raised the doubts," he said, "will in His own good time remove them."

He spoke in praise of Sivanarayan and the family in which he was born, and bowed down to him with respect. The boy in his turn bowed down to the holy man and returned home.

"You have four sons," Sivanarayan said to his parents one day; "amongst them I am one. Consider me as dead. By the command of the All-Comprehending God, I have to remove from the world its heavy burden of suffering. A constraint has been laid on me to work for the welfare of all. Permit me to engage in this work."

"You are but a child," they said, "how can it be possible for you to accomplish what you propose to do? You must kill us before we let you go."

"What you say is true," replied Sivanarayan; "what power have I to take away the world's burden? I am only the instrument. God will guide me to the accomplishment of the end appointed by Him. Put not your love on me. Let me go."

"Can parents," said they, "send their child away? Besides, you are a backward child, and have made but little progress in learning. How can anything be done by you?"

"My learning," replied Sivanarayan, "is God, who rules all hearts. I have no need to gain external knowledge."

But the parents would not part with their child. The human parent refused permission to what the Divine

Parent enjoined. God was the God of all, and to obey Him was to obey all—thus thinking, the boy of 12 quitted, in the dead of night, his childhood's home for ever.

The homeless wanderer of tender years constantly asked himself—"Whither shall I go first? What wants, in different parts of the country, are troubling men of high and low degrees? How can those wants be removed? What will induce men to look on all with equal love and see the one God in all? Whatever will make all men gentle and simple, learned and unlearned, monks and householders, happy by the fulfilment of their temporal and spiritual needs, it is my duty to accomplish." He perpetually prayed to the All-Comprehending Complete Being, who is expressed as light, for the enlightenment of a world buried in darkness. He prayed that hate, contention, and strife might disappear from amongst all creatures, and that the world might rejoice for ever.

Finding him roving over the country with no apparent purpose, men would ask him whether he was a 'sādhu' or a householder, of what caste he was, had he studied the Vedas, or was he illiterate, and so forth. In reply he would say he was devoid of learning, ignorant of the Vedas, did not know what a 'sādhu' or a householder was. "All I know," he used to say, "is that I am a man like you, possessed of similar faculties, limbs, and organs. I am searching this mass of flesh and bone, and should I find in it what you call caste I shall communicate to you the discovery."

"How is this," someone asked, "wearing the sacred thread you can't say what your caste is?"

"What of that?" replied Sivanarayan. "You too are wearing a piece of cloth made of thread. Is caste a name for thread?"

Afterwards he found within himself as the true Brahminical thread the soul presiding over the threefold

powers (Gunas),[1] going forth like three strands of strings, and called by men Brahmā, Vishnu, and Siva; he found the three strands tied together into five knots, known as the five elements (*tattwas*). The same One, expressed as light, he found intelligently working as the life-breath in the nostrils, in the ears as *ākāsa* or the faculty of hearing, and so forth. He then took off the Brahminical thread, believed in by man, and hung it up on the branch of a tree.

In the course of his itinerancy Sivanarayan came to Bengal. One day, having asked for food to support life, he was advised by a gentleman to work for his livelihood, and feel ashamed to beg.

"It is true," said Sivanarayan, "a wise man ought to earn his livelihood by his own labour. But I am in the service of a Master who owns the universe. Still, I am willing to serve you, if you would employ me."

"If you are in God's service," the gentleman remarked, "then how is it that you are obliged to beg? Can He not find you food?"

Sivanarayan replied that of one who has firm faith in God all wants are fulfilled. The gentleman offered him Rs. 2 a month for wages, besides food and clothes which would be found, and ordered him to take his place among the door-keepers. He accepted the service, but refused the wages. In surprise the gentleman inquired if he had no parents to whom the money would be useful. He did not reply, but begged to be allowed to let the matter stand over until the end of his employment.

At the slightest hint Sivanarayan did all that was required of him, whether menial or otherwise. His employer was glad he had found a servant who worked better than the others and cost nothing but his keep.

[1] Prakriti or nature is the totality of God's powers, divisible into three classes—cognitive, active, and resistive. Each of these classes is called a *Gunah*, which means literally a string.

After two or three months Sivanarayan secretly left, and at Rampore Boalia entered the service of a merchant named Devidas. Finding him retiring, reticent, correct in his accounts, managing the dispatch of goods with unusual economy and promptitude, never attempting to shirk work, the merchant used to call him a fool, ignorant of the world, but believed him to be of gentle birth.

Devidas was in the habit of using foul language to all he had to do with. One day he showered on a servant unusually coarse abuse. Sivanarayan, who was present, said in all humility, with joined palms,[1] "You are in the position of a father to me, being my employer. Be not offended at my words, but pardon my boldness. Listen to me kindly. You are the master and these are your servants; they earn their bread under your protection. Though poor, they are respectable. Make them work with pleasant words. It hurts their feelings to be abused for every trifle. Suppose they were rich and you poor and they abused you as you are abusing them, how should you have felt? Wealth does not last for ever, troubles come to all, at one time or another. Wealth does not come with us into the world nor go with us out of it."

Devidas waxed wroth and with the rankest abuse drove away Sivanarayan from his house. The merchant was not to blame, thought Sivanarayan; the intoxication of wealth and power had taken away his judgment and hardened his heart. The wise alone, though blessed with all that the world esteems, can hold their hearts in God and work for the good of all with a sober understanding and peaceful contentment.

Sivanarayan retired to a solitary spot on the Padmā and sat down by the water's edge, abstaining from all sustenance except the river-water. In a little while this

[1] This attitude of humility is perhaps reminiscent of a time when a man in approaching another had to show his want of weapons in order to secure a friendly reception.

was reported abroad. Devidas with several pundits came to him and, unsuccessfully, tried to dissuade him from the course he had adopted. They offered to feed him there or elsewhere as might be desired, and cited the authority of the Shastras against the practice of severe austerities. Devidas's death, which quickly followed, was superstitiously ascribed to the curse of Sivanarayan, who, in consequence, decided to leave the place.

Wandering in obscure and unimportant places he could not benefit except a few people. By the support of some powerful prince or pundit, his object might be gained. But the bent of mind of princes, pundits, and common people had grown much alike. With equal readiness they fled from words of truth and the path of righteousness as if from evil. But as God, the Ruler of hearts, had given him his work to do, he decided to approach the Raja of Benares, who protected a large assembly of pundits.

Before leaving Rampore Boalia, Sivanarayan witnessed a fight between pundits. The town contains a temple belonging to 'sannyāsis' of the 'Bhārati' order. In the idol's room two pundits were engaged in Shastric disputation. One of the pundits was from Benares, the other from Ghazipore. In course of the disputation the Benares pundit accused his opponent of using an ungrammatical expression. In anger the other offered to lay a bet of Rs. 25 and have the matter referred to the decision of a conclave of pundits at Benares. But the impugnant of his speech would not accept a bet above Rs. 5. The dispute waxed hot. From words they came to blows.

The Ghazipore pundit excelled in wrestling, and soon mounting on his antagonist's chest dared him to repeat the accusation. Both the combatants overlooked the fact that their warlike movements had upset the idols and set them rolling on the floor. The sight enraged the attendant priest.

"You rascals!" he shouted, "you are having a learned disputation, but what have my gods done that you have reduced them to such a plight?"

The priest was ready to enforce his remonstrance with a stout stick. Overcome by such a powerful argument, the Benares pundit yielded the point, and finally put his recantation into writing at the victor's dictate. Sivanarayan sought to pacify them both.

"Such results," he said, "always ensue from attending to words in exclusion of the substance indicated by them. If it is desired to indicate the thing called water, it is immaterial, so long as the thing is perceived, whether the term used is grammatical or not. Grammar is not man's master. Understanding all things in this way, let men perform their duties temporal and spiritual, and they will attain to blessedness."

CHAPTER II.

The Raja of Benares—His Pundit—Hindu gods—The Ramnagar Mohunt—Bāruni at Benares—Mother Gangā—Viswanāth.

It was morning. At Ramnagar, Sivanarayan stood at the palace gate of the Raja of Benares. A tattered sheet of cloth was wrapped round him, and in other respects his appearance was not without a suggestion of the madman.

"Tell the Raja," he said to the gate-keeper, "a man desires to converse with him concerning God. Let him not fear any begging petition."

"Vagabonds like you," said the Raja's retainer, "are coming and going in numbers. For how many am I to carry messages? Besides, the man whose duty it is to

announce visitors is not here at present. When he comes he might do what you want."

For three parts of the day Sivanarayan sat at the Raja's gate, unnoticed. At last one of the personal attendants of the Raja came to the gate and he repeated his request. The servant returned after a time, and in the Raja's name asked Sivanarayan for an account of himself. He only repeated what he had said to the gate-keeper, and the servant went away. In a little while a pundit came from the Raja and asked the stranger what religion he had adopted. In reply Sivanarayan asked what substance was called religion and into how many classes was it divided.

"I am," said the pundit, "speaking of the religion of the four orders of men, *Brahamachāri* or celibate student, *Grihastha* or householder, *Vānaprastha* or forest-dweller, and *Sannyāsi* or wandering friar."

"You are merely repeating what you have read in books about the four orders. I too have committed to memory what the books say. But how should you know whether I practise the religion I profess? You can't tell it by any external mark on my body. If flesh, bones, or the limbs and faculties of man be called by the name of 'sannyāsi,' then all men, being possessed of them, would be equally entitled to that name."

"The great-souled 'sannyāsis' can be known by the characteristics given in the Shastras."

"But how can you know the heart of a man who has created in himself those external characteristics?"

"Somehow or other the heart can be known. But let that pass. Are you learned in Sanskrit, have you studied any Shastras?"

"Very little do I know of Sanskrit or the Shastras," said Sivanarayan, smiling at the test he was put to.

"Do you believe in Durgā, Siva, Vishnu, and the other gods and goddesses?"

"Why," asked Sivanarayan, "do you put this question? I believe in everything, and yet believe not. It behoves us to consider with discrimination what and where the substance is that is called gods and goddesses? If they transcend all forms, being formless, attributeless (*Nirākāra, Nirguna*), Brahma or Supreme Being, they cannot be perceived by the senses. The five *tattwas* or elements and the sun and moon are present before us, and are Brahma manifested in form (*Sākāra, Saguna*). Besides what is named nothing else is, was, or can be. I believe in the All-Comprehending, Complete, Supreme Being who is formless and expressed in and as the forms. If your gods and goddesses are distinct from that Being and yet real, tell me what they are or show them to me and I shall believe."

"Vishnu is in Vaikuntha, Brahmā in his own sphere (*loka*), Siva, Durga, and Kali in Kailas, and at Benares. How shall I show them to you?"

"If they live, each in his own house, how is the work of this universe, moving and stationary, carried on? If God is not within you how will He know of your good and evil works, your joys and sorrows, and how will He take away the burden of your sufferings?"

"In us He dwells in secret, but at Benares within the view of all."

"What substance," asked Sivanarayan, "is Benares, and in what form does Siva dwell there—as earth, stone, and wood, or in the human form? If he has put on the form of a man, surely you can show him; if he is stock, stone, and earth, he is everywhere. For no place exists where those things are not. The objects named are easily destroyed by fire, but is Siva destroyed thereby? If the gods and goddesses exist as the five elements or as the light, called the sun and moon, there can be no reason for seeking them more in one place than in another. Learned sir, know your God, the Ruler of

your being, Him, who is the soul, presiding over the three *gunas*, who is formless and possessed of forms, and expressed as light. Of Him Brahmā, Vishnu, Siva, and many other names are imagined by men. He will remove all your errors and establish you in supreme joy. Fall into error no longer, nor drag others into it."

The pundit retired, and what he said to the Raja is unknown. But it was evident from his manner that he was not without fear of his class losing their occupation if Sivanarayan's words found acceptance.

Shortly a palace-guard came and ordered Sivanarayan away. He begged for the night's shelter, and was threatened with the police. He was without food for two days, but the Raja and his retainers were unconcerned. Hungry and thirsty, Sivanarayan was driven away from the great man's door.

Sivanarayan sat down on the steps leading into the tank, near where the festival of Ramlila is celebrated. A little way beyond was a *Mohunt* (abbot) with his disciple monks. The Raja entertained them daily with reverence.

"Who are you?" shouted one of the disciples as Sivanarayan approached the ascetic group; "what brings you here?"

"I am a man, and seeing you are men I have come near you."

"Everybody can see you are a man. But are you a householder or a 'sannyāsi'?"

"I hear of a householder, I hear of a 'sannyāsi,' but I don't know what thing it is that either term indicates."

"Seize him and bring him to me," cried the Mohunt, "and I shall show him both."

The master's mandate was carried out.

"You don't know," exclaimed the Mohunt, "a householder from a great-souled 'sannyāsi'? Look round. Don't you see this assembly of the great-souled ones

(*Mahātmās*)? We belong to the Sringeri Monastery (Matha), established by the renowned Sankarāchārya. Ten orders of monks were instituted by him bearing ten different names—'Giri,' 'Puri,' 'Bharati,' etc. We are *dandis* (staff-bearers) and belong to the sect with the ten names (*dasnāmis*). We have other distinctions, such as *Chulā*[1] (fireplace), *Chāki*[2] (grinding-stone), and so forth. Besides, there are the orders founded by Ramanuja, Madhvāchārya, Vishnuswāmi, and the others. You don't seem to know anything at all."

"In the householder condition men bear as tails the distinctions of caste, family, and *gotra* (sept). But you have a long tail of distinctions although a Mahātmā. With your *gurus* (masters), and brethren through gurus, your families are exceedingly large. The householder's part seems the better."

"You rascal!" thundered the Mohunt, "how is the householder's the better part? The *Brahamachāri* is better than the householder, and the *Paramhansa* the best of all. I have attained to that best position. How many times am I, then, superior to the householder?"

"Don't give way to anger," said Sivanarayan; "reflect soberly. When you were in the householder's condition you had the same physical body and faculties of action and sensation as you have now. Then, as now, you had to walk on the earth, you carried with you the five *tattwas* (elements) wherever you went. Then of what thing inherent in the householder did you disburden yourself in adopting a *Brahamachāri's* life? Of what other things have you been divested in the gradual progress to your present condition? What is the substance called Paramhansa? Is it merely a figment of the mind? Have you renounced and accepted mere names? In the householder's condition yours was a life of attachment to external things. Now

[1] This distinction marks the group using the same kitchen.
[2] Exclusively used by a group of ascetics.

you have professed to adopt the life of detachment. See if you can make detachment your own. The man who, though a householder, can feel evenly to both forms of life is a hero. Cowards fly from the life of the world, unable to hear the outgoing impulses of the mind. In the two forms of life the difference is only one of conditions, qualities, and acts. The soul remains the same in all conditions, its real nature unchanged. If I have spoken words of untruth or unreason, instruct me, I pray."

"Many words of unwisdom you have spoken. I will instruct you. Be my disciple. Many learned pundits and wealthy princes acknowledge me as master (*guru*)."

"What is a *guru* and what is a disciple, O Mahātmā?"

"You rascal! you don't know me, and want to teach me wisdom? I shall turn you into ashes."

"You have shown me," rejoined Sivanarayan, "who you are. Nothing is impossible with you. Take a hair from my body and turn it to ashes first, and then do the same to me. How many have you turned to ashes already? O great-souled one, is there a soul which can turn or be turned into ashes? If you cast aside the pride of Shastric learning and seek refuge in the All-Comprehending Supreme Being, expressed as light, the true teacher and soul, you will have peace and dwell in everlasting joy. Walk the path of righteousness and errors will cease to trouble you."

"Sir," said the Mohunt, "you have said much that is true and wise. Who may you be? Are you a monk or a Paramhansa? I can see no distinctive marks on you."

"How can I express in words who you are or I am? I am what I am. I can only say that I am a man, the same as you."

"I have" said he, "spoken to you, in ignorance, unworthily. Out of your own goodness forgive me. I salute you exclaiming—*Om Namah Narayanay Namah*" ("Salutation to the All-Comprehending Being, the goal of

man's existence," the usual formula of salutation between sannyāsis).

Summing up his experiences of this period Sivanarayan says:—"The ways and conversations of monks and pundits, princes and common people, are much alike. None desire God. With the pundit the first question is, 'Can you expound the Shastras?' If you say 'Yes' a fruitless disputation is started, while abuse and ill-treatment follow a negative answer. Monks drive away everyone not of their order or not professing a knowledge of magic or alchemy. Princes want to know if you have become perfected. From one believed to be perfect they ask as boons male children and increase of wealth and power. If you say 'Is the soul of such a nature that it can be imperfect at one time and perfect at another? What has one to do with perfection or imperfection?' the consequence is instant expulsion. One cannot go amongst the common people without being asked for riches, children, or magical cures. None desire the All-Comprehending Supreme Being, expressed as light, the parent of all. Such is the world's way."

Another time Sivanarayan stayed at a house on the Ganges at Benares. It was the morning of the holy *Bāruni* day (the great bathing festival). Many pundits and other people of the better sort had gathered round him for instruction. While leaving they requested him to accompany them to the Ganges for a ceremonial bath.

"It is good," he replied, "to observe the bathing ceremony. But what good follows the observance must be carefully considered."

"Mother Ganges," struck in one of the pundits, "washes away all sins, if bathed in on a day like this."

"You call the Ganges your mother. Is it dutiful in a son to present his mother with the uncleanness of his sins? Yield to her all the merits you prize, and she will take away all your sins and sorrows. But what is the

Ganges? If formless, attributeless, and transcendent, she cannot be imaged by the mind or perceived by the senses. If the opposite pole of being, she is the Virāt or God manifest whose expression is light. Beside the Being in this dual aspect nothing is, was, or will be. If the Ganges is the same as water, one of the 'limbs of the Virāt' (the constituents of the visible universe are so called), she is to be found everywhere. That water is a form of Narayan or God is commonly known."

"You need not come to the Ganges," the pundit rejoined; "return after seeing the image of Viswanāth."[1]

"It is the duty of all," said Sivanarayan, "to see Viswanāth. Man has no other duty, in fact. On the authority of your scriptures the Viswanāth,[2] comprehending all things, moving and stationary, is the complete Being, Virāt, present within and outside all. He strings all that be upon threads of light, and by sending forth His influence is carrying on the world's work. Has He a fixed place of abode whither one has to go to see Him? Since, according to the scriptures, He is All-Comprehending, possessed of all powers and complete, then why, disregarding Him within you, should you go elsewhere for a sight of Him? If you have faith in the scriptures you need go nowhere. Without faith in the scriptures there is no Viswanāth to see. If stock or stone is imagined to be your Viswanāth I have no need to see it."

"My Lord," said one of the pundits, "your words are true, but hard to receive, owing to the darkness within us."

"Stay your hearts in the All-Comprehending Supreme Being, expressed as light, the Parent of all. He will make all things clear by promptings from within."

[1] A form of Siva, the principal image at Benares.
[2] "The Lord of the World."

CHAPTER III.

Chaugain — The bridal party — Gathering mangoes by night — The good Samaritan—Dumraon—The Raja—Nepal—Srinagar—To Amarnath—The Garbha Yoni—The vision of Amarlinga—The return journey—The pot of milk between two ascetics—The spiritual Amarnath.

Chaugain is a village near Dumraon. The Zemindar's daughter is to be married after nightfall. The bridegroom has arrived with a retinue of horses and elephants, and accompanied by a crowd of relatives and friends, to whom quarters are assigned in a garden-house. The Zemindar with his principal guests is standing outside the garden gate.

Arrived at the place, Sivanarayan addressed them, saying, "You are busy about the wedding. Conversation touching spiritual matters would now be inopportune. I shall be in the garden somewhere. You can come to me when at leisure. My stay will be short."

"I can't say, you rascal," said the Zemindar, "whether I should come or not. There are many lunatics like you here."

Sivanarayan wandered about in the garden looking on the bridal preparations. Several mahātmās were seated near the bridegroom's father. One of the holy men drew that gentleman's attention to Sivanarayan, who, he suspected, was a thief on the prowl for some valuable articles, and advised his being turned out. He was accordingly seized by two retainers and taken before the bridegroom's father.

"Who are you?" he asked.

"A man," was the reply.

"Speak the truth, you rascal, or I shall have your bones broken."

"What is the good," struck in a mahātmā, "of questioning a thief? Let him be turned out with a few cuffs."

Orders were issued as advised, and the zealous servants drove him out with blows.

It so fell out that a severe storm then burst upon the place. In the garden-house chandeliers were broken, food spoilt, and branches torn off from trees, much to the discomfort of the wedding guests.

Two miles away Sivanarayan sought shelter under a mango-tree. The place was strewn with broken branches and mangoes shaken off from the tree. People came out of the village to gather mangoes. To prevent alarm Sivanarayan shouted out: "Don't be afraid. I am a man." All the more frightened, some raised a cry of thief and others of ghost. Men rushed out with cudgels, shouting: "Beat him, beat him!" Seeing them so ignorant, Sivanarayan said: "Fear not. I am a sādhu." They came to him and heard his instructions with gladness. After doing him reverence they went about mango-picking.

A little boy of 8 or 9 years, son of a Gossain,[1] stayed behind. With joined palms he asked Sivanarayan whence he had come, had he had anything to eat. Having learned he was fasting the whole day, the boy pressed the hospitality of his family on Sivanarayan.

"Little father," said the latter, "I don't enter a village by night. You go home. I shall get food somewhere when the day comes. Be not anxious on my account."

The boy left in silence and returned after some time with his mother and sister. The two miles of road they had to walk was heavy and sodden with rain and full of obstructions, caused by the storm. Unmindful of inconveniences, the good mother was happy in offering the fasting stranger a simple repast of milk and fruit. She begged Sivanarayan, on a night like that, to accept the shelter of her house.

"Go back to your home, mother," said he. "Hold

[1] A spiritual guide of the Vaishnava sect.

your thoughts steadfast in the All-Comprehending Supreme Being, manifested as light, and He will take away all your troubles."

The mother and children saluted Sivanarayan and left.

Next day Sivanarayan appeared before the palace gate of Dumraon. The heir-apparent left in a palanquin to enjoy the fresh air of the garden. In a little while the Maharaja came out, whom Sivanarayan addressed, saying: "Be collected, Maharaja, and listen. I have a word to say."

"Can't you," said the Maharaja in anger, turning to his attendants, "can't you keep away such importunate beggars from my presence?"

Taking the hint, one of the retainers pushed Sivanarayan by the neck, letting his turban fall down in his violence. This increased his rage, which he vented on Sivanarayan in kicks and cuffs of unusual vigour. The Maharaja was pleased with the ready zeal of his retainer.

"No blame," thought Sivanarayan, "attaches to these poor princes. Their spirit and intelligence must conform to the nature of the stocks and stones they worship. Had they been worshippers of the Supreme Being, manifested as light, the teacher and soul of all, their minds would have been illuminated by wisdom and their hearts quickened by benevolence. Then they would have known who I and they truly are."

Providing himself with the necessary permit, Sivanarayan slowly worked his way to the capital of Nepal. Meeting one of the princes as he issued from the palace, Sivanarayan accosted him—"O Prince, listen attentively." The Prince turned aside, directing an official to send away the mendicant with a small alms of money. All princes were equally blind. Sivanarayan passed Ekdanda and Sessagadi, reaching Jwalamukhi by the hill route. He proceeded to Hardwar, and thence walked on to Jammoo, where he did not find the Maharaja of Kashmir, who had previously left for Srinagar.

Sivanarayan arrived at Srinagar, taking the town of Mattan on the way. Within the palace precincts he found the junior Dewan distributing to 'sādhus' and beggars the necessaries for their pilgrimage to Amarnath. This being over, he asked the official to obtain for him a short interview with the Maharaja.

"Are you," asked the Dewan, "a sādhu, sannyāsi, or pundit that the Maharaja would grant you an audience? Had you been a sādhu or sannyāsi your wearing apparel would have been dyed brown and your neck garlanded with *rudrākhsa* beads. But I find none of these distinctive marks on you. If you be a pundit repeat some *slokas* (verses) from the Shastras you have studied. An interview with the Maharaja is impossible without Sanskrit learning. Mendicant paupers like you come and go every day. If you wish to visit Amarnath I shall give you the customary two rupees and a sufficient dole of rice and pulse."

"Where," said Sivanarayan, "is the need to know if I am learned or unlearned, sādhu or not? I only desire to see the Maharaja to point out to him how the creation suffers, and instruct him concerning God. Whether princes and learned men see me or not—it is nothing to me personally. I do not lose or gain thereby."

"Return after some days and I shall get you an interview."

"I shall go away in a day or two."

"Please yourself," said the official, ending the interview.

Sivanarayan departed from the city and sat down by the roadside. Strings of pilgrims to Amarnath, ascetics and laymen, passed by. Accepting it as in God's scheme he joined the crowd. Obtaining the necessary supplies at Mattan, where the journey was broken, the march to Amarnath was resumed. Every night the pilgrims camped out in the woods which skirted the road. Some of

the accompanying pāndās[1] or priestly guides would at times start in advance and, near some mountain spring, dig a small pool, scattering wild flowers round it. As the procession drew near they would recite the sacred glories of the pool, where by offering in worship from 2½ annas to Rs. 1¼ the devotee could secure the choice of Siva or Vishnu's heaven. Thus the pāndās gained money and the believers lost their reason.

At one place some of the pāndās ascended an eminence, and placing one stone on another declared, "Whoso will do likewise and give alms of money will acquire more merit on this spot than anywhere else on earth." Between two and three thousand pilgrims, ascetics and laymen, followed the advice, contributing to the derisive amusement of some Englishmen and many Mahomedans who, out of curiosity, were following the pilgrims on horseback.

The procession moved on and halted by the side of a tarn, the dwelling-place of a brood of snakes, one of the reptiles being, as the pāndās revealed to the believers, the god Siva in disguise. Salutations to Siva and gifts to the pāndās were quickly made, lest the god-snake should disappear under water before the worship ended.

Six miles below Amarnath is the village of Bhairogaddi. Pilgrims leave their belongings here. By night they ascend the hill of Amarnath to obtain the blessed sight of the god Amarlinga, ere the sun is high in heaven.

The heat of the day would melt the frozen covering of the stalagmite which is worshipped as the god. During the night march several persons disappeared in the snow that filled the ravine by the side of the pilgrim path, and perished before the arrival of help. At the end of the day's march a detached monolith, rising to a height of about 10 feet, was, under priestly direction, worshipped as

[1] Inferior priests, attached to holy Hindu shrines, who act as guides to pilgrims and temple attendants.

the god Bhairav, and the customary gifts made to the pāndās. Suddenly one of them shouted—"Look! look! a pair of pigeons are flying away from the cave of Amarnath. They will be invisible to the sinful and visible only to the righteous."

Loud rose the chorus, "I have seen them! I have seen them!" and, in the general desire to avert the imputation of sin, a discussion was raised on the form and colour of the birds. The pāndās were not slow to turn the occasion to their own advantage.

The cave of Amarnath lies behind a precipice in which there is a narrow natural tunnel affording space for a man to pass either way. The pāndās call this orifice the *Garbha-Yoni* (Originating Womb). It is believed that a passage through the orifice, after acquiring the merit of distributing alms on the spot, frees the soul from the wheel of transmigration. On each side of the tunnel a Mahomedan guard exacts a fee of one pice. Unable to meet this demand Sivanarayan had to take a roundabout path. He studied God's purpose and felt for the sufferings of His creatures. The wheel of rebirth troubled him not.

The pilgrims approached the cave of Amarnath. Snow melting in a higher region formed a stream which the pāndās called the Amargangā (the Ganges of the Immortals). Directed by priestly guides, pilgrims of both sexes plunge into this stream *in puris naturalibus*. Thus cleansed of all sins they besmear themselves with holy ashes, purchased from the Mahomedans who dwell in pits all around. After further alms they become fitted for a vision of the god. Natural modesty, in the case of some women, compelled them to wear a scanty skirt of leaves, to the scandal of their holier companions. These proceedings caused the visitors of alien faiths to clap their hands in contemptuous laughter.

The alms collected in this place is divided into four

parts; one goes to the pāndās, another applied to the maintenance of the roads, and the rest taken by the Mahomedan Troglodytes. In the cave two pieces of stalagmite covered by a coating of ice, polished by the pāndās betimes, are revealed to the pilgrims as Siva and his consort Pārvati. The devotees prostrate themselves before these, and go through the pantomime of placing the dust off the divine feet on their heads, for dust there is none here. Emerging from the cave thankful gratuities are made to the pāndās.

Sivanarayan did not bathe in the Amargangā or besmear himself with ashes, or make prostrations to the gods. He watched the scene from a distance, and was hated as an impenitent sinner.

The night was passed at Bhairogaddi to pick up the pilgrims' effects.

"Eternal hell," said Sivanarayan to the pilgrim crowd, "is the portion of one who tells a lie in a holy place, and the telling of truth secures the unending joy of salvation. I did not see the pigeons of Amarnath."

First one, then another, and then all together said, "I too did not see them."

At Mattan the pilgrims rested another night. Near the rest-house a man was carrying a pot of milk for sale. A 'sādhu' of the Ramanuja sect settled the price at one rupee and four annas, and desired the milk to be taken to his lodgings. A great-souled 'sannyāsi' of Sankara's sect asked the milkman the price of the milk.

"Two rupees eight annas," said the milkman.

"Take it to my lodgings, I will pay that price."

"You can't have the milk," struck in the 'sādhu,' "I have bought it."

"Hold your tongue, or I shall pound you up and drink you off like bhāng.[1]"

[1] A preparation of the leaves of the Indian hemp-tree.

"Have you ever done that service to any man?"

Pulled contrary ways by the holy men in anger, the earthen pot broke in pieces, spilling the contents on the ground. The sannyāsi hit the Vaishnav monk with his stick, and a general engagement ensued between the members of the rival sects, resulting in broken limbs to both parties. The disturbance attracted a large number of Mahomedans of the town. They separated the combatants with impartial distribution of blows.

"You fellows," said the preservers of peace, "you have shaved your heads and become saints indeed! You can't live in peace, but must needs fight. Householders are better. They work to maintain their families, are hospitable to strangers, and have faith in God."

"The merit," said Sivanarayan, addressing the pilgrims, "the merit of the pilgrimage to Amarnath has soon borne fruit. The wounded saints are enjoying Kailas and Vaikuntha in the midst of their torments. Neither monks nor householders know the true Amarnath. It is one of the names of God, manifested as light. He neither grows nor wanes. He is all-knowing, all-comprehending, complete. Seeing Him the mortal becomes immortal, dwelling in everlasting joy. Prakriti (power) and Purusha (sentience)—sun and moon—are the two pigeons proceeding from Him and are present before our eyes. The righteous alone know Him truly, the sinful turn their faces away from Him. Desire and delusion are the *Garbha-Yoni* which the devotee crosses, and bathing in the Ganges of wisdom rests in union with God a naked soul. His eyes see naught beside God and his true self. You are wandering from place to place, blind to the essential truth. Seek refuge in the all-comprehending Supreme Being, complete and manifested as light. He will take away your burdens."

CHAPTER IV.

Barāmula—The Modi shop—Peshawar—Hindu and Moslem—In praise of British rule—No money, no caste—Amritsar—God in the golden temple—The Sukhatalao—The holy thief—The palace at Jodhpur—Mount Abu—Girnar—Ramānanda's umbrella—Ambika Bhowani's Temple—The Nāgās—True saints—Cannibalism as a rite—The Serowghi Temple—A test of credulity.

From Srinagar on his way to the Punjab Sivanarayan arrived at Barāmula. About two miles beyond the military outposts two Brahmins were lying down on a charpoy (stringed bedstead) at a modi shop.[1] Two Mahomedans rode up to the place and told them to get up. As soon as they declared themselves Brahmins whip-cuts rained down, making them cry for mercy with shrieks of pain. The Moslems felt no mercy, but with added fury shouted, "You low-born unbelievers, you don't stand up in our presence, but are lying down." The shopkeeper humbly craved forgiveness, and shared the fate of his guests.

"What for," Sivanarayan said, soothing the angry Moslems, "is this violence? Consider soberly what thing is it that you call Mahomedan. The substances that are in you are also in the Hindu. If Mahomedan is a name for circumcision then you too are by birth Hindus—your origin is Hindu. Why, then, do you lose self-control on hearing that name? See what pain you have caused to these innocent men. If they were stronger they would have retaliated. You would not have liked that. All are expressions of Allah. It is wrong to use violence. Walk the path of life with sobriety and discrimination."

"Your words are true," they said, "but we must follow the teachers of our faith. We have heard that Moslem is a name for truth, and yet many liars call themselves Moslems."

Crossing the Indus Sivanarayan sat down by the side

[1] A petty grocery.

of a well in front of the Fort at Peshawar. It was about dusk. A Brahamachāri, who lived close by near a sacred fireplace, told him to seek shelter for the night within the town, which was guarded during the day by British sentries and at night its gates were shut. The Mahomedans of the place would kill anyone found outside the city gates at night. If such a one were a Hindu he would be forcibly circumcised and married to a Moslem damsel, to the utter ruin of caste.

"I need fear none," said Sivanarayan; "my caste is the lowest on earth, all castes enter into me, as all rivers flow into the sea."

After travelling for some days towards Kabul he returned and witnessed a shocking incident in a Punjab village. There were only two or three Hindu families in that village, the rest being all Mahomedans. A Hindu maiden, shrieking and struggling, was being carried away by some Mahomedans, not of the village. Her cries brought her relatives upon the scene, supplicants for her release, but they were driven back with blows.

A Hindu shopkeeper informed Sivanarayan that in the western frontier of the Punjab the position of the Hindus was most deplorable. Attractive Hindu girls were constantly abducted and married to Mahomedans by force. No redress could be obtained from the authorities, who were of the same faith. They said that the Hindu being the Mahomedan's inferior, such marriages were for the captive girls' own good. Married Hindu women, if found unprotected, would be held to ransom and robbed of their personal ornaments. Villages with considerable Hindu population would be looted every two or three years, and the women led away captive. The shopkeeper grew eloquent in praise of the British rule in Hindustan,[1] and blessed the rulers.

[1] I.e. Northern India between the Punjab and Bengal.

"Why don't you," asked Sivanarayan, "end your troubles by migrating to Hindustan?"

"So few of us are now left," cried the man in tears, "where shall we go? Formerly we were all Hindus in these parts. A Moslem chief made many converts by forcing beef into Hindu mouths. In those days we were called Aryas and not Hindus. Having found that the name meant 'noble,' he, by a proclamation, insisted upon pain of death on the disuse of that name and the adoption of the epithet Hindu. The proclamation required us to beat our breasts in mourning for the dead and to repeat the name of Allah, abandoning those of our own gods. Even in Hindustan there is no Hindu king; the manhood of the Hindus has been reduced to the vainglorious words that issue from their lips."

Sivanarayan heard in another Punjab village that two Brahmin youths on a journey to Peshawar were, by some Mahomedans, robbed of the sacred thread and forced to taste beef. Returning home they acquainted their parents with the misfortune that had overtaken them. The advice of pundits was sought. The holy and learned conclave undertook to purify them on receipt of a fee of Rs. 200 for each. The amount was beyond the means of the penitents. Driven from their homes by piety, in tears they increased the ranks of the Mahomedans. Sivanarayan cried shame on the interpreters of the law who depended for purification on money, and compared their conduct to that of the low-caste Hindus who are purged of all offences by a generous distribution of fermented palm-juice among their caste fellows.[1]

In the Golden Temple, rising from the breast of an artificial lake, the Sikhs worshipped a book—paper, ink, and cloth—with lowly bows and offerings of money. Round about dwelt Mohunts in their monasteries and

[1] This was before British rule was firmly established. Some years separate the incidents related and those that follow.

entertained wandering sādhus. At meal-time Sivanarayan accompanied some sādhus, who were dressed in the garb of their profession, to a monastery. Those whose holiness was attested by their garments were hospitably welcomed, and Sivanarayan unceremoniously thrown out.

He spent some days by the side of the tank named Sukhatalao, about two miles from Amritsar. Two sādhus of the place evinced much pleasure in holding constant conversations with him concerning God. This attracted to him the people of the neighbouring villages, who ministered to his wants. In course of time the Mohunts, ashamed of their previous conduct, came and prostrated themselves before him.

Rajaram Khettry, of Amritsar, was especially devoted to him. On his first visit he left for the unknown stranger a blanket, a wrapper, and a drinking vessel. Shortly afterwards, finding opportunity in Sivanarayan's absence, a sādhu who had come to see him stole those articles and pledged them with a shopkeeper for Rs. 5. He spent the money in entertaining himself with opium, ganja, and varieties of sweetmeats. Subsequently Rajaram missed his presents and questioned Sivanarayan, who merely replied: "He who had given has taken away." Suspecting they were stolen he replaced them, despite remonstrance.

In the meantime the thief returned to the shopkeeper asking for a further advance, which the latter refused, and producing the articles demanded their immediate redemption. Informed of this by a servant of his who had witnessed the incident, Rajaram caught the sādhu thief red-handed. Against the advice of the bystanders to hand over the culprit to the police after unofficial chastisement, he brought the thief to Sivanarayan, who, he said, was his police.

"You gave me these things," said Sivanarayan, after the story was told, "for my comfort. But this other man applied them to his own use. There is nothing else to do

but to forgive and release him. True, you cannot protect the good without punishing the evildoer. But as you have brought him to me let him go."

Rajaram was wise and loved righteousness. He released the thief and redeemed the stolen property. Sivanarayan requested him to take the articles away and keep them for the use of the next stranger who would need them, as his own wanderings must be immediately resumed. Rajaram offered to procure for him a railway ticket to his immediate destination, and begged him to come again. Sivanarayan wanted to travel on foot in order the better to observe the condition of the people, and a ticket to him was useless. Rajaram all the same purchased for him a railway ticket to Rorhi Sakkar in Sindh, and wanted him to take a few gold mohurs as a provision for the journey.

"Nobody," said Rajaram, "takes any notice of you, as you are without any of the distinctive marks of a sādhu. Money will come useful in your wanderings."

"What use," replied Sivanarayan, "has a sādhu for money? He has no children to marry. Money is a necessity for a householder. It is wrong to give money to a sādhu, and wrong for him to take it. The Supreme Being, whose expression is light and who rules all hearts, is the wealth of a sādhu. What need has he for this false wealth? All he needs is a handful of food to sustain life and a piece of cloth to hide his nakedness. Food and raiment are stored for him in every house. Whatever needs he feels will be supplied by God in the form of some man. If one's thoughts are established on Him money will come when money is wanted. Keep the gold mohurs and use it for the good of your own family and the stranger who comes hungry to your door."

From Sindh, wandering through Nabha and Patiala, Sivanarayan reached Delhi, and then through Bharatpur, Karauli, and Jeypore, found himself before the palace at

Jodhpur. It was a festive day. The house of a vassal remiss in the discharge of state dues had been razed to the ground, driving him into the jungles for shelter, with his family.

Sivanarayan in rags stood before the Raja, who in anger ordered him away. The dutiful servants took him by the arms and neck and drove him to the high road. He found all Rajas alike strangers to true humanity. A dromedary of the Raja happened upon him at a wild and lonely part of the road and induced him to share the ride to Pali and spend a night there.

At Abu Sivanarayan heard of many sages who were supposed to dwell there. He searched on all sides—above, below, and inside the caves—and found indeed many who were reputed wise and holy. They accepted service from the laity, promising to work miracles in their favour and distributing wild roots and ashes, said to confer wealth, progeny, and other objects of desire on the fortunate recipient. Higher up, near a piece of water, the Englishman was enjoying the Kailas, built by his own hands.

Leaving behind the Gaekwar's territory, Sivanarayan turned his steps towards Mount Girnar. The ascent began near a place of cremation. Hard by was a Brahamachari with his idols, whom Sivanarayan, on sitting down, did not salute.

"Who are you, rascal," exclaimed the angry Brahamachari, "that you don't bow down to my gods?"

"I see no god," replied Sivanarayan; "these are only figures of stone and metal. If these are to be bowed down to, the same homage must be paid to these hills and to all domestic utensils."

"Are you a sādhu or a householder?"

"I don't know what thing you call a sādhu and what a householder."

"Have you studied the Shastras?"

"I have and have not," replied Sivanarayan. "It is taught in your Shastras that the sun is the eye and the moon the mind of the all-comprehending God in His visible aspect. Meditate on His expression—the light—and worship Him. He will remove all your errors and sufferings."

"True," said the Brahamachari after saluting Sivanarayan with respect, "it is so written in the Shastras, but the teaching is not generally understood or believed in."

The road winds upwards by the side of natural caves where sādhus live upon gifts of food and money received from pilgrim hands. Higher up is the Chhatra[1] or hostelry of Ramānanda, the founder of a Vaishnava sect called after him Ramānandi. The Mohunt at the head of this institution is held in great esteem. Sivanarayan sat down near him without the bow which he claimed and received from all.

"Who are you?" inquired the monk in annoyance; "to what sect of sādhus do you belong?"

"I am a man," said Sivanarayan, "the same as you are. I don't know what thing a sect is."

"I can see you are a man, you rascal, but what is your caste?"

"If you are entirely dependent on information from me I might say anything to satisfy you."

"Be off, you rascal," was the reply with which the interview ended.

Sivanarayan had heard that many holy Rishis of the Aghori sect were to be found on Mount Girnar. He searched for them unsuccessfully on all sides and came upon a Brahamachari and a Brahmin follower of Ramanuja Swāmi, and their treatment of him was an echo of the

[1] Literally, an umbrella. In the days of ascetic poverty a large one made of leaves was placed over a long pole stuck in the ground for travellers to rest under. This is the origin of the present houses.

Mohunt's. Higher up stands the temple of Ambikā Bhowani. A householder dressed like a monk was seated there. In front of the goddess was a lighted lamp; the sacred fireplace close by was full of ashes. A piece of stone daubed with vermilion rested near and by lamp-light was worshipped with offerings of money.

At no great distance was the piece of water called the water-pot (*kamandulu*) of Dattatreya.[1] Round about it lay the settlement of the naked ascetics, called Nāgās. Sivanarayan saw four sādhus arrive there. Having made some mistake in describing themselves they were deprived of all their belongings and turned out of the place, according to the custom of the Nāgās, whose hospitality can be claimed by a sādhu visitor for a day and night upon giving a correct description of himself. Any mistake therein causes instant expulsion and forfeiture of goods. Constant complaints of Nāgā outrages were made to the Nawab of Junagar, whose rule extends over the Girnar Hills. For a time the Nawab refused to entertain them. Once he had the Nāgās arrested and brought before him. They confessed their misconduct, which they justified as fulfilling the injunction of the founder of their sect. The plea was rejected, and they were ordered to make restitutions and leave Girnar. The latter part of the order was disobeyed. The Nāgās kept to their usual haunts, of which the Nawab took no notice.

Sivanarayan visited the Chhattra of Gorakshanath[2] and the place of Kabir Dass[3] as he wandered over the hills. He found a few true saints amongst the Vaishnavas of the Ramanuja sect and one among the Aghoris—men whose whole being was surrendered to God and established on Him.

To frighten away people the ascetics have spread

[1] A noted sage said to have attained wonderful powers by the fervour of his austerities.

[2] The founder of a sect of ascetics, by whom he is deified.

[3] A Vaishnava religious teacher, by caste a weaver.

a report that the Aghori saints kill and devour whomsoever they find there at night. But those that Sivanarayan met on this occasion were holy men of wisdom. Members of this sect would not hesitate to eat a corpse if driven to extremity for support of life. Some would do that even as a matter of religious training. But they would never kill a man for a cannibal feast.

Meeting some pilgrims in quest of holy saints, Sivanarayan told them that the same God dwelt in all things and all creatures. All men in ultimate reality were holy saints. "Whoso perceiveth not the ultimate reality is blind. Whoso perceiveth it, to whom the soul and the supreme soul are one and the unity of being manifest, is truly a saint. The sects are many, but the saints are few."

A little way beyond is the Temple of the Serowghis,[1] an enormous pile, looking like a fort. From this spot steps are cut into the side of the rock to meet the road to Junagar. Sivanarayan passed a few days by the side of these steps in a natural cave hidden by a dense jungle growth. In answer to enquiries he used to describe himself simply as a man. People shunned him in contempt, not finding on him the external marks of a professional ascetic. Sivanarayan sustained life upon the leaves of a neighbouring tree. None ministered to his wants.

To test the credulity of householders and ascetics Sivanarayan cleared a rectangular space in the jungle and daubed it well with mud. He placed a clean stone on each of its four corners and one in the middle. The stones were painted with wet brick-dust and named after different Hindu gods, and the spot was called "the five holy places." Sivanarayan scattered wild flowers on the stones and sat watching the scene in silence. Pilgrims flocked round with offerings of food and coins. Some

[1] A sect allied to the Jains.

prostrated themselves, some asked for the names of the idols, and some remarked it was a holy shrine, miraculously come into existence. By nightfall one and a half maunds of grains and eight annas in money had collected there, which Sivanarayan made over to the keeper of a small grocery shop on the heights.

Shortly it came to the knowledge of the gentry at Junagar that a great sādhu in rags was observing a protracted fast on the hills. They sent him, by coolies, a large store of food. Sivanarayan wanted the coolies to carry back their loads, as he was going away directly. But they would not. At his request an ascetic took over the entire quantity and he departed for Dwarka, taking Junagar and Porbunder on the way.

CHAPTER V.

Dwarka—Whom do you worship?—Branded for Heaven—Narayana's Pool—Division of spoils — Hinglaz — Multan — Mosque against temple — Persecution of Hindus—Pax Britannica—A Vaishnava monk—The gods, a burden—Release from the gods.

The famous temple at Dwarka[1] enshrines a stone image of Krishna. The silver-sandalled feet of the chief pāndā betokened his rank.

"Show me Krishna," said Sivanarayan to him, and, a fee or offering of Rs. 2½ being demanded, continued: "If Krishna is a name for the all-comprehending Supreme Being, manifested as light, what can we have to give Him? In his spiritual blindness man takes a stone image for his Maker, and in pride of existence offers to his god what he fancies his own—he, who cannot make the tiniest

[1] Dwarka was the home of Krishna and his family.

blade of grass. You and your brother priests are constant in worshipping the image with prayers and recitals of holy texts, and yet your greed increases and blindness grows from day to day. What is the reason?"

"Have you," cried the priest in anger, "come to see the god or to give me wisdom? Who are you to instruct me? Make your offering and see the god or take yourself away."

"I have no money. Shall I never find God?"

"Never without money," said the pāndā-priest, whose thoughts had turned into the stone he worshipped.

"The god Krishna inside this temple is made of wood, metal, or earth. The material being available everywhere, to come to your temple is wholly unnecessary. Of what is your god made? Is He manifest (*sākāra*) or hidden (*nirākāra*)? If the former, the manifested Deity is present before all as the earth, water, fire, air, *ākāsa*, and sun and moon-light. Tell me of which of them is God. If you call the transcendent Deity Krishna, then where is He, how is He to be found, show Him to me?"

At these words of Sivanarayan the pāndās took counsel together and turned him out, lest he should corrupt the faith of the pilgrims. He went to the place close by where pilgrims were, for a fee, branded on the arm as a memento of their pilgrimage. The fees collected were divided between the Baroda State and the pāndās. Considering Sivanarayan's poverty they offered to brand him for the merest trifle, and promised him freedom from all spiritual penalty even if the funeral torch was not applied to his dead face in due form.

"What sin," asked Sivanarayan, "has the body committed that it should be punished with branding? Besides, what effect will it have on the soul? If branding led to salvation all branded cattle are already saved. Why do you drag others into the maze of error you are lost in yourselves? Whoso hath loving faith in the true

lord Krishna, that is to say, in the all-comprehending Supreme Being, manifested as light, needeth no branding for his salvation. Such a one is inwardly branded with the wisdom of God. Those who have turned from Him desire this outward branding."

Crossing over to Cutch, Sivanarayan reached the holy pool of Narayan [1] at a distance of about 80 miles from the capital. Here the pilgrims are branded on the breast after a purificatory plunge in the sacred waters. The ceremony involves the payment of a fee to the pāndās.

On that day a pāndā had received from a certain pilgrim one pice more than his proper share. The others desired the pice to be turned into cowrie-shells and divided amongst those entitled to a share. This was resisted as inconvenient, and another mode of equalising shares was proposed and rejected. The dispute grew warm, and the illegitimate holder of the pice was left senseless with blows and robbed of all the money on him.

"Ye dwellers round this pool," said Sivanarayan, moved by the spectacle, "what have you gained by all your worship and ablutions? You are prepared for a pice to take the life of a fellow-creature. God, whose manifestation is light, is the true holy tank. Plunge into Him and secure eternal salvation. Branding is unnecessary. On His broad breast—the sky—the sun and moon are branded for ever. Let all men and women of high and low degrees receive on their hearts the brand of God, and all troubles will end."

Sivanarayan steamed over to Karachi and thence proceeded to Tatta in Sindh. In this town pilgrims obtain provisions and a guide for their long camel ride to the holy shrine of Hinglaz on the Mekran coast. The journey both ways takes from 12 to 14 days. The road passes through inhospitable jungles and tracts of sandy desert. From the few Moslem villages scattered on the

[1] A name of Vishnu.

route the pilgrim's Hindu faith forbids the reception of food or drink, to the great suffering of the improvident devotee.

An ancient Moslem dame sits near a fireplace, built into a hollow in the earth. She keeps a lamp burning day and night against the arrival of pilgrims. After purificatory ablutions, in the manner prevalent at Amarnath, the devotee receives ashes from the fireplace to rub over himself. Then follows the ceremonial vision of the lighted lamp accompanied by money offerings. After baiting, commences the return march. The offerings collected at the shrine belong to the Mohunt of Tatta, portions being allowed, however, to the guides and the Moslem custodian of the shrine.

Sivanarayan's journey was solitary, apart from the pilgrim throng. He left the shrine and reached Rorhi Sakkar, passing through Hyderabad (Sindh). On a little island in the river Sātbhela, which flows past Sakkar, there is a small colony of sādhus, who drove him away as he did not bear the distinctive marks of their sect.

Arrived at Multan Sivanarayan saw a large mosque within the fort. Outside there is a Hindu temple enshrining images of Krishna, Pralhad,[1] and Sudām.[2] This temple was originally modest in size. But the Hindus commenced to rebuild it on a larger scale. The Mahomedans objected on the ground that the enlarged dimensions of the temple would reduce the comparative magnitude of their mosque.

"Your race," protested a Moslem deputation to the Hindu leaders, "is inferior to ours. Your place of worship must accordingly be inferior in size."

"So long," replied the Hindus, "as sovereignty was yours you ruled the land and built immense mosques.

[1] A Daitya or Titan prince, much persecuted for his devotion to Vishnu, of whom Krishna is reckoned an incarnation.

[2] One of the companions of Krishna's youth, spent among cowherds.

Now that God has given us the money we too shall raise imposing places of worship."

The temple progressed towards completion. One day a riotous Moslem mob slaughtered kine on the spot and threw the meat near the images in the temple, beating back the Hindus and plundering the place. The Mohunt of the place was a lady, who saved her life and honour by hiding in a dark room. As the news spread, a large gathering of Hindus gave battle to a larger crowd of Mahomedans, and had the worst of the fight. The military had to be called out to quell the disturbance, and legal proceedings commenced in a British Court.

This incensed the then Nawab of Bhawalpore. Within his territories commenced a regular persecution of Hindus. Beef defiled Hindu homes and shops. The Hindu officials of the State left in consternation. Matters came to such a pass that the British Government had to interfere and threaten the Nawab with deportation and imprisonment—so the rumour went.

On the way from Multan a monk of the Ramanuja sect joined Sivanarayan in his wanderings. The monk carried on his shoulders a heavy bundle, containing, besides things for his personal use, idols of stone and metal, of considerable weight.

"Consider," said Sivanarayan in compassion, "O Mahātmā, with collected thoughts, whether you have entered a monastic order for the removal of your burdens or for adding to them. If the former, then why suffer under such a grievous burden? Would it not be better to keep just what you need?"

"My lord," said the monk, "I have here my wearing apparel and articles of daily use. Besides, my guru gave me many gods, and I have collected many good ones at the places I have visited. I must take them all to my guru's abode."

"It is," continued Sivanarayan, "no doubt praiseworthy

of you to carry to your guru the best of what you collect in the course of your pilgrimage. But consider, what is it that you call 'I' and what is it you call God. What are you the worshipper and what the God worshipped? In the wide expanse of space, either within or outside you, what is there superior to yourself to be worshipped? It is right to worship that alone which is superior to yourself, so that by the wisdom, coming from the grace of that superior, you might attain to the supreme joy called salvation or Mukti. But what you are carrying on your shoulders is but metal and stone that God has created useful for your life on earth. Are these superior to you, or you to them? You have intelligence which discriminates between truth and falsehood. Hold fast to the truth and wisdom, and salvation will be yours."

"My lord," said the ascetic, "I worship God in this metal and stone, believing in His presence therein."

"O noble ascetic," said Sivanarayan, "if you can believe in God's presence in metal and stone and worship Him in inanimate objects, how is it you cannot believe in Him and worship Him in the living soul in your own breast. Why should He be absent from the soul in you while present in unconscious objects? Find Him in love within yourself."

"As I am an expression of God, so is the object called inanimate. What harm can there be, then, in worshipping Him in His inanimate expressions?"

"No doubt all that you see is His expression, and so are you. But ponder well. The water of the holy Ganges is the same substance as the water of the ditch. But ought I to ask you to drink ditch-water for that reason? Ditch-water will breed disease, while the water of the Ganges will remove your thirst and make you feel cheerful. Mud, ordure, and cooked rice are the same in substance. But should I for that reason tell you to eat either of the two first in preference to the last? The ignorant man, the thief, and the robber do not differ in

the order of reality or substance from the great-souled, learned ascetic, but is the condition of the former class as desirable as of the latter? Consider further. According to the teachings of your scriptures the manifested or expressed God is ever present before you. The Vedas say that the sun is His eye, the moon His mind, the akāsā His head and breast, the air His life, the water His blood, and the earth His feet. Reflect. When God in His aspect of expression or manifestation is ever present before you, to whom are you to give worship, leaving Him aside? All the holy writings, while teaching meditation, have pointed out the Supreme Being, expressed as light, to be the proper object of meditation and mental rest. It behoves you, therefore, to turn to Him in love and reverence. By the fervour of that meditation, when you see yourself to be the same light as the object meditated on, then will you find everlasting, joyous rest in the all-comprehending Supreme Being. This all-powerful Being, manifested as light, is the world's Parent, Teacher, and Soul. Having abandoned Him and fastened your mind upon unreal, transitory appearances, you are wandering over the face of the earth, with a mind enfeebled by what it dwells on. Whatever be the name you bestow upon the recipient of your worship, that worship must be directed to the all-comprehending Supreme Being, expressed as light. The true substance of you and your God is one. Established on this thought, meditate upon that being expressed as light. Feel towards Him as child to parent, same and yet different, the object of love, veneration, and worship, though inwardly the same."

"Your words are true," said the ascetic; "another Paramhansa told me the same thing, but I could not accept his teaching. From your words the conviction comes to me that besides the Supreme Being, manifested as light, there is none else in existence. Having turned away from Him I am wandering, lost in error. If you

would compassionately bestow your companionship on me the darkness will be lifted from my soul. In vain have I so long borne the burden of these gods of stone and metal."

"Believe," said Sivanarayan, "as God moves you from within."

"My lord," said the ascetic, "after much thought the conviction arises in my mind that I had better throw these gods into the water, except a small selection."

"Do as you feel prompted," was Sivanarayan's reply.

The ascetic preserved a few stone images that pleased his eye and prostrated himself before the Supreme Being, manifested as light.

"When the Supreme Being, manifested as light, is ever present everywhere," said the ascetic after a few days, "then why should I suffer under the weight of these images? I will hang them on the branch of this tree for anyone to take away who wishes."

In a little while the ascetic gave away all he had, except what was absolutely necessary for the journey.

"I bow down to you a thousand times," said he, addressing Sivanarayan; "you have saved me from the net that enmeshed me. Now give me your blessings that my thought may for ever lovingly rest on the Supreme Being, manifested as light."

"There is no good fortune beyond that," said Sivanarayan.

CHAPTER VI.

Mussourie—The Sikh monastery—"My Lord the Book"—Etiquette of the monastery—Another Sikh monastery—The mysterious acceptance of offerings—The invisible hand—Jwalamukhi—Living fire—Local legends—Pushkar—Sāvitri and Gāyatri—Ajmere—Khwājā Sahib's tomb—Alla's grasp—Walkeswar—The cremation ground—The Pundit Jaliram—The Thakurbati.

It was raining at Mussourie. Sivanarayan found but slight shelter under a tree. A Sikh, seeing his plight, advised him to ask hospitality at some human habitation.

"I am an animal of the jungles," said Sivanarayan; "townsfolk will not take to me kindly. I have no place with them."

The Sikh promised him the ready hospitality of a monastery of that faith, near the Bazaar. Sivanarayan accompanied him and sat down in the place pointed out. After a while he lay down to rest his tired limbs. A sādhu remonstrated with him in strong language, as his feet pointed towards a saint's tomb. Sivanarayan changed his posture.

"Take away your feet," said the sādhu; "don't you see, you fellow, your feet are in the direction of the Granth Sahib." [1] Sivanarayan moved again.

"What a fool you are!" came again the voice of remonstrance; "don't you see, your feet are directly in the line of the Mohunt's state chair?" Sivanarayan turned round.

"Are you blind?" said the sādhu, angry and threatening; "don't you see the Granth Sahib's bed, on which he is laid at rest when the second quarter of the night has passed. Go away, you rascal."

"Tell me, brother," said Sivanarayan, "how am I to dispose of my feet. Am I to remain standing or to raise my feet towards the sky? In what direction do you lie down at night?"

[1] Literally, "My Lord the Book," the Sikh Scriptures.

"Don't argue with me, you fellow," said the sādhu; "after the Granth Sahib is laid to rest on his bed we lie down with our feet in the direction in which the Granth Sahib is now seated."

"Very well," said Sivanarayan, "after you lie down I shall follow your example. You worship the invisible God, and yet you are unintelligent as the beast of the field. You never think in what things or places He is present and where absent. He is in the feet as also in the paper, ink, and cloth you call the Granth Sahib. He is in all places, high and low, and is all things. You would not allow a human frame, informed by the living soul, to lie at ease, but you must venerate a book made of paper, ink, and cloth, and a lump of clay, which once was the body of a man, and contemn the intelligence which rules all things. It is for this that the whole nation—prince and peasant, monk and layman—is destitute of strength and dependent in all things upon another, suffering untold miseries in consequence. And yet you do not understand the madness of spiritual pride in your hearts. There is no help for it. No one is master of himself. In the dark you cannot see, even though you have eyes. In spiritual darkness you can neither see nor understand. You know not God, the true guru, the true soul.

"A Moslem sect in Sindh bastinadoes the feet stretched out to the west, the direction of Mahomed's tomb. The Hindu bows his head before his idol. Many Christians uncover and bend the knee to buildings, called churches. Each sect praises its own practice and condemns that of the others, and all sects are in perpetual bondage to hate and contention, struggling to establish the superiority of each. Let all men consider: If the human body turned to clay and mortar and brick are to be worshipped as divine, then, as those substances are to be found everywhere, what is the use of worshipping them in any particular condition? You take a building, call it church, mosque, or temple,

according to your faith, deem it holy and the rest unholy. And yet, all buildings are but earth. The Supreme Being, including in Himself the earth, is all-comprehending, complete, and manifested as light. But you neither know nor acknowledge Him. Is He not the ruler of all hearts, comprehending in Himself matter, force, the intelligent and unintelligent and the cause, complete within and without, and self-existent? Does He dwell only in buildings for which men imagine the names temple, mosque, and so forth? Is He non-existent elsewhere? Giving up all regard for particular forms and conditions, seek refuge in Him. He will remove all your errors and maintain you in supreme joy as joy itself."

Sivanarayan visited the establishment of another group of ascetics of the same order. There, before the Granth Sahib is a waterpot, half sunk in the earth. By a small hole at the bottom the pot communicates with a narrow covered channel. A smaller vessel of copper, placed on its top, has on its own lower end a cunning contrivance, which, by a suitable movement of the vessel, would shut and open, without attracting notice.

Devotees make offerings of sherbet and *halwa*[1] to the Granth Sahib. The sherbet is poured into the copper vessel, and, in the case of common devotees, disappears through the one below into the underground channel. If the devotee be rich, measures are taken to prevent the sherbet running out and the offerer is condemned as an impenitent sinner, who must, by money gifts to the Granth Sahib, propitiate Bābā Nānak[2] and obtain acceptance of his offering. Influenced by the gift, the sherbet is consumed and the empty copper vessel flourished before the faithful assembly. The acceptance of the *halwa* by Bābā Nānak is signified by the appearance on it of the impression of a hand, devoutly believed to belong to the

[1] A sweetened paste of flour.
[2] The founder of the Sikh sect.

invisible saint. The time taken for the impression to appear varied according to the offerer's means. When the money gift reached its maximum, Bābā Nānak's hand, constructed of copper to the unbelieving eye, is secretly laid on the sweetened paste, to the great edification of the congregation.

The fraud was finally discovered by an intelligent Sikh of the name of Ram Sing, and the place closed. Referring to the author of this fraud a pious Sikh ascetic of the place said to Sivanarayan, "He had much religion, but no mercy for man."

Sivanarayan reached Jwalamukhi by the hill route. From the holy hearth inside the temple rose tongues of consecrated fire, receiving offerings made from all around. On the walls burned, as if from gas-burners, flames of various degrees of brilliancy. Feeble flames could also be seen at short distances from the inner and outer walls of the temple. Devotees stuck soft sweetmeats on the walls close to the flames to be slowly consumed. This phenomenon is described by ignorant piety as the living fire leaping on to the pilgrims' hands to receive offerings. None seemed to reflect that not only on this spot but all the world over fire receives and turns into its own nature all that is offered to it. It is the same fire that shines in the sky as the sun and moon. When he puts forth his strength the world burns in pain, and when he pours out as rain the vapours he sucks up from the ocean the world rejoices in the coolness thereof.

"It is a long story, sir," said the gentle pāndā, "and the events are many and ancient. The Emperor Aurangzeb and Moslem fanatics, like Mahomed Fakir, destroyed our holy images at many a celebrated shrine. They burned our scriptures, tore our sacred threads to pieces, and made Moslems of Brahmins. The Viswanath image of Benares was broken into four parts; one was thrown into a neighbouring well, and the rest went to form steps

of a mosque for Moslem worshippers' shoes to rest on. They said the Hindu had no powerful or real God, but merely helpless images, made by the hands of man. Some one said to them that the only Hindu god, visible and powerful, was the burning flame at Jwalamukhi. They decided to investigate and ascertain the truth. Here they found a real flame of fire, rising heavenwards from the earth. Suspecting fraud, they dug up the earth at the foot of the flame without being able to put it out. The test was varied. A plate of iron was placed over the flame, and still it burned. Through a layer of seven iron plates the flame penetrated and appeared on the top. They acknowledged the god and built a large temple in the place of the small one then in existence, and gilded it with gold down to where the hands of man could reach."

"Why need a man," said Sivanarayan, "come to Jwalamukhi to see fire, which is everywhere to be seen? The fire within you digests the food which he cooks in your kitchen. The great fire, called sun and moon, burns without fuel, night and day. If you see that fire and feel within you Him who is that fire, your joy will know no end."

Finding holy places all of a type, Sivanarayan turned away from the difficult road to Badrinath and arrived at Pushkar in Rajputana. On the west of the holy tank, in which the pilgrims observe the ritual of ablution, rise two hillocks, surmounted respectively by the temples of Sāvitri and Gāyatri. The pilgrims rely on these goddesses for the removal of their sins and sorrows. Sivanarayan explained to them that according to the true import of the scriptures the manifested aspect of God was the light called the sun, of which Sāvitri is but an imagined name. Another form of the sun, called the moon, is the light indicated by the name Gāyatri. God, manifested as the light, will take away the world's burden of sin and suffering. Man wanders in error, not knowing Him, the true God.

At Ajmere Sivanarayan saw, adjoining a mosque, the tomb of a Mahomedan saint, Khwājā Sahib. The tomb was decked out in all the bravery of lanterns and chandeliers. Hindus and Moslems flocked to the tomb, attracted by its miracle-working reputation. Touts were employed to secure visitors from amongst the pilgrims to Pushkar.

An old fakir calls upon the visitor to put his hand inside the chamber of the tomb, promising the fulfilment of all his desires. As soon as the hand disappears through the opening it is grasped by an unseen hand and a pull is felt. In the case of women visitors especially the old fakir forbids all attempt to draw away the hand, as it is the Almighty who holds it from within. "Your hand is in God's grasp," says the fakir; "you will get your heart's desire. Be prompt in the payment of a fee of Rs. $1\frac{1}{4}$ for the privilege of having your hand held and a like amount for its release." After some cheapening, when the fee is agreed on the confederate in the tomb lets the hand go.

Sivanarayan remonstrated with the guardian of the tomb and asked him to be content with what the visitor willingly paid.

"You are a fakir yourself," he said, "what have you to do with these things? You have seen what there is to see. Now go." His parting was sped by a garland of flowers being hung round his neck and cut flowers put in his hands. Some Mahomedan gentlemen of the neighbourhood, having heard this account, promised to enquire into the matter and stop all fraudulent practice.

On his way to Bombay Sivanarayan passed through Ahmedabad and Surat. Arrived at Walkeswar, a suburban village near Bombay, he proceeded to the cremation ground by the sea-shore. He lay down on a monumental stone, whereon was inscribed the name the ashes bore in life, and covered himself head to foot with the sheet of cloth he was wearing. Three days

passed, but nobody took any notice of him. Those who brought their dead for the last rite took him to be a lunatic.

Hard by stood a *thakurbati* or idol-house, established by wealthy Marwaris. Some sādhus of the Ramanuja sect were in residence there. Coming in and going out they saw him from a distance, and avoided him as an unclean *murdāfarāsh*.[1]

The founder of the idol-house intended it to be used as a resting-place for travelling ascetics. A pundit of the name of Jāliram was in charge, and it was a part of his duties to entertain the ascetic guests his search could discover in the country-side. Happening upon Sivanarayan one day, he made him a profound bow of reverence.

"Whom are you saluting?" asked Sivanarayan, returning his greetings.

"You," said the pundit.

"Who am I that you salute me?"

"I am of the worst of mankind, in constant suffering from attachment to worldly objects of enjoyment. I know not what in reality I am or God is. How shall I know who you really are? This only I know, that you are a mahātmā, a man of renunciation, one whom God has known and received. With such knowledge have I saluted you."

"You," said Sivanarayan, "need feel no perplexity. The being that you are I am."

"The scriptures say so, no doubt. But when by the practice of devotion, such as yours, one's thoughts are established on what in reality is—the Swarupa—the soul's end is consummated."

"Even if your thoughts lack establishment on reality, still you are in reality what you are. There is nothing to trouble you."

[1] A public assistant at cremation whose touch is defilement.

"Grant me the favour of informing me how long you have been here and what arrangements are made about you. Has anybody seen you?"

"I have been here for three days. Many people have seen, but nobody has spoken to, me."

"Order me what food you want, I shall bring it here, or come with me to the thakurbati, where there is suitable accommodation for such as you, as long as it is their pleasure to stay. Many men of wealth and wisdom will come to see your feet."[1]

"I have no concern with men of wealth and learning. Nothing need be said about me to anyone. If you feel moved you could send here something for me to eat."

"I could do that or bring it here myself. But being burning ground, people feel a repugnance about coming here. Be pleased to accompany me to the thakurbati."

Sivanarayan rested at the idol-house after the meal. Merchants of the pundit's acquaintance came to see him there. Before departure they invited him to sanctify their places of abode with the dust of his feet.

"It is an error to think of your dwellings otherwise than as holy," said Sivanarayan, and responded to the invitations.

One of his visits was to the house of the Brahmin Jey Kissen, a celebrated pundit of that place, at which some important questions were discussed.[2]

During his stay a Marwari merchant named Jwahir Mull, one of the founders of the idol-house, became much attracted by Sivanarayan's teachings and attached to him personally.

[1] A reverential way of saying "you."
[2] See Appendix I.

CHAPTER VII.

The pundit — The outcaste — A transformation — The honoured guest — A parable—Siva in a mortal form—The devotee—The hypocrite—The god unmasked—Return to Walkeswar—Under police suspicion—A holy Lothario — The Dog-god — The Nizam's Hyderabad — The city Superintendent — Balaji — Rangoji — To Madras — Rameswaram — The temple—Temple-worship—Rationale of worship—The silent saint—Rama's Bridge—The three *lingas*—The "Limbs of Virāt"—The eight forms of Siva—The evil of linga-worship as practised.

Proceeding towards the sacred river Godavery, Sivanarayan heard of a Brahmin who dwelt close by and was said to be well versed in the Vedas and all the allied branches of learning. He was reputed to be the very embodiment of peace and devoted to the service of paramhansas and other holy ascetics. The wanderer came to his house travel-stained, in tatters and unshorn. Some of the householders were worshipping in the temple of Siva attached to the dwelling, some making their daily offerings in the fire, while others were studying the Vedas, seated in front of the house.

"Who are you," shouted the pundit annoyed, "whence have you come, what is your business here, what caste are you?"

"I am," said the stranger, "the lowest outcaste, none lower than myself."

"How dare you, a low-caste fellow, approach the temple of Siva? The god has become desecrated and the place defiled. Away you go at once."

"Whatever," said the unbidden guest, "is in its nature pure remains pure to the end; no accident can affect its purity. It is the same about the impure. If you feel, however, that my presence has defiled the temple, the god, and the neighbourhood, there is cow-dung in your house to wash away the pollution. May my offence be forgiven."

"Don't teach me wisdom. Away with yourself," raged

the pundit. Sivanarayan left, and purificatory ceremonies were duly performed.

On the side of a small feeder of the Godavery, before a fire, sat a Brahamachāri, the disciple of a Mahātmā of Jeypore. He had done some personal service to Sivanarayan on the way. Sivanarayan, after a shave and a river bath, put on the dyed loin-cloth supplied by the Brahamachāri. He rubbed himself all over with ashes, painted three lines on his forehead in the form known as *tripundra*, and hung from his neck and arms a few rosaries of *rudrāksha* beads. Sandals on feet and the ascetic's begging-bowl in hand, repeating the hallowed formula "Sivoham" (I am Siva), he entered the pundit's temple. The whole assembly stood up in reverence and bowed low. With joined palms they invited him to a seat and thanked their stars for the presence of such a great Mahātmā in their midst.

"O thou source of mercy," said the pundit, "to what order of life dost thou belong, what rules dost thou observe in eating, and what food is acceptable to thee? Deign to enlighten us in these matters, and we shall follow thy guidance."

"I am," replied Sivanarayan, "a sannyāsi. The rules I observe in eating require my food to be prepared by an unmarried child, under 12 years of age, who should, with his right hand alone, draw water from the well and cook my food in melted butter in a cowhouse. The least deviation from this course renders the food unfit for my use. I eat only once in a day and night, and live upon water alone, if the rules are not observed."

"Thou art," said the pundit, "a Mahātmā amongst sannyāsis, the preceptor of the whole world. Rest thou a while and thy food will be ready."

No boy or girl would undertake the task under the conditions laid down. The pundit feared a breach of his duties as a householder, and gave a piteous expression to

his fears. One boy said he could with the right hand alone draw water from the well, knead the flour into dough, but could not without the other hand use the rolling-pin to flatten the dough-ball into the cakes called *puris* and fry them. At last a boy offered to do what was required, if rewarded with a rupee's worth of sweetmeats. The pundit accepted the terms.

Sivanarayan sat to meal with the pundit and his household. He complained the rules had not been strictly followed, and that he must purify the food by repeating holy texts. The juvenile cook was sent for and finally persuaded to admit his fault. People said in wonder that the secret of no heart was hidden from Sivanarayan. The meal over, the company assembled in the outer apartments.

"You are," said Sivanarayan, "a learned pundit, well versed in the Vedas and other scriptures. Now tell me what good comes of scriptural studies. What thing or reality is it you call pundit, sannyāsi, or paramhansa? Are these names of forms or expressions, or do they transcend form? Is paramhansa the name of bones, flesh, filth, the senses, and so forth, or is it the name of wooden sandals, rosary of beads, ashes, and brow-marks? Explain this to me."

"My lord," said the pundit, "from scriptural studies come the discrimination of the real from the unreal, the recognition of the real or truth as such, steadfast adherence to the truth, and dissuasion from the unreal or falsehood. Those studies generate an equal regard for all creatures, right apprehension of temporal and spiritual duties, and the means of performing those duties properly, together with the power to use those means. The possession of these characteristics makes the pundit and forms the true end of scriptural learning. Concerning the sannyāsis, of whom the paramhansa is the efflorescence, it is said: "The brown robe does not make *sannyās*

(renunciation), the abandonment of self-identifying regard for the body is true *sannyās.* The unalterable conviction that I am not the body but the all-comprehending spirit is the characteristic mark of *sannyās.*"

"If," said Sivanarayan, "these be your thoughts, O pundit, then why did you drive away the Mahātmā in rags who visited you yesterday? And why do you show respect to me, looking at the ashes on my body and the beads on my arms?"

"That fellow," cried the pundit, "was an outcaste, and you a Mahātmā."

"Should you," said Sivanarayan, "believe everything you are told? If a man tells you he is the creator of God should you believe him respectfully? What would be the use of your Vedic learning if you did? It was I who then told you I was an outcaste, and now having changed the appearance of my body—the disguise worn by the soul —I say 'Sivoham.' You despised me then because in your sight my external appearance was contemptible, and now, because that appearance is different, you respect me as your guru. Fie on your punditship! The true paramhansa has realised the unity of God and soul, his nature is the nature of God. By what mark shall you know him? You are troubling the lives of yourselves and others about purity and impurity, and yet you know not that the Supreme Spirit, manifested as light, is purity itself and nowise can He become impure. Abandoning all selfish impulses, receive the truth with the help of a parable I am going to tell you.

"A man of great learning, but devoid of real experience of God, approached for instruction a master enjoying the beatific vision. He was bidden to find whatever was worse than himself. Pursuing his quest he happened upon his own excrement and deemed himself successful. 'Wretch!' cried the loathsome object, reading his thoughts, 'touch me not. I was offered in a golden

bowl for the delectation of the gods; you received me as holy, and I nourished you. Contact with you has reduced me, your benefactor, to the condition you see, and you are returning hatred for the good you have received from me. Far from appreciating the good in your benefactor it seems your part to proclaim what in him is not good. Shame on your understanding! You are ungrateful. It is useless to do good to the likes of you. You are regardless of the good you get from your benefactor. You praise or blame according to external appearances and other similar qualities. You are repelled by me, your benefactor, because of the condition I am in. If for your good the Supreme Spirit manifests Himself in a lowly form you will turn away from Him because His form is not grand in your sight. This is the reason why God, who is self-manifest, is not manifest to you. If in mercy He approaches to touch your heart, you drive Him away with blows. You have lost your discernment completely. When by contact with you the food of the gods is turned into foul filth how much fouler are you!'

"'Now,' said the master when the disciple in shame and disgust related his experience, 'now that your pride has been shattered, God is not far away from you. Seek refuge in Him, the all-comprehending light, the world's parent, teacher, and soul. He is the ruler of hearts, and by inward prompting He will discover to you all that is hidden and remain what He is, comprehending you and all things, visible and invisible, one and indivisible, self-manifest. He or you, transcending purity and impurity, is or are, according to difference of conditions, pure or impure.'"

"It is true, my lord," said the pundit when the parable ended, "the intoxication of worldly science is blinding. It is hard indeed to understand the glories of God. I crave forgiveness for my offence."

"Ask forgiveness of God and rest in peace and sobriety,

reflecting upon the real nature of the Forgiver and the forgiven."

Returning to the owner his holy habit Sivanarayan went his way. In an extensive field he happened upon four persons, holy sannyāsis to look at. Round the head of the chief was coiled a great length of matted hair. They met a simple-minded country man. The subordinate members of the group took him aside and announced to him tidings of marvellous import.

"Behold," said they, "the Lord Siva. The holy being with the coils of matted hair is Mahādeva[1] himself, disporting a human form. Moved by great pity we reveal to you the divine secret. Prostrate yourself at his feet and he will grant your heart's desire."

The man of transparent simplicity did as he was told, and received on his hand a drop of water wrung out of the mighty god's hair.

"This drop of Ganges[2] water," said the supernatural being, "will secure to you all that is good. Great is your good fortune that you have set eyes on me. Obey those who have procured you this blessed vision."

Thus exhorted, the mortal favoured of the gods was led a little way apart and was advised by one of his instructors to place all his ready cash on Siva's feet to furnish forth a *ganjā* debauch. Following the disinterested advice, the rustic was rewarded by a slap on the back from Siva's own hand and an assurance from Siva's own lips of a future translation to Kailas.

The favoured worshipper of Siva, meeting a neighbour who was attending to some urgent requirements of his own in an unobserved part of the field, narrated to him the story of his own exceeding good fortune. In emulation, no doubt, of his interlocutor's piety, he prostrated himself before him of the matted locks, and,

[1] Literally, the great god, a name of Siva.
[2] It will be remembered that in Kailas mother Ganges dwells in Siva's hair.

expressing grief at his want of present means to do the great god fitting reverence, insistently prayed for the favour of being accompanied to the village, where the requisite means could be procured. What god was ever proof against the fervour of prayer? The whole party found their way to the village modi's shop. But mysterious are the iniquities of the human heart. The majesty of the Lord of Kailas, instead of attracting worship, drew upon himself the assiduous attentions of the graceless police. The holy visitants of earth were unmasked and found to be members of a wandering gipsy (*bedia*) gang. The glorious matted locks were but rough wool, fixed with bael gum,[1] and calculated to retain moisture for a long time. This impious worshipper had met with Siva in a mortal form once before.[2]

In the course of his wanderings Sivanarayan returned to Walkeswar and stayed four days there. He made preparations for a journey to Rameswaram through the Tamil country. His old acquaintance Jwahar Mull, to save such a long journey on foot, purchased for him a railway ticket to a station in the Tamil country, and pressed upon him a money present upon the ground that not being in monkish habit he would want the consideration shown to an ascetic. The money was refused, but he was persuaded to start in a long coat which Jwahar Mull procured for him.

Just about that time a sannyāsi had run away with a merchant's daughter and her jewels, worth Rs. 10,000 to 12,000. The descriptive roll and authority for arrest of the holy Lothario had been telegraphed all along the railway line. At a station about 120 miles from Bombay the police came upon Sivanarayan in the search for the girl-stealer, who, it so happened, had the same name.

[1] The Indian wood-apple.

[2] Other such instances of imposture within Sivanarayan's experience are collected in Appendix II.

This identity of names aroused suspicion, and he had to leave the train. In accompanying the police he remarked that all places to him were the same, as it was desirable that men in different places should have opportunities for the removal of their errors.

A crowd collected round him on the platform, and the European Inspector had no doubt of his being the person wanted. The guard in charge of the train spoke to his having been seen off at Bombay by persons of position and respectability. But the suspicions of the police were not allayed until it was found that he did not answer the tardily produced descriptive roll. Sivanarayan was then allowed to resume his seat, and the train steamed off.

The temple of the Dog-god stands on the river about eight miles from the nearest railway station. The holy image inside is known as the god Vitthal, which means a dog. Four gates guarded by pāndās allow access to the inner enclosure, which again has four gates similarly guarded. Admission fee being levied at the gates, the pilgrim approaches the temple, where butter with candied sugar is offered to the god. The temple is infested by expert cutpurses. The loss is usually discovered by the victim on his return to the bazaar. On complaints being made to the pāndās they attribute the loss to the loser's sins, for the expiation of which further money gifts to the god are recommended.

"When," said one of the losers to his priestly counsellor, "when a visit to the shrine and the god did not remove my sins, how would a money gift succeed where such holy agencies have failed?"

Leaving the pāndā speechless the unfortunate victim of holy zeal had to beg his way home.

Hyderabad in the Nizam's State led Sivanarayan to reflect upon the absence of a whole-hearted desire on the part of the rulers for their subjects' good. Revenue was all that they wanted for lavish expenditure on ostentatious display.

"Are you," enquired of him the City Superintendent, a State official, "are you a Hindu or a Mahomedan fakir?"

"Is fakirhood the exclusive property of the Hindu or the Mahomedan?" was the reply.

"Were you born a Hindu or a Mahomedan—this is what I want to know?"

"True fakir is he from whom all personal motives (*fikir*) have departed and who has God alone left to him. If he thinks of himself as a Hindu or a Mahomedan he is neither a fakir nor a Mahātmā."

"Consider this, sir," said the official, "I am a Mahomedan, I eat beef. May you eat that?"

"What merit is there whether a man does or does not eat beef? If there were merit in eating beef it would belong equally to the dog, the jackal, and the tiger. Each creature lives upon its God-appointed meat. Merit there is none."

"But the Hindu would not eat beef, he looks on it with abhorrence."

"The same is the case with pork among the Mahomedans. But what does it matter? God has created all creatures out of the same substance. The cow and the hog are equally made of flesh, blood, bones, and so forth. Both are creatures of God; then why should the eating of the one be recommended and of the other reprobated?

"Such is the rule of our religion. There is a curse upon that creature. The very name is so accursed that one taking it must cry aloud, 'Toba! Toba!'"[1]

"That is so. What one body of men curse another give its blessings to."

"It is true all creatures are equally made of flesh and blood. I do not know for what reasons swine's flesh is forbidden to Mahomedans."

[1] "I repent, I repent."

"But on reflection you will find either all should be forbidden or none. All creatures feel equally the pain of having their throats cut."

"What can I do, my lord, such is the tradition that has come down to us?"

He offered to pay Sivanarayan's railway fare to Rameswaram and requested a visit on the return journey. The wanderer declined to receive money, but accepted refreshments proffered at a Hindu confectionery shop. The Superintendent sent a constable with him to the railway station.

Sivanarayan visited the temple of Bālāji, situated on a hill close by a settlement of sādhus of the Ramanuja sect, and passed on to the temple of Rangoji, in which other gods of metal are enshrined beside the principal one named. For a consideration the pāndās place on the pilgrim's head Rangoji's silver crown, but Sivanarayan being penniless was not offered that honour.[1]

Arrived at Madras, Sivanarayan discovered that the merchant Jwahar Mull had sewn on his coat silver and paper money to the amount of Rs. 40. This he distributed among the poor of different places and proceeded on his wanderings.

The temple at Rameswaram is an enormous pile of buildings. A large number of images—Rama, Sita, Sivalingam—made of stone and the eight metals,[2] were enshrined within. The interior of the temple is dark, and the pilgrims are shown the holy objects by artificial light. It is prohibited to touch the images or approach them too near. Induced by large gifts the pāndās bring out by night the *lingam* wrapped up in a piece of cloth, and in secret expose it to the reverent gaze of the rich pilgrim. But under no pretence must it be touched.

[1] These two gods are forms of Vishnu.

[2] An alloy of the eight metals reckoned by Hindus, viz., gold, silver, brass, bell-metal, copper, tin, iron, and lead.

The pilgrim desirous of pouring water on Siva's head must do it vicariously through the pāndā, who must be suitably rewarded, the least fee being Rs. 1¼. The pāndās think only of their own gain; they never consider how the poor wretch who has begged his way for a thousand miles would return home.

"You," said Sivanarayan to the pāndās, "who would not give a cup of water to the thirsty stranger at your door, although he is the true Siva, the name Siva being one out of many bestowed on him by man's imagination—who have no waters of love to pour upon Siva, visible as the light, are acquiring merit by pouring water over inanimate pieces of metal and stone."

What *dharma* (religious duties) have you adopted?" questioned him the chief pāndā, by name Jagannath.

"What is it that you call *dharma*?"

"*Dharma* is merely a word. He who is the real or eternal Being—the truth—is *dharma*. To establish the mind on truth and to regulate the speech by truth is *dharma*."

"If you know this, then why do you worship images of metal and stone, calling one Rama, another Siva, and so forth? Where do you find Rama and where Siva in this temple? Is the clay, metal, or stone Siva or Rama? If any of these substances be Siva and Rama, what, then, is the use of a pilgrimage to this spot, since those substances, call them Siva or Rama, are everywhere to be found? Besides, why should not, then, man, who being gifted with intelligence is superior to those substances, be worshipped as Siva and Rama? What use is there in worshipping images fashioned out of inanimate substances? Is not, then, God worshipped when intelligence, that is man himself, is worshipped, since God is omnipresent and the ruler of all hearts?"

"There is," said Jagannath, "no mistake in what you say. It is wholly true. But men accept not truth nor reverence it. Untruth and deceit are always accepted

with them. Consider this. If I ask a rich man for assistance to maintain my family, he would either refuse or having given once will seek to recover his gift with interest. But the holy images located in this temple attract pilgrims with rich gifts from great distances. They accomplish the journey at great trouble and expense, and consider themselves amply rewarded by a sight of the images and the permission to make gifts of money and rich garments. The gods of stone do not need these offerings, they come useful to us. The holy sages have established these institutions so that poor people like ourselves may be maintained at the expense of the rich ; else why need we practise deceit ? "

Jagannath persuaded Sivanarayan to accept his hospitality, and made proper arrangements for his comfort and convenience.

On the sea-shore, in the midst of a jungle, there is a building called " Rama's Window." [1] It is two-storeyed, open on all sides, and about two miles from the Rameswaram temple. Close by was the *āsan* [2] or seat of the silent saint. People said he was a perfect being, who neither ate nor drank and had none of the physical needs of man, in short was god-like. All visitors to "Rama's Window" laid before him offerings of money after prostrations. The silent saint sat as a stone. During a lull in the visit of pilgrims the money placed before the saint would disappear all but a few pice, scattered in disorder. The sight of the money prompted similar offerings from those who came after. One of the pāndās proclaimed his sanctity before pilgrim assemblies and extolled the merit of making money-offerings before him.

One night when the silent saint, bathed and purified, was digging out from underneath his *āsan* some unleavened

[1] Ram Jhorokha.

[2] A piece of rough cloth or skin spread on the bare ground for an ascetic to rest on.

bread called *chapātis* Sivanarayan drew near and coughed to attract his attention. The startled saint by signs invited him to share in the frugal repast. Accustomed to one meal a day, Sivanarayan at first declined the proffered hospitality, but had to yield to the saint's persistent invitation which a fear of exposure evidently prompted.

"If you," said Sivanarayan, "have taken the vow of silence it only prohibits speaking to laymen and not to me. It must be inconvenient and troublesome for you to converse by signs alone."

"True," said the man of silence, "but this is the only safeguard against being drawn into vain and empty talk. If the common people should believe that I ate and drank like any of them they would cease to respect me."

"That is so. But God Himself must eat and drink if He takes a human form. This body is made of food and drink. While there is form there must be eating and drinking. In the formless condition alone they are not. The fire, when active, must have fuel, but not when it has become quiescent and disappeared. So long as you are in this body you must eat and drink to support life. There is no shame or disgrace in it. Have your meal, and have no anxiety as to consequences."

Sivanarayan reassured him, and was shown the hole under the saint's seat where the money offered was stored for division with the pāndā who spread his fame. The pāndā's gift of food was also concealed in that hole.

Where Rama is said to have built his bridge to Lanka or Ceylon Sivanarayan found stones of different sizes scattered on all sides, but nothing to indicate the remains of a bridge. The pāndās, however, showed the stones as parts of Rama's marvellous bridge. Some reefs in the sea were also pointed out as the bridge that was. Pilgrims are urged with zealous persistency to worship the Sivalingam at Rameswaram.

"What wonder is there," said Sivanarayan to the pāndās, "in Rama's having crossed the sea over the bridge his followers built? Consider how many worlds and systems of worlds God has hung up in empty space. By His power clouds are maintained in place without support and again scattered as rain. Supposing God in His inscrutable purpose assumed a human body and caused the seven seas to freeze into bridges, what would there be to wonder at? You all can see by His laws ordinary mortals are building bridges, running engines, and performing mechanical marvels such as none dreamed of before. Take your thoughts away from such things, and build in the ocean of mind bridges of salvation with stones of patience and the mortar of contentment. Take to your bosoms Sita the Light, called Truth, slaying the Rāvana of ignorance with the arrow of wisdom, and joy will be yours, now and for ever.

"The scriptures speak of three different *lingas* (literally, characteristics) of the Supreme Being, manifested as light and called by you Siva, namely, the gross or matter, the subtle or force and life, and the cause or substance. The last-mentioned *linga* is formless and attributeless, beyond the reach of mind and speech; the subtle *linga* is the light—sun and moon—which form the twice five faculties of sensation and action; and lastly, the gross *linga* is the totality of physical objects, including the physical bodies of all creatures. The gross *linga*, that is creatures, will disappear in the subtle or light, and the light will rest in the formless, attributeless cause. These are the *lingas* of Siva or God as declared by the scriptures. The different forms or 'limbs' of Virāt or All constitute the eight forms or *murtis* of Siva. As witness the *mantras* or formulæ of Siva-worship:—*Kshiti Murtay Bhavay namah* (Salutation to Siva under the name of Bhava in the form of the Earth), and so forth. Earth, water, fire, air, ākāsa, moon, sun, and egotism are the eight forms of Siva. Besides

these no other form of Siva is, was, or can be. Where, then, is the *linga* which you and your women-folk worship, made of earth, stone, or metal? It cannot be in the formless and attributeless, and in expression or manifestation all that is or can be are the five elements, moon, sun, and egotism. The *linga* you worship is not to be found amongst these. It is seen only in the physical bodies of creatures. Do you maintain that the Vedas and other scriptures enjoin the worship of a limb of men and beasts? In the scriptures it is repeatedly laid down that as is the object worshipped so becomes the worshipper with his character, hopes, and aspirations. It is to this worship amongst the Aryan Hindus that the evil generated by the passion of lust is due. Even in dreams men and women are unable to escape from the thraldom of that passion, which follows the victim through all the consequences of a feeble body and mind. Because you have turned away from the worship of the true *linga* of God you meet at every turn with infamy and disgrace."

CHAPTER VIII.

Through Tamil and Telugu lands—The Raja of Tanjore—Jagannath—Two pāndās—Sanctity of the god—Suspension of caste-rules—The dwarf in the car—Fever and fasting of the god—His visit to his maternal aunt—Devices to repaint the figure in secret—The mystery of uncooked rice—The Zemindar of Nadigram—Birth and marriage of fire—Disputes as to ceremonial—Explanation.

Sivanarayan, travel-stained and meanly clad, was contemptuously driven away from every temple or house in the Tamil country that he approached for food. The treatment he received at the hands of Telugu pundits

was no different. "Whence have you come, what do you want?" would ask the pundit.

"I am from Rameswaram on the way to Jagannath," would be the reply.

"What caste are you?"

Sivanarayan would not answer the question at all, or describe himself as belonging to the lowest caste, and the interview would invariably end with a peremptory command to go away.

These pundits and their followers made much of *āchāra* (religionism) and little of *vichāra* (spiritual discrimination). They were always busy in preserving the ceremonial cleanliness of their bodies and clothing and articles of use; their ceremonial baths were frequent. The accidental use of a bathing-place or ghat by a sūdra rendered it unfit for them to resort to without purificatory ceremonies, in which cow-dung played a conspicuous part. Even a Brahmin not observing their minute and elaborate ritual of cleanliness was an outcaste in their eyes. Sivanarayan said to them in season and out of season: "Without purity of heart and steadfast attachment to God, manifested as light and the parent, teacher, and soul of all, the sacred lore of the Vedas and the subordinate scriptures is as nothing."

At the Raja of Tanjore's palace gate Sivanarayan was told by a Moslem sentry that the hour for the midday meal had passed. But he offered his own hospitality if his religion would not make it unacceptable. The offer was accepted. A Hindu boy brought him some uncooked pressed rice and water. The Raja, through a window, observed him at his humble repast, and sent out a servant to inquire. Apprised of the fact he ran out to Sivanarayan, distressed, barefooted, and clad in a single piece of cloth. He expressed his concern that one coming to his palace had to fast up to such a late hour of the day. A meal was improvised in the Raja's presence.

"In this hot weather," said the Raja at the end of the meal, "how is it, my lord, that you wander about bare-footed? A pair of shoes was bought for me yesterday which I have not yet used. I shall be glad to be permitted to offer them to you, together with some wearing apparel. Whence have you come?"

"I am coming from the North. What I have is all that I need. I do not wear shoes, and yet I am under no restriction against wearing them."

"How have you travelled on foot such a long distance? If you would be pleased to tell me where you want to go I shall arrange for a railway ticket."

"I must journey on foot, observing the condition of the people."

"I believe you are King Janaka, and bless my destiny that I have seen you. I shall talk to you further after you have rested."

The Mahomedan sentry received an increase of pay, and Sivanarayan was taken to an upper chamber to rest. In a little while he went out for a walk and never returned. He came to Jagannath by keeping to the sea-coast.

Arrived at Jagannath, Sivanarayan found the great gate of the temple closed. Without stood the pilgrim crowd, to whom admission through a wicket was refused without a special fee. Sivanarayan would not be stopped, and passed through the wicket without paying the fee. The priestly extortioner shouted abuse after him and raised the cry that a madman had gained admission. In the confusion Sivanarayan found his way to the idol-room and stood in front of the images. The uproar drew around him a crowd of pāndās, of whom one asked him gently who he was.

"Listen," said he, "collectedly and with sobriety: you ask me who I am. Have you obtained a firm conviction touching your true self? Have you ascertained without

doubt that you are this or that substance or caste? What is the substance or reality you call caste? Before you were born what was your name, your father's name and residence."

"My lord," said the pāndā, "if you are a sannyāsi or paramhansa, I am the special pāndā of your class."

"What is it that you call sannyāsi or paramhansa? Of what condition is that the name? For one in that condition does a pāndā exist in this wide world?"

"My lord," said the pāndā, bowing down with joined palms, "that name is imagined of him in whom, owing to the intimate union of the soul with the Supreme Soul, the all is seen as one, who feels 'there is none else beside me.' For such a one pāndā there is none. All that you see here are imagined by man for our support. Blessed is my destiny that I have seen you. To recognise one in your condition is indeed difficult."

"Have you," asked another pāndā who met him later, "have you ceremonially seen Jagannath? If not, present before the god your offerings of money and food, and distribute gifts in his name. Tell me how much you will give in money and how much in food?"

"What have I to give?" said Sivanarayan; "even shell-money I have none: what gifts am I to make?"

"You rogue," said the pāndā, "have you come empty-handed to see Jagannath? Your name and the names of your ancestors will be recorded in the temple books only if you make money gifts, and then only will the god know of your pilgrimage in his honour."

Having learned that Sivanarayan's earthly belongings consisted in the sheet of cloth wrapped round his body, the pāndā advised him to sell it and make over to him the proceeds in the god's name.

"You are," said Sivanarayan, "completely destitute of mercy for the penniless pilgrim. Following your advice I must strip myself naked, selling this piece of rag for

a few pieces of copper to furnish the requisite fee to live in the remembrance of the world's Lord.[1] But does he not dwell in all hearts? What can you or I give him? He gives to all what they have. Speak the truth. This is but a device for your own gain. Who and what substance is it that you call Jagannath? Is he formless, attributeless, or has he any form and attribute? If the former, he cannot be minded by the mind or spoken by speech. If the latter, he must be perceptible. In what form—as what—is he present? The all-comprehending Supreme Being in the latter aspect is present before you as earth, water, fire, air, ākāsa, moon, and sun. According to the Vedas the all-comprehending God or Vishnu is present in these seven forms which are said to be 'His limbs.' The sun is His eye of wisdom, the moon his mind, and so forth. Which of these is and which are not Jagannath? He, whose name is Jagannath or the world's Lord, is one and all-comprehending and present within all things and every creature. Of the all-comprehending supreme spirit, the teacher of all, Jagannath is an imagined name."

"He," said the pāndā, "is present within the temple in the form of an image."

"Keep collected," said Sivanarayan; "consider and tell me who has created your body with all its limbs? Which 'god' is superior, your body, or the Supreme Being, manifested as light, the maker of your body? Say what is true, don't suppress it out of self-interest. Who has made the temple and the image in it?"

"The temple must have been built by man and the image by a carpenter, with the wood of *neem* and *bael* trees. Every twelve years a new image is made."

"Who then ought to be worshipped as superior—the wooden image or the carpenter who made it?"

"The carpenter. But as a matter of fact, nobody

[1] The literal meaning of Jagannath.

worships the image of wood. There is a hole in it and a *Sālgrām*[1] god is placed in the hole. That god is worshipped."

"But what is it that you call Sālgrām? These are but names imagined of the Supreme Spirit, manifested as light. He is the ruler of all hearts. He is present within and outside all things and every creature, and is one and all-comprehending. The error is that you believe yourselves and induce others to believe that Jagannath is wood and Sālgrām, which is but the cast of a shell occurring on the river Gandaki. If these had been the Truth or real Being, then why is there no change of heart in you, despite your perpetual worship and association with them? Observe how troubled you are by the greed for the least of coins."

"But," rejoined the pāndā, "such is the sanctity of this place that men of all castes can eat together."

"Men incur no sin anywhere by eating together, only caste rules stand in the way. Religious belief has produced a dread that unless, in this place, the pilgrim ate with all castes evil will follow. This is the reason for the act. It is not done out of love for God or man. The real object of dining together is to learn that God is in every creature and all are included in Him, and to lose hatred of one another, thereby finding peace. Spiritual wisdom, which puts an end to the feeling of separateness between man and man, is the true field (*kshetra*) of Jagannath, where God is seen in all things and all things in God."

"There is, my lord," rejoined the pāndā, "great merit in obtaining a sight of Jagannath. The sacred text says: 'Jagannath, in the form of a dwarf, being seen in his car, incarnation is abolished and emancipation secured.'"

"Men, blinded by ignorance," said Sivanarayan, "come

[1] An emblem of Vishnu.

at great trouble and cost to this spot from distant places to see an image of *neem* wood in a wooden car. Those who teach such ways bring suffering upon themselves and others. The Jagannath is the all-comprehending Being, whose expression is light. He is the world's parent, teacher, and Lord. The bodies of all creatures are his car, of which the faculties of action and sensations are the wheels, the mind the horses, kept in order by the reins of spiritual instructions; and the Lord, manifested as light, seated in this car, is doing, or causing to be done, by internal prompting, all that is done. So long as the individual soul does not see the Supreme Soul or Jagannath in the head of the body intimately united with itself, fear and doubt about life and death do not cease. When this intimate union is realised the soul is freed from all concern about life and death—this is called emancipation from rebirths. Beside Him, who is all-comprehending, one and expressed as light, in the wide expanse of space none other Jagannath is, was, or can be. Of this there is no doubt. The text you cited has no other significance."

The pāndā remained silent.

"Why," continued Sivanarayan, "does your Jagannath get fever, and why does he fast? Pilgrims are much inconvenienced, being prevented from seeing the god for a fortnight after the Bathing Festival (*Snānājātrā*).

"By using the waters of the golden well (*suarna kup*) for bath and drink Jagannath sickens with fever. For a fortnight he fasts, taking a medicated infusion all the time, and we have to wrap him up in blankets. After that his youth is renewed and he makes a nine days' visit to his maternal aunt, finally returning to the temple in his car.

"Alas! how low have you fallen! If your Jagannath is only a figure of *neem* wood how can it get fever by drinking and bathing in foul water? Is it possible for

a piece of wood to behave like a sentient being, take medicine, feel cold, or to have human relationship of aunt and nephew? The real Jagannath or Lord of the Universe has no aunt, nor does He come and go. He is present everywhere in His plenitude."

"The fact is," struck in another pāndā, "the colouring of the figure fades at the end of a year, and Jagannath is kept hidden in the temple for a fortnight to be repainted. When pilgrims assemble for the car festival Jagannath is revealed to public view and his renewal of youth proclaimed. The story of his fever is given out to satisfy impatient pilgrims whose devotions are delayed. The real mystery is not known to the people."

"The true Jagannath," said Sivanarayan, "is the all-comprehending Ruler of hearts. In His fulness He dwells within and outside all things and beings. He is the Lord whose manifestation is light. The Jagannath worshipped in this temple is but a wooden doll, not the world's true Lord. Put into the fire it will turn to ashes."

"Are you," said the first speaker, "a paramhansa? I have troubled you with much vain talk without knowing you. Count not my offence against me. Grant me forgiveness. Do not let the pilgrims hear what you have said about Jagannath, otherwise our gains will suffer."

Wandering about the temple precincts Sivanarayan noticed a device of the pāndās to impress the pilgrims with a due sense of the sanctity of the place. In the sight of the pilgrims pots full of rice and water are piled one on the top of another over a fireplace. When the pilgrims return to the spot it is shown to them that the rice in the top pots are boiled and eatable, while the contents of the pots nearest to the fire remain uncooked. Such is the majesty of the god and the holiness of his habitation. The simple-minded pilgrims take no notice of the surreptitious exchange of places by the pots, or the half-cooked character of the rice put into the pots on the top.

"What is there in this to wonder at?" said Sivanarayan, addressing the belief-makers. "If the world's true Lord wanted to exhibit His glory He could, before your eyes, boil rice without visible fire. You can all see that in the bodies of animals He is burning up, without visible fire, fodder, food, and raw meat, and yet makes worms live within creatures when He so wills. Are we to believe or disbelieve in Him and His power because the rice is cooked or remains raw? The all-comprehending Supreme Being, manifested as light, is creating, maintaining, and destroying myriads of worlds while dwelling within each of you. He is giving you wisdom and salvation (*mukti*). Does nothing of this show you His glory? Before you were born you had not sentience, senses, or bodies; now you have them. Does not this inspire you with a belief in Him? Your belief can only come by the rice being cooked or left raw. What greater shame or misfortune can there be?"

Amongst those who heard some were ashamed, some angry, but the truth found no resting-place in any heart.

Sivanarayan went to the neighbouring town of Nadigrām in the Balasore District to be present at a fire-offering (*yajna*) celebrated by the Zemindar of that place. A pundit, learned in the Yajur Veda, accompanied him. A large number of local pundits were assembled for the occasion, and a great crowd of common people. The ceremony was performed under the direction of the local pundits. According to their traditional custom the fire is ignited after invocation (*ābāhana*), purificatory rites (*kushandikā*), and general worship. Then follow rites relating to the generation (*garbhā-dhāna*) and marriage of the Fire with Swāhā and Swādhā.[1] The custom observed by the Yajurvedic pundit omits the rites of

[1] Two words used in the mantras or formulæ uttered in making offerings in the fire and conceived as deities.

generation and marriage. This led to a warm disputation, and Sivanarayan had to interpose.

"Listen, O learned pundits," said he: "to teach without understanding is fraught with evil consequences to high and low. Consider this. Having performed the rites of generation in regard to the fire you put yourselves in the position of its father. And yet the scriptures say, 'Fire is the spiritual guide of the twice-born castes.' How can fire be your spiritual guide, you being the progenitor of fire? God, in His fivefold expression known as earth, water, fire, air, and ākāsa, is present from beginningless time. What individual can perform the rites of generation and beget them? God, expressed as fire, your spiritual guide and object of worship, is present before you as the sun, moon, stars, and lightning. He is present in all things of life, digesting food and keeping them sentient. If He becomes quiescent the body gets cold, diseases come on, ending in death. What are Swāhā and Swādhā to whom you marry fire? Have they form and attributes, or are they devoid of all qualities? If the latter they are beyond the reach of mind and speech, irresponsive to the senses. From the spiritual point of view—in terms of absolute reality—God, without qualities, may be identified with and in that sense married to the manifested God. But can there be a marriage such as you have performed? Were the two brides in manifestation they would have been perceptible to the senses as the bridegroom (fire) is. How can a marriage be celebrated unless both parties to it are present? The fire is, no doubt, here before us, but where are the others? Are they the fivefold expressions of God, or any or none of them?"

"My lord," said one of the local pundits, "we know not what or where those two are. We only declare what is written."

"Suppose," said he, "some humorist writes that an

ant swallowed up a herd of marching elephants or kicked down the Deity and devoured Him, making Him cry inside the little insect, shall you, without discrimination, accept what is written. Lack of discrimination has thrown you into a fatal inertia. You do not know God even in His expression or manifestation as light; how, then, can you know Him in His formless, motionless, attributeless aspect?"

CHAPTER IX.

At Tārakeswar—The Mohunt—The sanctity of Tārakeswar—"Of what jail is this the prisoner?"—At Burdwan—The temple of Sarvamangalā—At Santipur—The hospitable Pundit—His uninvited guests—The moribund house at Triveni—The Zemindar's groom—At Dakhineswar—Kali's temple—The Paramhansa Ram Krishna—Kalighat—Sivanarayan's expulsion from the temple—The true Kali.

At the famous shrine of Tārakeswar Sivanarayan found the Mohunt, Madhava Giri, seated in a chair, surrounded by pundits who squatted on the ground.

"Who are you?" asked the Mohunt, whose contempt was excited by Sivanarayan's simple dress, and anger kindled by the latter's omission to salute him in due form.

"I am the same as you are," said Sivanarayan.

"How can you be the same as I?" rejoined the exasperated Mohunt. "Are you a householder or a sannyāsi? If the latter, to what order do you belong—Giri, Puri, or Bharati?"

"What substance is indicated by the names you have used?"

"Don't you know sannyāsis of the ten names?"

"Consider calmly: when you were in the householder's condition you had only one name; now having had your head shaved you belong to those who bear ten names.

But what have you gained by the change? What is it that you call sannyāsi? Is it red, black, blue, green, or of any other colour? Is it flesh, blood, or bone, or is it the senses? Men have these things in common with brute beasts: can a brute beast be a sannyāsi?"

"Are you," asked the Mohunt, "a paramhansa? What Shastras have you studied, and what is your name? Be seated here at ease."

"Whether I have studied the Shastras or not you will know, but how can I say what my name is, so many are given me? Some one would call me "O sādhu," and I answer "O father," then Sādhu becomes my name; others call me sannyāsi, paramhansa, madman, concubine's brother (*sâlâ*), and so forth, and I get those names. In this way the names I get are without number and I answer to them all; I cannot tell what my true name is."

The pundits respectfully stood up and invited Sivanarayan to be seated.

"Have you," asked the Mohunt, "visited the god Tārak Nāth?"

"Where is Tārak Nāth, and what is his form?"

"He is in the temple, sanctifying it with his presence."

"Is he present in any form, or is he formless? If formless, he is everywhere but unseen. If he has any form he will be readily perceptible. You can perceive the forms in which God is expressed—earth, water, fire, air, ākāsa, moon, and sun. The same light is called by night moon and sun by day. The whole universe, consisting of what moves and what moves not, is He. Beside these no other form of God exists or can exist. Which of them is Tārak Nāth? Is Tārak Nāth dust, clay, or the temple, or the stone inside the temple, or is he something that dwells in the stone? If he be the clay, stone, or dust, then there being no end to the houses, temples, hills, and mountains composed of such materials, and the earth being present everywhere, say which of them is Tārak Nāth?

Even if Tārak Nāth be something that dwells in the stone, that something must be included in the fivefold expression of God. Then, where is the good of coming here to see him? If you had recognised Him of whom Tārak Nāth is but an imagined name, and established your faith on Him, He would not have visited you with such misfortune."[1]

"What misfortune are you referring to? Have you observed the glory of Tārak Nāth? Countless sick people come here, and by fasting induce the god to perform miracles of healing in their favour. The cure is revealed to the sufferer or his deputy[2] in a dream, or the appropriate remedy is actually put into his hands miraculously. This place is so holy that it attracts more pilgrims than any other shrines. How do you explain this?"

"That is so," said Sivanarayan, "but consider this. A man desirous of establishing a market for his own benefit proclaims to traders that by coming to that market their expenses will be small and their gains great. This is believed and the market flourishes. Jugglers attract spectators by the beat of drums. But are we on that account to worship the juggler or the market-place, as filled with divine glory? If you say that Tārak Nāth is to be worshipped as the healer of the sick, then why don't we worship medical practitioners who cure diseases by their science? They have this advantage besides—being animate they can do much else. If Tārak Nāth is to be worshipped as the giver of dreams, and this place to be deemed holy on account of dreamers dreaming dreams here, then as there are many means of inducing dreams, and dreams are dreamed in every house, ought we to worship those means as Tārak Nāth and all houses as Tārakeswar? Many sick men are cured of disease by eating roots and herbs, picked by other men. The fact

[1] This Mohunt underwent a term of imprisonment for adultery.

[2] Austerities to secure a miracle at this shrine may be performed through a deputy.

is, diseases are removed by suitable means, appointed by God to that end. Inappropriate remedies cannot effect a cure. While some diseases are cured without any special remedy, running out their natural courses, others end only with death. Such is God's law. If against such law we kill ourselves by beating our heads on the steps of Tārak Nāth's temple the disease will not go. Consider for a moment. The facts are all before you. You were guilty of an offence. To avoid the consequences, personally and by deputy, you worshipped Tārak Nāth assiduously. But your punishment was not averted. Why was this so? Had he been the true God he would have purified your heart with wisdom and heard your prayer. Darkness cannot exist in a lighted place, and the true Being cannot be without manifestation or action. God wished your imprisonment, and to prison you had to go. A similar fate overtook the Raja of Puri. Had you but faith in the true God, manifested as light, He would have saved you from all troubles and afflictions. Your devotion is from the lips and not from the heart. I mean not to give you pain for its own sake. But as the diseased limb must be removed by the surgeon's knife for the health of the whole body, so by unpleasant words of truth the dark veil of ignorance must be lifted from the mind. The wise receive such wounds with patience and accept the truth in all things.

"Furthermore, is the true Tārak Nāth (literally, the Saviour Lord) able to remove evil only at Tārakeswar? Can He not cure every man in His own home, is He not omniscient, is there any power that He has not? Has He such foolish partiality as to say, 'I shall not cure this man, for he has not come to my house to perform austerities?' Were it true that diseases are cured by austerities at Tārakeswar disappointment would have been unknown to devotees and doctors superfluous. If a man has faith in the true God, whose manifestation is light, and leaves not his

home, God removes all sufferings of his flesh and spirit. But faith is not always strong enough to give rest to the mind by reliance only on Him. Those alone whose faces are turned away from the all-comprehending Supreme Being, whose manifestation is light, can believe in the holiness of particular places; they cannot believe that the plenitude of Godhead dwells in all things and in each of them.

"Finally, remember that the scriptures say, as is the object worshipped so will the worshipper be. The emblem of shame you worship in metal and stone trouble your minds with inordinate lusts of the flesh, and wisdom passes by you unheeded. No one worships the true characteristics (*lingam*) of God as the gross or matter, the subtle or force, and the cause or substance. An endless stream of misery flows from such impiety."

"It is true, my lord," said the Mohunt, "but faith comes not without God's grace, and He is not received as everywhere present in His plenitude."

Sivanarayan accepted the Mohunt's hospitality. Close by the bungalow of eight thatches (*ātchālā*) where he rested a monk, perfected in God, according to common report, was receiving the homage of a large crowd.

"Of what jail," inquired the monk concerning a woman whose personal ornaments tinkled as she passed, "of what jail is this the prisoner?"

"My lord," said the object of his jest, "I belong to that jail in which you were a prisoner for nine months. A shaven head and a dress dyed brown have given you the prideful right of calling yourself a sannyāsi. But is it not to your shame? What were you before you were born? Even now you are a prisoner to spiritual pride."

"Mother," said the sannyāsi with joined palms, "I salute you humbly. Your words of wisdom have opened my eyes. You are my guru."

From Tārakeswar Sivanarayan went to Burdwan.

In front of the temple of Sarvamangalā a crowd was assembled of Brahmins and sādhus. It was enjoined by the Raja, whose ancestors had founded and endowed the temple, that people should be fed out of the offerings made to the idol. A temple official took in Brahmins known to him; the passport for strangers was their sacred thread.

A low-caste man from Ghazipur, whom Sivanarayan had met on the way, showed the sacred thread round his neck and was admitted in the company of Brahmins. As he returned to the temple gate Sivanarayan exhorted him not to practise deception by wearing the thread. He professed penitence, but was soon after found in the public gardens—*Gulāb Bāg* [1]—disguised as a Brahmin.

Some wandering friars were at the door. By birth they belonged to the 'twice-born' castes. But with the renunciation of the world they had put away the holy thread. The official did not accept the account they gave of themselves, and the absence of the caste insignia resulted in their ignominious expulsion. One of them as spokesman requested to be supplied with plain rice, not desiring any delicacy of fare. They were bidden to be still. After a long while the request was repeated, pointing to the lateness of the hour and their wandering profession, but was met with the answer that the feeding of the strangers was over for the day.

Sivanarayan, however, observed the temple authorities for their own benefit selling for a trifle rich dishes to people of the lowest castes.

Arriving at the house of a pundit at Santipur, Sivanarayan found him engaged in a learned disputation on the correct grammatical form of the last word in the holy formula of Brahmanic faith—the Gāyatri. Three paramhansas from Benares, unasked guests in the house, were receiving the honours enjoined by the sacred law when Sivanarayan approached them. The extreme

[1] Literally, the Garden of Roses.

simplicity of his attire prevented a hospitable reception. One of the paramhansas made him take a seat near himself and spoke to him words of civility.

"Who are you," enquired a pundit, "what is your caste, where do you live, are you a householder or an ascetic? If an ascetic, where is your dyed robe and where the rosary of *rudraksha* beads?"

"I am a man," said Sivanarayan; "I am of the lowest class, an outcaste. I am a dweller of the city of Truth (Satyapur). I don't know whether I am a householder or an ascetic. I have heard those expressions, but of what things they are the names I do not know. I see this, that all men have bodies composed of the five elements, the senses and organs of all are alike, and speech issues from the subtle part of all men. What things are householder and ascetic, deign to explain."

"You can see with your own eyes that three great-souled ascetics of the highest order of sanctity are seated here."

"If these are ascetics so are you. The substance they are you are. Whatever is in them is in you."

"What Shastras have you studied, and where have you studied them?"

"Where my speech has its origin all Shastras are studied."

"Who has taught you?"

"The all-embracing Dweller in the heart. To me learning and non-learning are the same."

"What is your name?"

"The names by which men call me are countless in number. I answer to them all."

"What is your food," asked the pundit, to test if Sivanarayan was a paramhansa, "and from whose hands do you take it?"

"I eat what is food for man. I take it from the hands of whoever gives it."

"Shall you eat from the hands of a Moslem or an Englishman?"

"I see no difference between yourselves and a Moslem or an Englishman. All are alike formed by the five elements. When I can find distinct things called 'Moslem' and 'Englishman' I would object to receive food from their hands. If you say they eat what is forbidden to you, then you must know that many, calling themselves Hindus, eat the same things. Besides, if I hate them I shall be guilty of hating the all-comprehending Supreme Being. The Lord Krishna says: 'I, taking shape as fire, am seated in the bodies of living beings and, united with the upward and downward breath, digest the four kinds of food.'" [1]

Hoping to resume the conversation some other time the pundit showed the way to where food was laid out for the guests. Sivanarayan and one of the paramhansas began to eat. The other two would not eat with their own hands. The pundit placed balls of rice into their open mouths. The others ate but little; Sivanarayan, according to his appetite, forfeiting his character for sanctity. None spoke to him after the meal.

"Does constant association and union with the Supreme Being, who is sentience itself, add to a man's consciousness or take away from it?"

"Adds," said the pundit in answer to Sivanarayan. "But why this question?"

"The reason for my question is this. An impression prevails that one in the condition of a paramhansa eats but little, and that not with his own hands. But men do not see that the whole universe, moving and stationary, is the body and organ of the Great Lord, Virāt. What do I lose if I eat with my own hands, and what do I gain if I am fed by others? Has God made my hands powerless and only my mouth active? Shame on such thought

[1] Bhagavad Gita, ch. xv, v. 14.

and practice! It is but slavery for the sake of honour from men. God is the Master, and for our welfare we must obey Him in all things. So also about the quantity of food required by an individual. Each engine has to be fed with water and coals sufficient for the work it has to do. To eat as others direct is a cause of trouble."

The abstemious ascetics left soon after for a walk by the Ganges side. Sivanarayan happened upon them at a solitary spot, munching some parched rice procured from a neighbouring modi shop. To remove their embarrassment and confusion he pointed out to them that hunger and thirst visit us by God's law, and there is neither sin nor shame in satisfying them as they come.

Crossing the Ganges Sivanarayan, in the course of his wanderings, rested near the ghat at Triveni, in the room intended for Hindus desirous of yielding up their last breath on the banks of the holy river. It was afternoon, and boys on their way home from school were trooping past. They began pelting him with brickbats. A gentleman came by and asked the reason. The boys said that either a ghost or a madman was in the moribund room and was abusing them.

The new-comer shouted to know who the stranger was. Sivanarayan beckoned him inside the room and told him the boys were not to blame. Their characters were moulded by the training they had received. As they were taught so they behaved. He saluted Sivanarayan respectfully, and begging him to rest a while promised to return after apprising the villagers of his presence. To avoid a crowd Sivanarayan left the place and passed the night under a tree.

Next day a Zemindar's servant meeting him on the road asked him to take service with the Zemindar as a groom. Sivanarayan accompanied him. Unknown to the servant and against his instructions, Sivanarayan found his way to the Zemindar's presence. The latter,

startled, offered him a seat, to the amazement of the assembled company. A few there were, however, who thought he might be a man of God.

Questioned by some as to his visitor, the Zemindar said they could all see he was a man and could attend to their own business. At his invitation Sivanarayan stayed to meal, and left him after some conversation on spiritual topics.

Sivanarayan came to Kali's temple at Dakhineswar, near Calcutta. The keeper of the temple was in conversation with a Brahamachāri, who was seated under a tree. In answer to the former the new-comer said: "You can see I am a man. My home is in the city of Truth. My name is Unreality. I am coming from the city of Illusions."

"What is the rascal saying? What are you? Have you studied any Shastras?"

"What is the object of questioning me about the study of Shastras?"

"There is an object. Are you a householder or an ascetic?"

"What thing is a householder and what an ascetic? How do they look? Where are they to be found?"

"Don't you see an ascetic here?" said the keeper, pointing to the Brahamachāri.

"I see a man with matted hair. What thing is there in him that you call 'ascetic'? I find in him only that which I find in all other men. Why do you call him an ascetic?"

"It is," struck in the Brahamachāri in anger, "it is unintelligible what he says. He is muttering like a lunatic. Seize him and take him to the Paramhansa Ram Krishna; he will find out by conversation what sort of a man this is."

Sivanarayan accompanied the temple official to where Ram Krishna was lying down to rest. They gazed on

each other for some time. The temple-keeper, breaking the silence, roughly bade Sivanarayan sit down.

"Are you an ascetic or an householder?" asked Ram Krishna, the preliminaries over. "If an ascetic, to what sect do you belong? If a householder, to what caste? Where are you coming from?"

"Don't you know to what caste you and I belong, whence we have come, of what sect we are, and whether we are ascetics or householders? With the spirit's eye have you ever seen an ascetic or a householder? The way of the world counts endless sects and castes. But for the true ascetic, whose sole end is truth, what sect or caste can there be?"

"That is true indeed, but in the way of the world they are and must be spoken of."

"One plunged in figments of the mind must speak of them, but why should he, whom these do not affect, search for them?"

"If those figments have ceased to be at play, then only are such words the rule."

"Have they not ceased for you in all this time? He who is pursuing the truth as his sole goal, planted firm on the true path, sees only the truth. He who is immersed in figments of the mind or Māyā sees but figments."

"Is the truth manifest for you?"

"How can I answer this question? As what reality am I to accept myself and admit the manifestation of what other reality?"

"Are you a paramhansa, charged with the duties of an ascetic? Whoso contains the truth is an ascetic. The characteristic of that condition is the utterance of truth. He in whom the conflict of truth and untruth or reality and seeming has ceased, leaving truth alone manifested, without obstruction, is a paramhansa."

"If you are of that condition, then what is the use of

these questions about that which only seems? Why should one to whom that condition is present ask such questions as these? But one who, having heard the words of the scriptures, has imagined, regarding himself, such a condition, would naturally inquire about such matters, because the condition is really not his."

"Do you think I am resting contented with merely hearing the words of the scriptures, and that is why I am asking my questions? Have you come here to instruct me in wisdom?"

"As the fire is known by the smoke, so your words make everything known."

"This rascal," said the temple official, under his breath but intending to be overheard, "has come to instruct our paramhansa in wisdom! Let him be seized and sacrificed before the goddess."

"What," asked Ram Krishna, "is the rule about your food? Do you eat meat and fish or only vegetables?"

"Only vegetables. But order it as you think best."

A vegetarian meal was ordered. The temple official abused him for eating not sparingly but as much as he required. At the end of the meal he went outside the temple and sought rest in an outer building. Towards evening a man came to take him to Ram Krishna. But he refused to go at that time. They tempted him by promises of sweetmeats and other delicacies, and having failed in their object threatened to drag him by the legs or to break his bones with splinters of wood. The threats, however, were not carried out, and Sivanarayan departed in peace.

Next evening Sivanarayan sat down in a corner of the Nāt Mandir[1] (dancing pavilion) at Kalighat. After a third part of the night had passed one of the temple officials told him to go away. Permission to spend the

[1] Outer building belonging to a temple and set apart for dances during festivals.

night there was refused as against the commands of Mother Kali and the orders of the Government. On inquiry it was elicited that the prohibition was enforced owing to the recent theft of the goddess's jewellery and ornaments.

"Ornaments of Mother Kali," exclaimed Sivanarayan. "Does she wear them like a weak mortal woman, and is she, like them, unable to protect her property? How can she then protect the world?"

"Do you, fellow, know her truly?" was the question in reply.

"Had you, her vaunted guardians," continued Sivanarayan, "known her truly where would have been your present burden of suffering? What you call Mother Kali is, I can see, but an image, fashioned by man's hands out of earth, wood, stone, and metal. Her head and three eyes are scooped out of a block of stone. A rod supporting the head is built round with lime and mortar, the breasts are but metal, bamboos form the back part. The four hands of metal are decorated with golden ornaments, and a golden tongue is put into the mouth. Which of these is Mother Kali? If the stone, then mountains, curry-stones, and stone cups for domestic use are also she. If the gold, then all gold ornaments worn by man and woman are she. If the mortar and metal be she, then those things are but modifications of earth which is everywhere to be found. What special recognition is to be given it here? If you say she is in these things, then say further, has she a form or is she formless? If the latter, she must be invisible, omnipresent. If the former, then she must be responsive to the senses. Search for the Mother Kali who really is. Sink not further in error. Open your eyes and see the all-comprehending Being, manifested as light, day and night."

The interlocutor, by way of reply, took Sivanarayan by the nape of his neck and put him outside the temple precincts.

"This is no fault of yours," said Sivanarayan, smiling. "Your intelligence partakes of the nature of the stock and stone you worship as divinity. You give honour to the inanimate clay you preserve in your temple, and drive away ignominiously sentience, which is the true Siva."

It was a rainy winter night. Wilful exposure in such weather was an offence against the indwelling spirit. Sivanarayan begged for shelter in all the neighbouring houses, but found none. He was constrained to pass the night on the ghāt of Tolly's Nulla.

Next morning Sivanarayan met on the way a man who was reading a newspaper. The latter told him with regret that the Hindu Rajas were all dying out.

"This is the result," said he in reply, "of turning away from the all-comprehending Supreme Being, who is the Truth, the parent, teacher, and soul of all."

"In accordance with the scriptures and the ways of men," added Sivanarayan in the course of the conversation, "the foreheads of Mother Kali, Hanuman, Ganes, and other Hindu deities are painted with vermilion, and all your gods and goddesses are to be meditated upon in the sun. The reason for this is that the sun assumes, morning and evening, a red hue, which is represented by the red paint. Mother Kali is a name of the all-comprehending Supreme Being. The light, called sun and moon, spreading over the earth and sky is her tongue. With the sword of knowledge she preserves the unity of the individual soul with God, its true essence. In the head of a man are tied in a knot, as it were, the strings of consciousness passing through the eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth, and known as light, ākāsa, air, and fire. This same light coursing through all the bones of the body is performing all the functions of life, great and small. This is symbolised by the garland of skulls round her neck. The head in her hand shows her power over all.

The four internal faculties—instruments of the soul, and known as the intellect, affections, will, and egotism—are her four hands. The all-comprehending Supreme Being, manifested as light, has been imagined to be all the gods and goddesses of the pantheon. Besides that One no other god or goddess is, was, or can be. This is the reason why all gods and goddesses have, according to the Shastras, to be meditated upon in the sun. If you hold your hearts steadfast on this Being you will gain the true end of existence, spiritual and temporal. If this One had not been the only true object of worship the Shastric injunction about meditation in the sun and offerings in the fire, in the name of all the god and goddesses, would have been meaningless. The different parts or 'limbs' of this One, as appearing to man's intelligence, are conceived of as individual gods and goddesses. Thus we hear of earth, water, fire, air, ākāsa, moon, and sun divinities. These seven elements form the outer or gross and inner or subtle body of man. It is for this reason that we worship the 330 millions of gods and goddesses, including in their number the tortoise, the fish, the hog, the dog, and the maiden. From the lowest worm to the lordliest man, the one God is seen. Every woman is the Devi and every man Siva. This is true beyond doubt or dispute."

"How can we," said Sivanarayan's interlocutor, "directly worship the Supreme Being? We are not fit to receive Him. We must therefore worship images."

"Very well," said Sivanarayan, "but consider this. If a child is, in the years of unreason, separated from his parents and has no other aid to search them out but photographs of the separated ones, he must compare those he meets with the likenesses he possesses. Of what avail the likenesses if they do not help him to recognise the true parents? Image-worship is useless if it helps not the worshipper to recognise the all-comprehending

Supreme Being, manifested as light. Cast away all empty forms and learn to know truly the real Author of your being. He is full of goodness and will save you from all evils."

CHAPTER X.

Fyzabad—Rama's temple—Rama, living and dead—The story of Rama—"These be allegories"—Mokameh—"Hindu ascetics are liars"—"Show us your God"—Gauhati—Vasistha's Hermitage—Muktināth—Gya—Man gives salvation to man—The undying banyan.

Passing through many places Sivanarayan reached Fyzabad, the city noted as the birthplace of Rama, the divine hero. Moslem hands have reared a mosque on the site of his overthrown ancient temple. Close by has arisen a modern building, enshrining Rama's image. He had hardly sat down in a corner of the temple when the door of the inner sanctuary was closed, the offering of food to the image having ended. A sādhu, a stranger, just arrived, opened the door, and immediately the ascetics of the Ramanuja sect, in charge of the temple, fell upon him with sticks and drove him out with abuse. The sādhu received this treatment in silence and departed smiling.

"Ye Hindus," said Sivanarayan, touched by the scene enacted before his eyes, "have lost your reason completely. He, whom you would worship with food, after his long exile from your hearts, appears before you in a sentient form; you welcome him with blows, giving your worship and devotion to an image of stone. Why has God blinded you thus? Your fathers were strong with the strength that comes of worshipping the living God, and you their children have grown lifeless by worshipping what has

no life; in self-oblivion you pass your days in loud lamentations. Confusing friends and foes, you waste your days in hate, contention, and strife. Peace sheds not a ray upon you."

"Who may you be?" asked one of the holy fathers; "know you not the glory of Rama? When his slave Hanuman can devour or put under one arm the great sun in the sky, how infinitely greater must be the master's majesty!"

"That Hanuman, whose face was burned, causing him to plunge in the ocean for coolness, by fire, which is but a small spark of that sun, should yet be able to treat in the way mentioned the sun—the expression of the all-comprehending Deity—is indeed strange. But our holy books are full of allegories, so hard to unravel. Try to understand the true explanation. The man of understanding, beloved of God, is called Hanuman in the books. The all-comprehending Supreme Being, manifested as light—the sun in his twelve aspects, as the pundits say, one for each month of the year—includes in Himself all creatures, male and female, and is everlastingly present, impartible, and one. The twelve aspects are the ten faculties of action and sensation, the affections and intelligence. By His grace alone is He found without difficulty. To take these twelve to heart as one and indivisible is to devour the sun or put the sun under the arm. The true Hanuman is he who can view these twelve as one, identical with himself and God. Such a one can alone know God truly. The real Hanuman, by his discriminative intellect, perceiving within and outside of him Sita, the Universal Mother, the beneficent supreme energy, communicates with the individual soul, addressing it thus:—'Thou, the attributeless, transcendent Deity, art identical with the Universal Mother. At the griefless root[1]

[1] According to the legend, Sita was by her abductor, Rāvana, kept a prisoner in a grove of 'Asoka' trees. Asoka literally means 'the griefless.'

of this tree of conditioned existence—in God Himself—she dwells hidden from view by the dark powers of the great captor, Egotism or Rāvana. Shoot the arrow of knowledge from the divine bow—Om—and kill this Rāvana. Then, united to her, thou shalt reign in the northern regions,' by which is meant the head or truth. 'Thou art That,' there is none else beside. Missing the inner truth of the allegory, you have adopted the monkey as your god, slowly approximating to the nature of him you adore.

"You all have intelligence. In all things exercise that faculty. If any say you are disembodied ghosts, even though alive, shall you accept it as true or reject it as false? You do not perceive that the light you can see as the sun and moon is self-manifest, has no gross body to be grasped. How, then, is it possible for a monkey with four hands and a tail to swallow or seize the light?

"You read how Rama, instructed by the sage Agastya, worshipped the light with prostrations and offerings, and by the strength thus obtained succeeded in slaying Rāvana. And yet you fable about Rama's servant—Hanuman—swallowing or seizing the light.

"The Supreme Being, attributeless and possessed of attributes, visible and invisible, whose expression is light—sun and moon—is eternal, self-existent, and one, including in Himself matter, sentience, and cause, the moving and the stationary. The individual, who by the worship of this Being obtains wisdom, is typified as Hanuman."

"By your favour," said one of the assembled sādhus, "we have gained much knowledge. Now deign to explain the true significance of the worship of Sakti (Divine Energy) by Rama."

"The Supreme Being manifested as light," said Sivanarayan, "is the divine energy. Worshipping Him on three days in His triple aspect—matter, sentience, and cause—Rama killed or conquered the ten-headed monster,

Rāvana, the emblem of the ten faculties or organs of sensation and action, and rescued Sita, that is, obtained union with the divine energy. This is the day of victory (Vijayā). On this day disappears the selfish distinction of 'mine' and 'thine' as a motive of action, and, viewing all things as God and self, the individual becomes locked in one embrace with all. On the day of victory the blue-throated bird[1] must be seen. The self-illuminated sun and moon are the head, the limitless expanse of blue sky is the throat of the Divine Being, who swallows and assimilates the good and evil, enjoyment, and suffering, the poison and nectar of the world. Men want what pleases them, the opposite they shun. But the equal-sighted man (Samadarsi) accepts both alike, knowing them to be but expressions of himself. Even such a man is called the true conqueror of senses, Hanuman or Mahābir (the Great Hero)."

"Relying," said the sādhu, "on your great condescension, I venture to ask you for explanation of the other incidents in the story of Rama's life."

"Receive," said Sivanarayan, "the true meaning of the words, casting aside all thoughts of glory and disgrace, triumph and defeat, and empty sectarian selfishness. Rama or the Supreme Being is omnipresent, all-embracing, and complete. His energy, full of blessedness, creative, preservative, and destructive, is the chaste Sita, the Mother of all. Lakshman is the discriminative regard for the substance or knowledge of Truth, the true wisdom. The falling off from God owing to forgetfulness of self is the piercing of Lakshman by the spear of force (*Sakti Sela*). Hanuman, rendered unconscious by Bharat's arrow while repeating the name of Rama, signified the last act of egotism by which the discriminating wise man attributes the world to himself, feeling himself to be the conqueror of the senses. To shatter this enthralling egotism the

[1] *Coracias Indica.*

Divine Energy transfixes him with the arrow of desires, driving out strength and wisdom. The utterance of Rama's name with expiring consciousness saves the life of God-devoted wisdom, and induces the Divine Energy to reduce to order the unruly turbulence of sense. Hanuman is himself again, viewing God one with himself, all-embracing, complete. From the formless, attributeless, all-supporting existence as father, and out of the wisdom called Aditi (the Limitless One) proceeds the world-producing, self-illuminated Light. By Him the three regions, above, below, and that between, are made manifest. Lanka, Rāvana's abode, is the world of false knowledge. Wisdom is the arrow of Rāvana's death. When by true devotion the Rākshasas or errors are slain wisdom arises, showing all things as God and removing the egotistic assertion of existence, independent of God. From Aditi, the Limitless Wisdom, spring forth gods, from her rival wife, Diti, the Limited or Unwisdom, proceed the giants (Daityas). Penetrate the scriptural allegories and reach their inner meaning. Worship God, whose expression is light, with faith and devotion. By his gift of wisdom all wrong notions will disappear, and you will rest in the profundity of peace."

After a pause the listeners said: "My lord, your words are the words of truth. But faith comes from God."

At Mokameh, on the East Indian Railway line, Sivanarayan lived in a small thatched hut by the side of a large tank, surrounded by gardens. Two Englishmen came fishing in that tank.

"Hindu ascetics," said one of the sahibs at the end of the day's sport, "are liars. They work evil to the people by creating a belief in magic and in a multitude of gods."

"Who do you believe in?" asked Sivanarayan.

"The one God."

"Where is that one God you believe in? Has any man seen Him? As what is He seen?"

"He is too holy to be seen. The pure in heart alone can see Him."

"Have you seen Him by attaining purity of heart? Can you show Him to us? How have you come to believe that He is?"

"We believe because it is so written in the Bible."

"On the authority of your scriptures you believe in one God. The Hindu on the authority of his scriptures believes in the 330 millions. They too are believed to be holy and unseen of all but the perfectly pure."

"Show us one out of so many millions."

"Show us the One you worship, or at least one of His attributes or forms."

"None can see Him. How can He be shown?"

"The same thing may be said of the Hindu gods. If one thing is admitted without proof why not as many more as can be desired, and the door opened for all the fables of the world and tales of marvel?"

"But," continued Sivanarayan, "the true God of the Hindu, the disposer of all good, OM, the all-comprehending Supreme Being, manifested as light—the sun and moon—embracing all creatures present, is before you all. From Him all things have proceeded, in Him they stay, and into Him they return. His various expressions, technically called 'limbs,' are imagined as the multitude of gods. The individual souls are gods, the senses and faculties are gods, earth, water, fire, air, ākāsa, moon, and sun are all gods. From each god, typifying one particular kind of energy or forming a particular 'limb' of God, a definite class of phenomena proceeds. From the god called earth proceeds food, flesh, and bones; from water, drink, blood, and the bodily juices; from fire, eating, digestion, and utterance; from air, the breath of life; from ākāsa, hearing; from the moon, the affections; from the sun, judgment or intelligence and light. If any of these gods

be absent or inactive, creatures would perish. The light called the individual, unified with the light called the sun, rests in the One Cause. The gods of the Hindus are, in the sight of all, engaged in upholding and continuing the life of the world. Where is the One you worship and consider distinct, in form and substance, from these?"

"If," said the sahib, "one of our great padres had been here he would have explained these things to you."

"Great or small no man can call into being what is not. Will they create God to show Him to me? He who is manifest can alone be shown. Him, in his formless, attributeless aspect none can see or show. If the followers of the different religions of the world understand the true import of these words, peace will come to all and good-will be established in the place of evil."

Sivanarayan arrived at Gauhati, in Assam, by steamer from Goalundo. The common people of Bengal believe Gauhati or Kamrup to be the city of enchantment. Women of Kamrup are supposed to cast their spells on strangers in the city, turning them into sheep. By magic they are said to transport themselves and others to long distances, perched on tree-tops. Inquiring into the origin of this superstition, Sivanarayan found that in the days previous to steam and electricity pilgrims to the shrine of Kamrup fell, in large numbers, victims to fatigue, disease, and wild beasts. Others contracted Assamese marriages and forgot their kith and kin, duty, and home. If any returned they brought back traveller's tales as a shield against consciousness of shameful conduct or from some other equally intelligible motive. Prisoners to lust are the only men turned into sheep. There is no other.

Some way beyond the town the temple of the goddess Kāmākhyā stands on a hill. Higher up is the temple of Bhubaneswari. No idol or image is to be seen in the former temple. A triangular pit, wide and dark, cut into

the rock forming the floor of the temple, is painted red in oils and covered with a piece of cloth of reddish hue. This emblem of creation is shown to pilgrims by the dim light of an earthen lamp. Large gifts to the priests secure for the devout worshipper a piece of the covering cloth as a talisman.

A female figure of stone is the presiding divinity of the temple of Bhubaneswari. Close by is the *āsan* of a Brahamachāri. The wishes of a pilgrim of means, desirous of worshipping the goddess in the flesh, are often gratified by the appearance of a being who, some people say, is a woman of the town, in appropriate disguise.

The pāndās told Sivanarayan that when the Rajas of Cooch Behar reigned in Assam a golden image, a royal gift, was enshrined in the temple of Kāmākhyā. A pāndā in course of time sold the image, wasting the proceeds in riotous living. The triangular symbol has stood for the image ever since. At the end of the narration Sivanarayan addressed the pāndās, saying: "Why have you, moved by contemptible selfishness, become a curse to yourselves and others? Misled by false hopes, men are falling away from the true God and suffering in body, mind, and means. The Supreme Being, really existent and expressed as light, is everywhere. To find Him one need go nowhere and spend nothing. A sincere heart alone is needed. Abandon this profession which is hurtful to your fellow-man and adopt some innocent mode of living, so that you may be a blessing to yourselves and others."

"A better profession," said he, "does not exist. In all others you have to humble yourself before someone or another. But in this, the rich and the powerful fall at our feet while supplying us with all we want. Besides, for us what other profession would be as lucrative as this one?"

"If rulers of men and possessors of wealth had wisdom the world would not have suffered as it does. You have, to your own hurt, turned your faces away from the eternal God. A rational being ought to forsake such ways as yours, else you become offenders before God."

In a different direction, but not far from Gauhati, Sivanarayan arrived at a place which is believed holy and called Vasistha's "Asram" or Hermitage. The temple is shut in by hills on three sides. A waterfall leaps down near the temple, with noise and tumult. A stone image in the cavern within the temple is supposed to be the sage, Vasistha. The sides of the cavern are marked by three similar figures representing the persons of the Hindu trinity. A wooden image outside also goes by the name of Brahmā. The pāndās make pilgrims bathe in the fall of water, which is named the Ganges. The noise of the fall drowns all human voice, a phenomenon attributed by the pāndās to the sanctity of the place which strikes the visitor dumb. The sounds of insect life, heard on the remoter parts of the temple grounds, are fabled to be the music of 'apsarās' or celestial dancing-girls attached to the court of the god Indra. The waters of the sacred cascade fall into a dark cavern in the temple and disappear underground, finding an exit elsewhere. The pilgrims are shown the images by lamp-light. This over, they depart after making the customary payments and offerings.

Travelling and teaching in Assam, Sivanarayan passed through Shillong, Tezpur, Dibrugarh, and Sibsagar. The last-named place contains the shrine of Muktināth, much frequented by pilgrims. A pāndā, taking him for a pilgrim, pressed him hard to visit the shrine.

"What substance," he asked, "is the Muktināth that you are pressing me to see? What form does it present to the senses? What comes of seeing Muktināth, and what of not seeing it?"

"*Mukti* (salvation) and many other benefits result from seeing Muktināth. How can *mukti* come without it?"

"You see and worship Muktināth every day of your life. Is *mukti* yours?"

"Not yet."

"How do you promise that to the pilgrim in a day what you have not attained in years? Why for a paltry gain sink with others into the darkness of errors? You do not consider who can be truly Muktināth, the Lord of *mukti* or salvation. He who is the truth, the pure, intelligence, without beginning or end, the all-comprehending Supreme Being, manifested as light, is alone *mukti* and Muktināth. He alone can establish the soul in the supreme joy called *mukti*. For this reason Muktināth is one of the names given to God. None other bearing that name is, was, or can be."

All who were present heard him with gladness, and he spoke to them many words of truth. The pāndā expressed regret for having offered to show him an image of stone and craved forgiveness.

According to the guardians of the temple the town derived its name from Sib Sinha, a former Raja of Cooch Behar. His brother built the temple, establishing therein a stone image of Siva under the name of Muktināth. This is shown to pilgrims for a consideration. Sivanarayan explained to them that all temples, images, and holy places, wherever situated, are the outcome of man's imagination. Wandering in quest of these the weary pilgrim reaps as reward only poverty and suffering.

Sivanarayan found himself at Gaya. An ancient banyan close by is called the "Akshay Bata" or "Eternal Banyan." A Gayāli or pāndā of Gaya was pressing Sivanarayan to perform the customary ceremonies for the benefit of his ancestors' souls. The celebration at Gaya of these ceremonies ensures the instant ascension to heaven of the pious celebrant's ancestors. Sivanarayan addressed

him, saying: "Into what woeful error have you fallen? You are worshipping a piece of metal fashioned like a human foot, calling it Vishnupāda.[1] By your advice others are worshipping the same, to their own impoverishment. As the reward of such devotions your greed and their sufferings are ever on the increase. Spiritual blindness has turned your hearts away from the true God. The Vedas clearly teach that the true feet of Vishnu or God is the earth from which you draw your sustenance and derive your flesh and bones. This common banyan-tree, you call undying, a spark of fire can reduce to ashes before your very eyes. This universe of forms is the banyan-tree, truly undying. But you do not cast a glance at the light which is its root. If with love and devotion you worship the all-comprehending light—sun and moon—you will see the true banyan-tree in its true form; in other words, you will see the universe one with yourselves and God. The light is the seed from which the world grows. What is, is in light. The devotee sees in the form of light called the moon the true banyan-tree, which is not different from the reality you call the moon. You worship mere forms, things that exist only as the figments of your mind. You suffer because you have fallen away from the true God. The pāndās at Allahabad, for their own gain, have set up an undying banyan-tree, the same as you, with the same result. Even now come together all of you in love and put an end to every such thing of deceit; even now take refuge in Him who really is, and He will, out of His own goodness, secure the good of all."

"Consider," said the Gayāli, "the sanctity of the place. We can give *mukti* or salvation to the ancestors of everyone who comes here and makes the requisite offering."

"The all-comprehending Supreme Being, manifested

[1] I.e. the feet of the omnipresent god Vishnu.

as light, the world's parent, teacher, and soul, is the world's one saviour or *mukti*-giver. How can you give *mukti*?"

"You must have seen how we bind a man's hands with a garland of flowers and strike him with another. When the required fee is paid we set him free, and in the act give *mukti* to his ancestors."

"Is that so? In bondage to desire yourselves, how can you remove that bondage from another? Can one tied securely to a post help another in similar plight? By merciless religious tyranny you are extorting money from pilgrims and giving their ancestors *mukti* by mere word of mouth. Shame on you who deceive, and shame on those who are deceived into the belief that salvation can be bought with money? There is no other saviour beside the all-comprehending Supreme Being, manifested as light, nor was, nor can be. He holds in His hands the power of waking creatures into activity, making them dream dreams, and putting them into dreamless sleep. He alone can plunge us in ignorance, give formal knowledge and real experience. Of this doubt there is none. Seek refuge in Him and in mercy He will keep you in the supreme joy of *mukti*."

To a pāndā at Mathura Sivanarayan said:—"None considers the end to which God has given wealth and power to man. Proper use of them has become impossible in consequence. The rich, with lavish expenditure, build temples and consecrate images. The pāndās by deceit and falsehood turn them into sources of gain. Pilgrims undergo misery and oppression in the hope of rewards that never can come. None sees that God is not the author of these things, impotent alike for help or hurt. Wealth and power are given to one that many may rejoice thereat. To act otherwise is to offend in God's sight and reap the rebel's reward. This is true beyond doubt or cavil."

CONCLUSION.

A few incidents in Sivanarayan's life at Calcutta and its neighbourhood are collected here.

TRANSPLANTING CALENDULA.

In the garden where he occupies a hut Sivanarayan was transplanting a *Calendula* shrub from the shade of a mango-tree. Some gentlemen and two Brahamachāris, in brown robes, came to see him. After salutations Sivanarayan asked them to wait until his work was finished. Seeing him at work, one of the visitors remarked: "We come to see a sense-conquering Mahātmā, but we find him engaged in work, showing his attachment to a worldly object. Had he been free from desire and attachment he would not have troubled himself about a calendula shrub. In bondage himself how can he help us?"

His work finished, Sivanarayan asked them about the object of their visit.

"We have come to see you. People say you are a great Mahātmā," was the answer.

"What is it," said Sivanarayan, "that you call a Mahātmā? What substance is it? Is it formless and attributeless, or has it a form and attribute? If the former, it cannot be sensed. How can you see it with the eyes of flesh? If the latter, the all-comprehending Being, embracing your bodies, senses, and faculties, is present everywhere. To see Him it is not necessary to go to any particular place. Of these or Him what is the great Mahātmā? If it be this form of flesh and bones, all creatures are He; if the individual soul, which is of divine substance, then all individuals are He. If great Mahātmā is but the name of a state or condition, then you will find on reflection that states or conditions are three, namely, ignorance, knowledge of truth, and truth itself. All creatures are born in ignorance. If that be great Mahātmā,

then, too, all creatures are He. If knowledge, then the one God, including in Himself all things, moving and stationary, is the true knowledge. If truth itself, then mark this. To truth itself names such as Supreme Being, soul, attributed or attributeless, all-comprehending, cannot be applied. It or He is what It or He is. He is neither great nor small. In quest of Him no place has to be visited. Who or what have you then come to see as the great Mahātmā? If you say being in ignorance you have come to see Knowledge as the great Mahātmā, then tell me how can ignorance test knowledge? The dreamer knows not the condition of one awake nor the condition of one unconscious. In what condition do you think you are yourselves, and in what condition do you think am I, the man you have come to see, as a great Mahātmā?"

"We do not know. Deign to instruct us."

"First, free your minds from the shock you have received on coming here. We shall talk of other things afterwards."

"We have received no shock."

"Don't feel ashamed. Express your feelings without reserve. Your feelings are but natural."

Thus encouraged they frankly expressed the shock they had received on seeing Sivanarayan transplanting the calendula shrub.

"What think you of God?" asked Sivanarayan.

"He is one, secondless, omnipotent, all-comprehending, complete, and Creator of all. There is nothing better or higher than He," was the reply.

"That being so," said Sivanarayan, "why did He create the world and all in it? What thing is there better or higher than He, desiring which He has created the world and attached to which He is ceaselessly working for its continued existence. Seeing me transplant a tree you feel shocked, but if you consider the ways of God your perplexity will increase and make your light

darkness. You have seen me transplanting a tree, but truly I have done nothing. You can see that I did not create the bodily limbs by which the work was done, nor has the earth, water, or seed of the tree proceeded from me. What is, is. All these have come from God, and are, in truth, His expressions, in reality no way separate from Him. Nothing can transcend Him. Then what did I see separate from Him to which I became attached by desire, in transplanting the tree. As the exertions experienced in dreams disappear, with their results, on awaking, so awaking in wisdom you perceive the truth concerning the desires and attachments you feel in ignorance. God Himself, supremely detached, works with infinite energy for the world. The man of wisdom, free from attachment, ceaselessly labours to teach others selflessly to work for the world's good. Prompted by ignorance and indolence you have dyed your robes so as to find excuse for believing yourselves detached. And yet, willing or unwilling, your senses and organs are doing their appropriate work, such as eating, etc. By God's mercy alone can you rise above the bondage of sense. Sense-conquest is but a power or attribute of His. Why do you become a cause for the suffering of yourselves and others, through deceitful ceremonies invented by man? If you find His mercy, your ignorance will depart and peace will descend on you. The wise man, a lion amongst men, in the midst of all actions of life and while experiencing all objects of sense, remains detached and in the enjoyment of the supreme joy of *mukti*. Each man according to his own nature judges the condition of the wise. Those wrapped up in ignorance cannot understand the motives of the wise. They attribute to the wise the attachment that prompts their own acts. To attribute to another the motives which actuate one's own conduct is natural for man. I shall tell you an illustrative anecdote. If you understand its true purport

your errors will be removed. A saint was lying down by the side of a high road. Of three travellers who passed him, one remarked: "This man is resting after a whole night's thieving." Another disagreed and said: "He is sleeping off the effects of a drunken debauch." The third traveller attributed the result to a love intrigue. The holy man, who was giving his body a short rest after exhausting labours for the good of others, addressed them, saying: "All of you are right." Seeking an explanation of how three different statements could be correct, they were told this: "Each of you have attributed to me your own nature. I have no fault to find. By God's law your natural characteristics are showing themselves in action. You see in others what you are yourselves."

"These," said one of the Brahamachāris, "are words of the path of knowledge."

"Do you want to hear words of unwisdom? The wise man knows that although all creatures are expressions of the Deity, wisdom must be sought from the wise, and thieving from a thief. For cure of illness you must repair to a physician, and for wisdom and *mukti* you must seek refuge in the all-comprehending Supreme Being, manifested as light—the sun and moon—who is truly the world's parent, teacher, and soul, by loving prayer and invocation through repeating mentally His name OM."

"You believe in Mother Kali?" asked the Brahamachāri.

"He who is," said Sivanarayan, "continues to be, whether you believe or disbelieve. He who is not cannot be, whether you believe or not. This earth that you see does not exist because somebody believes in its existence. Nor will it cease to be if everybody denied its existence. The asserter and the denier of its existence will have equally to dwell on it and draw sustenance therefrom. If Mother Kali, the all-comprehending Supreme Being,

expressed as light, by her own nature exists, my belief or disbelief does not affect her existence. If, on the other hand, existence be not her nature, what does it matter if by word of mouth I confess her existence? You can directly perceive that the all-comprehending Supreme Being, expressed as light, including in Himself all that moves and all that moves not, is one infinite and impartible. If Mother Kali is one of the names of this Being I cannot but believe in her. If she is held to be something different, where is she? Show me her existence."

They heard with their ears, not with their understandings. In silence they bowed and took their departure.

Caste without Feast.

Sivanarayan had a sick visitor in his hut. At his request Ram Bhajan nursed the sick man. On the recovery of the visitor after a long and severe illness Ram Bhajan left with a trifling reward. His castemen decided he had suffered loss of caste by tending a sick man and could only be restored to it by providing a sumptuous caste feast. Ram Bhajan was extremely poor and with difficulty earned his daily bread. Finding the expense beyond his means Ram Bhajan returned to Sivanarayan and, with tears, laid the whole case before him. Sivanarayan consoled him, saying the requisite expense would somehow be met, and told him to go back to his caste-fellows and arrange with them that at the end of the feast they must show him where his caste had gone and give it back to him, or return to him the cost of the feast. The arrangement proposed, Ram Bhajan was questioned as to whose authority he was acting under. All things being related the guardians of caste purity remained silent. Ram Bhajan got back his caste without a feast.

The Stick as an Exegetist.

Late one night a roisterous company, having feasted not wisely but too well, collected before Sivanarayan's hut, shouting: "Ho! paramhansa, come outside. We want to have a scriptural argument with you." Sivanarayan came out to them. His want of conventional clothing excited their derisive merriment.

He tried to quiet them, and enquired what sort of scriptural argument they desired. Without answering they kept on shouting, "We will have a scriptural argument." After much good counsel Sivanarayan told them to go home, as it was not safe for them to be out at such an hour. They continued shouting. Sivanarayan picked up a wooden post, intended to replace an old one in his hut, saying: "Wisdom cures ignorance and a cudgel wickedness."

"What is the stick for?"

"To answer your scriptural question. Without this stick none else can dispute with you."

"Want you to strike us?"

"Not if you go away quietly."

"Let's see how you can strike," shouted the midnight crew.

Sivanarayan, twirling the stick over his head, said: "To each end there is an appropriate means. If you don't leave I shall break your bones."

"Murder! Murder!" they shouted, and scampered off.

Holy Mahātmās.

A pundit, whose face reflected the peace within, addressed Sivanarayan, saying: "Men say holy Mahātmās dwell in forests, avoiding the habitations of men. If this be true, wisdom and *mukti* must indeed be hard for householders to attain owing to lack of instructors."

"Reflect well," said Sivanarayan, "to him who is a true Mahātmā, in whom resides the perception of what things are in reality, what difference can there be between the solitary forest and the populous city? For him it would be more natural to be in a town than in a wilderness. Dwelling in some inaccessible place, of what use will he be to mankind? In the haunts of men his precept and example will be for the world's good. A selfish end is impossible in his condition. Good of others can alone furnish him with a motive of action. Will a Mahātmā then uselessly bear the burden of this body in a forest, and not strive to impart to others his own joyous blessedness? When discriminative knowledge first sprouts, when love of the truth puts forth its tender shoots, there may be a need for lonely solitude, free from temptations, so that the mind may not fall away from the truth. But why will a true Mahātmā, be he a sannyāsi or a householder, who has seen God or the true self as the visible and invisible, all-comprehending, one and indivisible, whose mind and senses are subdued and detached, prefer a forest? He will dwell where he chooses, no injunction or restriction governing him. If he experiences all the experiences of the world he experiences nothing separate from himself. Perceiving the real nature of suffering and enjoyment he becomes attached to nothing. As the suffering and enjoyment of dream life is seen, on awaking, to be one with the self, so are the suffering and enjoyment of the life of ignorance seen in the condition of wisdom or enlightenment, in no way separate from the experiencer. All things are seen by the wise to be God or the Self. That such a one avoids the habitations of men is a vain fancy of the unenlightened. If all such beings abandon men, then who will keep by words, written and spoken, the road of wisdom open?"

"True," said the pundit, "but at a friend's house

I met a man, believed to have been perfected by his austerities and devotions, who refused to sit down to meal until a woman's portrait which happened to be in the room was placed with its face to the wall. But for this he would have left the house."

"You are," said Sivanarayan, "well versed in the scriptures. Where have you found that the sight of a woman is prohibited to a perfect man? Those unable to withstand the unruly impulses of sense avoid women for fear of consequences. The perfect man you spoke of had not attained to the Reality, or experienced the true substance. He was strongly attached to this doll, made of flesh and filth. He accepted himself as a man, the picture as a woman, and her as an object of enjoyment. He felt not that the male and the female body, their senses and organs, were exactly the same substance. He did not perceive that he himself was but pure intelligence and one with God in reality, that neither the male nor the female was really separate from God. If the knowledge of Reality had been his he would not have viewed the female figure as different from himself or asked it to be turned over. This is the truth, without doubt or uncertainty. Whoso hath perception of the true substance hath wisdom, and the wise alone have peace. So long as the male and the female are seen as separate from one another and from God, they are felt to be related together as the enjoyer and the enjoyed. In that condition the fickle senses generate attachment. After the condition of reality (Swarupa) is reached a man or a woman feels no such attachment, though surrounded by thousands of the opposite sex. By such a one all things are seen in and as God."

The Buddhist Pundit.

Sivanarayan found himself in the audience of a Buddhist preacher. "To establish the fickle mind," the preacher

said, "is easy. Reality or substance has two aspects, formless (Nirākāra) and having forms (Sākāra). The Nirākāra transcends the mind, the mind cannot hold it. The attempt to do so is therefore useless. The Sākāra is perceptible and within the mental grasp of all. But it is unreal. No good can come of applying the mind to it. The mind, therefore, need not move at all. Thus, without scriptural study, devotions, or austerities, the mind has become free from movements." The listeners looked at one another and at the preacher in silence.

After an interval Sivanarayan was asked to speak. He said if the minds of those present had lost their fickle movements in consequence of what was said, no words from him were necessary. Being assured that such a result had not ensued, he continued: "Cast aside all thoughts of glory and disgrace, triumph and defeat, and collective and individual selfishness that leads to nothing, and with discrimination search after the substance or reality. From the perception of the reality comes wisdom, and from wisdom peace. The reality has no more than two aspects, Sākāra or Nirākāra. Is the expounder himself Sākāra or Nirākāra? If the former, it transcends the mind and the senses. Perception, exposition, action cannot be in him, as they are not in dreamless sleep. But the agent of the act of exposition is perceptible to the senses, and must, then, be Sākāra, and therefore unreal. Words proceeding from what is unreal can be accepted or rejected with equal profit."

"I, the expounder," struck in the preacher, "am the breath of life. The breath is expounding the truth."

"All here present," rejoined Sivanarayan, "receive the truth with sobriety of understanding and peace at heart. If fire be present its attributes of burning or luminosity must also be present. When the fire disappears, with it disappear its attributes. If the expounding life-breath be present its attribute of intelligence, which is involved in

the act of expounding, must also be present. But you can all see that in dreamless sleep the breath runs its usual course, but intelligence or discrimination is absent. What is it the absence of which causes the absence of intelligence in dreamless sleep? If intelligence had been an attribute of breath it would have been active in dreamless sleep. Consider, now, to what is due the intelligence whose action you see in the condition called waking. Of what is intelligence the attribute?"

"What am I to say," said the preacher, "to one in whom the truth is fully manifested?"

"O men," said Sivanarayan, "seek refuge, without pride, in God, manifested as light. He will move your hearts to the truth. So long as this light is active in your heads, eyes, and ears you are possessed of intelligence; when the all-comprehending Being, manifested as the light, called the sun, withdraws that light into the cause, you fall into dreamless sleep and perception disappears. In that condition, breath continues its work of circulating the blood to prevent putrefaction of the body. Receive the truth and abide in joy."

The Raja.

A Raja brought Sivanarayan to his palace with much honour. After salutations the Raja said: "If God there be, my lord, show Him unto me." Sivanarayan answered him, saying: "Seeing is the work of the eye. Men have imagined three kinds of eyes—the eyes of the flesh, the eye of knowledge, and the eye of the spirit. Of these, man cannot control even one. Without light the eye of the flesh cannot see. Without the union of light, which is the intelligent part of all external existence, with the light called consciousness within, there is no perception. When by the grace of the Supreme Being, whose manifestation is light, the Supreme Soul will be revealed as one with the individual soul, you will see the individual or yourself

in identity with the Supreme Soul, God; or, as the cause or substance, the subtle or conscious force, the gross or matter. This is the eye of the spirit."

"True," said the Raja, "but God is all-comprehending, all-powerful, self-manifest. Then why does He not of Himself show Himself to us?"

"If," said Sivanarayan, pointing to a pundit who was at that moment receiving harsh treatment from the servants at the Raja's gate, "if you would consider the difference in your treatment of myself, whom at some pains you have brought from a hut to a palace, and of that man who, to gain a few rupees, daily seeks and is daily refused admittance to your presence, you will find the true solution of your problem."

"That man," said the Raja, "has no other object in trying to see me except to force from me a small gift. He belongs to such a large class that it is beyond my power to satisfy them all. It is for this reason that he is kept out. But you are a Mahātmā, wearing a body only for the world's good. The house you visit is sanctified by your presence."

"It comes, then, to this: you keep him at a distance because he has selfish ends to serve, you associate with me gladly because you think I have no such end in view. Thus it is that God hides Himself from those who seek Him with a selfish desire. But to the same man He reveals Himself when he sheds those desires. He is self-manifest."

"You speak the words of truth. But looking at myself I feel that without God's grace purity of mind or desirelessness is unattainable by man's own exertions."

"True," said Sivanarayan, "if God's commandments are kept even at the prompting of desire, by His grace desirelessness comes in time. But no good comes to one who remains inactive because he thinks it is not good to worship God with a selfish desire."

The Hindu and the Englishman.

A pundit, who was a firm believer in Hindu rites, ceremonies, and institutions, gently remonstrated with Sivanarayan as to the latter's practice of imparting to Englishmen the sacred name OM and allowing them to make offerings in the fire.

"What of that?" said Sivanarayan: "Englishman is only a name imagined by man. But what is the substance of which this is a name? Apart from the self-manifest Eternal Being, who includes in Himself the moving and the stationary, what and where is any substance called the 'Englishman.' As you are a combination of the 'seven limbs of God' so is the Englishman. What is not in the Englishman is not in you. Looking at what substance am I to accept you and reject the Englishman?"

"The substance is the same, no doubt, but qualities are different. The Englishman is constantly killing creatures; neither mercy nor tenderness is in his heart."

"The qualities that God puts into an individual are active in him. Condemn no one. All creatures are parts, images, or children of God. All creatures must therefore be equally treated with mercy. It is unworthy of a rational man to cut the throat of another's child for his own child's good. Look at the number of animals slaughtered in Mother Kali's name. The blood and bones go to the earth, the flesh is eaten by the worshippers, the skin is used for making drum-heads. What does Mother Kali eat? How many finny creatures go to furnish the Hindu's daily meal? How can you, then, hold the Moslems and Christians guilty and the Hindus innocent of taking life? God looks impartially on all. For the same act He will not condemn one and justify another. He will pardon or punish all equally. But let that pass. Listen to the narration of what I have witnessed at

different times in different places. If you consider these incidents, casting aside all thoughts of glory and disgrace, triumph and defeat, and social selfishness, your errors will be removed."

I.

Rajputana suffers from a permanent scarcity of water. In places it is impossible to sink a well or excavate a tank even at great expense. Hindus, desirous of religious merit, keep up, by the roadside, a supply of water in proper receptacles. A Brahmin is paid for the care and distribution of the water.

At midday a donkey was carrying a heavy load. It was in the territories of the Maharaja of Jeypore. The donkey, thirsty and tired, was gladdened by the sight of water on the roadside and attempted to drink it. The animal was too stupid to understand that the water was not intended for all living things needing it, but was reserved for the benefit of cows, so that the giver might acquire merit. In putting his head into the trough the donkey fell dead in the middle of the road under the blows of the Brahmin, who in great exultation exclaimed: "You rogue! Is a donkey to drink the water meant for cows?"

"What caste are you?" the Brahmin asked me on my begging a drink of water.

"Very low caste," said I.

"My drinking pot will be spoiled if I let you use it. Bring out your own drinking vessel."

"I have none."

"Then be off."

"Men," I said, "have so completely turned away from God and grown so dull of understanding that they would not give a drink of water to a sentient being who is visible Siva, and would yet in the name of Siva bring water from distant Rameswaram or Benares to pour it out

on a block of stone. They see not that stone, devoid of sense and organs, can have no use for it."

II.

A milkman was driving a cow by the side of Chowringi Road towards Kalighat. To prevent the animal from straying, the rope round its neck was tied to one of its forelegs. How painful movement was to the animal in this condition the man never considered. An Englishman came riding from the opposite direction. He took pity on the poor cow, and pressed its owner, with the help of a whip, to untie the foreleg, and threatened him with further punishment unless he led the cow holding the rope round its neck. The milkman obeyed the precept of the mighty guru—the whip—craving forgiveness.

III.

A dog, with a festering sore on its head, which he could not hold straight, was passing along Dhurrumtollah Street. Whichever direction he took he was driven away by the passers-by. Some merciful Englishmen took pity on him, washed the sore, and applied medicament. They gave it in charge of a servant, who was present, with directions to treat the sore and take care of the dog until its recovery, and then let it go.

IV.

Among the passengers of a Kalighat horse-car were two Englishmen. The benches were full. Two ladies stopped the car to get in. Before the conductor could send them away, the two Englishmen respectfully gave up their seats to the ladies and stood at the back by the conductor's side. After these four had got out, three women, one English and two Indian, attempted to get in. There was room then for three or four more passengers. But wherever they went for seats the other passengers spread out or

put their umbrellas on the bench, and prevented them from sitting down. They courteously requested accommodation, which none granted. The English lady sat down, pushing her neighbour aside, advising the others to do likewise, but they were too confused to profit by the example. The passengers, in their own tongue, were speaking of the lady in an indecent and insulting manner. She happened to understand them. "You are cowards," she exclaimed, "unmanly savages to insult me. How should you like such language being used to your own mothers and sisters? If you preserve the honour and dignity of other people's mothers and sisters God will preserve your own from indignity and dishonour." But they were unmoved. The lady shouted to the police for assistance. I left wondering at God's mercy which could save even men like these.

V.

A carter, wearing the holy thread, had laden his cart so heavily that after proceeding a short distance one of the bullocks broke down completely. The carter was in vain urging the poor creature forward with cruel torture. "Why," asked an Englishman, who happened to arrive on the spot, "do you needlessly ill-treat your animal?"

"It won't move on otherwise."

The Englishman unyoked the bullock, and, putting the carter in its place, with blows bade him draw the cart. Unable to move under the weight he piteously cried to be let off.

"You are a Hindu. These animals, you say, are your gods. Consider how you are treating them. When you feel pain you can call out for relief. But these dumb creatures are unable to express the intensest pain. Hence it is man's duty, through foresight, to prevent their suffering. God has given man dominion over other creatures. By an unjust treatment of them, man becomes

answerable to God. To work them according to their different capacities, in obedience to God's commandments, is acceptable with Him. By what gives you pleasure and pain measure that of all others. My ill-treatment of you was intended to teach you this lesson."

"My lord," said the pundit at the end of the discourse, "is there no fault in the Englishman's character?"

"I don't say that good and base qualities are not to be found in all persons. But if men disregarded the evil in others, and encouraged one another in righteousness, God will hide away all evil and maintain every one in joy, establishing goodness as supreme on this earth. Of this there is no doubt."

Are you an Incarnation of God?

This inquiry was addressed to Sivanarayan by some young men from a village not far from Calcutta. The subjoined letter contains his answer:—

"Hold your hearts steadfast in the all-comprehending Supreme Being, manifested as light—the parent, teacher, and soul. With peace at heart and sobriety of understanding fulfil your temporal and spiritual duties, so that in all things you and all belonging to you may rest as joy in the joy supreme. Be contented with little, and active in doing others good, so that the world's good may be accomplished. In the world's good is your own, and in yours the world's. For the world is full of your soul and God. Be zealous in the performance of both kinds of duty. Be lukewarm in nothing. What is lukewarmly done is never done well.

"Having duly received your letter I have become acquainted with the contents thereof. Fear not. Be anxious about nothing. Fix your thoughts on the Ruler of hearts. He is full of goodness and will do good.

"You have inquired about Divine incarnation. Reflect. What is naught *is* not. What is naught *is* not to all. What is naught is not in the visible or invisible. The Being or Truth is but one. The truth is truth to all. The truth is and never can be naught. The truth is self-existent, formless, and possessed of forms, the manifest and the unmanifest, the visible and the invisible. In other words, comprehending in Himself the cause or substance, the subtle or life, and the gross or matter, He is infinite, impartible. Beside Him no other is, was, will, or can be. To Him are applied two classes of attributes, indicative of aspects, namely, formless, attributeless, beyond mind and speech, transcending knowledge. This is one class. The other class is possessed of forms and attributes, manifest, perceptible, visible, and consisting of earth, water, fire, air, ākāsa, the moon and sun—light. These last are called in the scriptures of this country the 'limbs' of the all-comprehending Being, the Powers (Sakti), and gods and goddesses, and by many other names. From Him proceed all things, moving and stationary, the female and male, Pirs, Paigambars, Auliyas, Rishis, Munis, Christ, and all other incarnations, by Him they continue in existence, and into Him they enter in the end. He is omnipotent. In all ages even He, in the form of incarnations, accomplishes the world's salvation. None know Him or honour Him. Hence the world suffers. If refuge is sought in Him, craving His forgiveness, and what pleases Him is done with discrimination, He will work the good of all. For He is full of goodness. He manifests Himself in one physical body and takes away the world's burden. If such be His will He can by internal prompting save the world through the smallest ant. Separate from Him I have no power by which the meanest thing can be done. When His work is done He will be known."

SUMMING UP.

"Tell me, sir," said a busy lawyer, whose English education had taken away his reverence for the religious forms of his country, "briefly and in plain, intelligible language the substance of your teaching."

"Free from thoughts of self, attend to these words and understand their true meaning.

"Worship in love God, who is formless and attributeless and yet who is, and is possessed of all the forms and attributes, who is gross or physical, and subtle or living existence, and the cause or substance of all, who is all that moves and all that moves not, who is the one, all-comprehending Being, whose intelligent expression is the light men call the sun and moon.

"Facing the sun and moon, bow down to Him, the author of all good, uniting yourself to His all-comprehending completeness.

"Let each one out of his worldly possessions feed God in His form, called the fire, with things that please the taste and smell, and fulfil, to the extent of each one's power, the needs of all His creatures.

"Endeavour always to keep the mind, body, earth, water, and air pure and clean.

"Thus acting, man will be happy now and for ever. Nothing more is required. Too many ceremonies vex the soul and weary the body. In them there is no good."

"Are you," questioned the educated Hindu, "a worshipper of the sun, moon, and fire?"

"In answer," said Sivanarayan, "I can only pray to the God who really is.

"O Thou all-comprehending Complete Being, Thou art our Father in thy formless, attributeless, transcendent aspect, and in the opposite aspect Thou art even our Mother. Hidden to our mind and senses, and yet, possessed of all powers and glory, Thou art present before us all and

prominently as the light. In these different aspects Thou art impartible, secondless, the source of all love, and the ordainer of all good, temporal and spiritual. But Thy ungrateful creatures, imagining a conflict between Thy aspects, are working woe unto themselves.

"O Thou Complete One, Thou art complete in expression, inclusive of the formless substance, and complete in substance, inclusive of the forms or expressions, and self-existent for ever and ever. Thy creatures, in blindness of spirit, are unable to receive Thee in Thy completeness. If they are called on to receive Thee, Complete One, by the help of Thy expression called the light, which is Thy glory and power, Thy very self as the Lord Supreme, they spurn the instruction, in their blindness, as teaching the worship of inanimate matter, of a finite thing. May their sins be forgiven!

"Om Santih. The peace of God be with you all."

FINIS.

APPENDIX I.

THE SEVEN QUESTIONS.

I.—True Renunciation.

"Who is a man of true renunciation?" "The great-souled sādhu." With this answer the question was submitted to the decision of Sivanarayan, who replied, saying:—"True, a sādhu is a man of renunciation. But it must be soberly considered in what respect is he so. In its true light the renunciation of the householder is greater than his. The sādhus view this world as the fabric of a dream, and they renounce it as unreal. Even then some individuals of that class are subject to the egotistic conceit that they are men of renunciation, and others also look upon them as such because they have cut themselves off from the world. The sādhu takes a pride in renouncing what is unreal. But the householder, in becoming attached to the world, renounces the truth, which is God. In other words, the householder in fulfilling the duties divinely imposed on him has often to hide himself from God, the all-comprehending Supreme Being, whose expression is light, who is the parent, teacher, and soul of all, in whom all things are to be found. Then whose renunciation is the truer and greater? It behoves every man to pause and ponder what thing is his to accept or give up? Man has not the power to produce even a blade of grass. Can he, then, say with truth, 'This have I given up or this accepted'? He is powerless alike to renounce or accept. All things are God's; he is also God's. Comprehending all things and

persons, He is secondless and expressed as light. He can neither be taken nor left. He who is equal-minded to all that is, is the man of true renunciation. He alone knows what renunciation truly is. Be he an ascetic recluse or a social householder, he makes no distinction between the two conditions."

II.—Woman and Sūdra.

The Marwari, intending the question for Sivanarayan, asked the pundit Joykishen why women and sūdras had no right to utter the holy name OM, the sacred formula Gāyatri, to make offering in the fire, and to study the Vedas. The pundit replied such injunctions were found in some of the scriptures, and invited Sivanarayan to explain the reason.

"Rights and disabilities," said Sivanarayan, "are found in all creatures. I shall explain the principle from palpable instances, so that you may apply it to matters less obvious. The thirsty man will not find pleasure in food, but in water. He therefore has a right to water and a disability in respect of food. Similarly, the hungry man has a right to food and not to water. The man who is deeply attached to objects of sense, who is devoid of aspirations towards the all-comprehending Supreme Being, manifested as light, the individual and universal soul, finds not joy in what is scriptural. Such a man has no right concerning God and other holy things. That right is to be denied of that condition of mind, be that condition found in a woman, a sūdra, or a Brahmin. The man who inclines not to objects of sense, or while so inclining is inspired with a desire for God to be united with Him intimately, losing all feeling of separateness, to know Him and worship Him in love and devotion, such a man has a disability in respect of things of sense and a right to things of God, the holy name OM, the sacred formula Gāyatri, fire offerings, Vedic studies, and the

practice of Brahamachārya.[1] From the doing of good works good results ensue, be the doer a woman, a sūdra, or a Brahmin. In your Institutes of Manu it is said: 'The sūdra attains Brahminhood and the Brahmin falls into the condition of sūdra.' The Brahmin of evil life is a sūdra, and the sūdra, doing good works, is a Brahmin. One of the Upanishads says: 'Whoso knows God is a Brahmin.' 'Who sees at all times everything around filled with God is a Brahmin.' Judged by this test one Brahmin may be found in ten millions. The Yajur Veda[2] says: 'Proclaim these words of blessedness to the people, the Brahmin, the prince, the sūdra, to the friend and the stranger.' The plain intent of this text is that all should search the Vedas for God, the cream of all scriptures, and do good works. Let the outcaste 'Chandāla,' or one deemed lower even than he, study the Vedas and other scriptures, receive the true spirit thereof, and inspired by that spirit perform his duties, human and divine. To this there should be no hindrance. The invocation of God by His name OM, the Gāyatri-worship, the end whereof is the acquisition of that knowledge which reveals God, who is all-comprehending, complete, expressed as light, these constitute the true study of the Vedas. The Vedas are but a name for wisdom. The scripture which teaches truth, the person that teaches truth, should be accepted as the Vedas or wisdom. This true wisdom, filling all things, within and outside of you, is one, and manifested to your sense as light. Guided by the true meaning of these words understand all things."

"It is written in the scriptures," added the Marwari, "by birth comes the sudra, by reason of the Sacraments one is called Dwija (twice-born), by scriptural studies one becomes a Vipra (learned man), he who knows Brahma, the Supreme Being, is a Brahmin. On birth

[1] The life of self-denying search after God.
[2] Bk. xxvi, v. 2.

a man has no notion as to the nature of the self or God; this condition is indicated by the word sudra. By purification and acquisition of knowledge he attains to the condition of 'Dwija' and 'Vipra.' When through love and devotion the individual sees God, uniting himself with that all-comprehending, complete Being, manifested as light, he is called a Brahmin. He may also be called in that condition Brahma."

"True," said Sivanarayan.

"To attain to that condition is the supremest good fortune," said Joykishen.

Another pundit who was present seemed not to understand, though he understood, and said: "How can a sudra be allowed to do the works of a Brahmin?"

"What is it that you call sudra?" asked Sivanarayan; "what substance is signified by that name? Is the physical or the subtle body or are the baser qualities of character or the evil acts of life called sudra? If the subtle body, without which the physical body is inert and unintelligent, then all creatures are equally sudra. If the soul be sudra, then all creatures are sudra. If the physical body be sudra all creatures cannot but be sudra, all physical bodies being equally composed of flesh, blood, bones, etc. In truth or substance creatures are not Brahmin, sudra, or any other caste. In reality the division into castes is a social convention, founded originally upon differences of individual qualities, habits, and occupations. In truth no caste exists. Whoso is gifted with good qualities and whose works are good is a Brahmin, one of an opposite character is a sudra. You can see for yourselves that one who is honoured to-day in Hindu society as a Brahmin is hated and despised to-morrow on becoming a Christian or Musalman, his very touch being avoided by Hindus as pollution. But what has he done? He has merely changed from the society of his birth to the society of his adoption, and with that

change has changed his habits and mode of life. His physical body, senses, and organs have undergone no change. What he was, the same he remains. The senses and organs continue to perform their proper functions, as ordained by God. This ordination can be altered by none. The eye alone will see, the ear hear, whatever the society to which a man is attached or the religion he professes. The soul is neither Hindu nor Christian nor Mahomedan, the name alone changes. You see it and understand it not, reaping the bitter fruits of unwisdom."

III.—Penitent Perverts.

"Should a Hindu convert to Christianity or Mahomedanism be taken back into the society of his birth?"

"Listen," said Sivanarayan, "with patience and decide with sober discrimination. The pure can communicate their purity to the impure. The pure tongue of fire can lap up all things foul into its own pure essence. The ocean receives all waters and remains unperturbed in its fulness. When the Hindus were pure and great they accepted all men, establishing them in the performance of duty. So long as the Hindus had vigour of mind and body, they looked on all alike. Even now, if there be a man amongst you pure and great as the fire or ocean he would receive into the Hindu fold all desirous of entering it, making them repeat the name of God, OM, as often as may be deemed necessary. But a weak man, overcome by the hesitancy of fear, will never venture to be righteous."

IV.—OM.

The Marwari asked, "What is OM, what is His appearance, where is He, has He a form or is He formless? If formless, He will not respond to sense or thought; if He has form, He will have the opposite characteristic."

"Saints and sages," said Sivanarayan, "have

expounded this subject as God moved them. I shall explain it to you so that having seen it in the world of sense you can apply the subtle significance to all things, within and outside, above and below. Of God in His attributeless, invisible aspect the name OM has not been imagined. Sages and saints have applied that name to Him in that aspect which is expressed as the universe, moving and stationary, and sometimes called the 'body' of God. Repeated uttering of this name constitutes an act of divine worship. In His expressed aspect, the root elements of that name are represented by the sounds *A, U, M,* which again represent Brahamā, Vishnu, Śiva, or the three forces or qualities, *rajas*,[1] *sattwa*,[2] and *tammas*,[3] accepted by philosophers. From these all things proceed, persist, and end in. Thinking of Him as creating the universe by His *rajas* energy He is called Brahamā, as preserving the universe by *sattwa* energy He is called Vishnu, and as destroying or withdrawing creation into Himself by His *tammas* energy He is called Śiva. Energy is visibly present as light. As presented to our consciousness Energy assumes seven forms or aspects. These seven are variously called in the scriptures the seven substances, the seven elements, the seven Rishis, the seven Vyāritis (amplifications) of Gāyatri, the seven case inflexions in grammar. With *ahankāra* (self-consciousness) added these seven are known as the eight *prakritis* or natures of things. Under the endless multitude of names these seven are seen. They are the perceptible earth, water, fire, air, ākāsa, the moonlight, and the sunlight. From the earth and water proceed flesh, bones, and blood, from the fire powers of digestion and speech, from the air the breath of life, from the ākāsa hearing, from the moonlight the mind which doubts and resolves, from the sunlight

[1] i.e. the outgoing impulse.
[2] i.e. illuminating or intelligent influence.
[3] i.e. destroying or inhibiting influence.

the powers of sight and discrimination. From light in the last-named form comes the understanding of the Vedas, the Bible, the Puran, the Koran, and all other scriptures of the world. By association with this light all temporal and spiritual actions are performed. All that moves or is stationary, the female and the male, have proceeded from this sevenfold manifestation of OM. The female and the male being alike OM have equally the privilege of using that sacred syllable in invocation. In the Brahmin's daily prayer the OM is invoked as female: *Om āyāhi varade devi*, etc."[1]

"I do not know, my lord," said the Marwari, "if I have correctly received your teaching. The seven-formed OM constitutes the body of God. Are these seven different persons or one and the same person?"

"Make your mind one-pointed," continued Sivanarayan, "and listen with attention. He is not seven, He is one. To external vision the seven appear as in your body different powers or faculties of sensation and action. You hear with the ears, see with the eyes, and so forth. The one organism called the body is thus seen differently by external vision, that is, by confining the attention to what seems from outside. But the conscious agent who perceives the body or presides over the operations of the senses and faculties is the individual You, one and indivisible. Similarly, although the seven are perceived by you externally the One Supreme Being is self-existent, comprehending all things in Himself. As you, through each limb, sense, and faculty, perform the work appropriate to each, so does He. By water He cools and by fire He heats, and not the reverse. As you, the conscious agent, perceive the pleasure or pain or any other disturbance connected with every organ and faculty, so does He, the Indweller and Regulator of the universe, knows all things and shows all things to individuals by

[1] "OM, come thou goddess, giver of boons."

promptings from within. As you are supreme in your body so in this manifested universe the light is supreme. At the rising and the setting of light, which is the supreme eye, bow down to the all-comprehending Supreme Being and constantly invoke Him by uttering inwardly His name OM. He will understand and mercifully unite you to His external manifestation, which is light, and inwardly you shall dwell in the indescribable, unindicatable Supreme Being, in everlasting joy. The loving child bows down before his parent's eye. The parent knows 'This is my beloved child bowing down before me.' He answers love with love. So acts God to all who worship Him before light, the divine Eye."

V.

"Sages have taught different doctrines in different scriptures. Which shall we accept and which reject? Certitude of conviction nowise comes to us."

"All your doubts will disappear if you search after substance. Examine with discrimination what substance or truth there is in the universe beside which all else is unsubstantial, untruth. Thus discriminating hold your thoughts steadfast in the all-comprehending Supreme Being, manifested as light—the Truth, Substance, or Reality. If every man on earth preached a doctrine different from the rest, that Being will neither increase nor grow less or otherwise undergo any change. He will be what He is. Consider how many doctrines have, in the march of time, appeared on earth and disappeared from it. The force of doctrines has not nor will bring into existence even a blade of grass. The Supreme Being is the same through beginningless time. In the formless, attributeless aspect He is what He is; in the other aspect, comprehending the endless variety of forms, He is manifested as light. In the forms of earth, water, fire, air, ākāsa, light, moon, and sun, you all persist ever the

same. Rishis, Munis, Pirs, Paigambars, Jesus Christ, and all the other incarnations of every race and faith cannot make Him grow more or less. Doctrines may be uttered by the mouth or written down in scriptures; the One will never be many. It therefore behoves all men, princes, and peasants, with discrimination to establish their minds on what is—the Truth; and thus established to fulfil their duties, temporal and spiritual. Thus will man's troubles be ended. The Truth is but another name for the Supreme Being, all-comprehending, and expressed as light. In His two aspects afore-mentioned He is complete and all-inclusive. He being accepted all errors and doubts will vanish. It is not necessary for man to accept or reject doctrines. From one view-point all doctrines are the same. It is palpable to your senses that men of all doctrines dwell upon the same earth, by the same fire they all fulfil their fleshly needs, the same air is the life-breath of all, with the same light they all see to perform the work of life. Can God alone be different according to the difference of doctrine? Why do you fall into error? Cast aside all thoughts of glory and disgrace, triumph and defeat, pride, and selfishess, and with peace at heart and sobriety of understanding search out the Truth or Reality, and all errors will end."

"My lord," said one, voicing the thoughts of all present, "you have spoken the words of truth. We ought to receive them as such, and if God has mercy on us we shall so receive them."

VI.

"Should women be educated? Some say this is an imperative duty, while others condemn it, as generating pride and other evil tendencies in women."

"Judge, you all present, with sobriety and calmness. That education generates evil tendencies in women is a mistake. If education led to such results in women,

why should it be different in the case of men? Education should, therefore, be condemned in both. You can all see that among men there are countless numbers with evil tendencies. Such tendencies flow from the corrupt natures of individuals. Education invigorates conscience, renders patience, sobriety, and steadfastness active. And these in their turn by degrees eradicate the tendencies for evil.

"It is the duty of the State and the individual to establish and promote the education of women. Educated women can properly bring up their children, and fulfil with discrimination all other temporal and spiritual duties. If for any reason the husband is prevented from maintaining the family, an educated wife becomes an efficient substitute. If widowed, she can be the stay of her infant children. Without education she is helpless and often driven to mean occupations or to the path of sin, losing all opportunities for temporal or spiritual advancement. Consider the European woman and her helpfulness to husband and family. You will always find educated labour more profitable than uneducated. With true education all will be well, and men and women, in harmony, spend their days in the fulfilment of their duties, temporal and spiritual. In the subtle qualities woman is man's superior. Under similar conditions a woman more rapidly advances in human and spiritual knowledge than man. Moved by selfishness, man shuts out knowledge from woman, lest male authority should suffer. But God's law is different; all creatures should have full liberty to serve Him by the fullest development of all the faculties by God's hand planted in their breasts."

"True, my lord," said the pundit, "if we can only agree among ourselves."

VII.

"Is child marriage to be preferred to marriage in maturer years?"

"Listen with undisturbed minds and decide with sobriety of thought and discriminating judgment. God should be worshipped with obedience, in accordance with His nature and laws as manifested to our sense and reason. To pluck a green mango is against God's law; such a fruit is not agreeable in taste nor wholesome in effect. Its seed does not germinate, or if, under unusual conditions, it does the growth is sterile or the fruit poor. If, on the other hand, the ripe fruit is taken, in obedience to God's law, it pleases the palate, nourishes the body. A vigorous tree grows from its seed, yielding sweet and strengthening fruit. Similarly, the children of immature parents are weak in body and mind, sickly and short-lived. Opposite characteristics are inherited from parents of maturer years and understanding. Such is God's purpose. Let children, between 5 and 20 years of age, be well instructed in their human and divine duties. Let their minds be established on the all-comprehending Being, manifested as light, and let them accept the social discipline of obedience to elders in years and understanding. Thus acting, men reach the happiness God is ready to bestow on all."

"We ought to accept your words with our hearts and obey them in our acts," said the hearer.

APPENDIX II.

In the course of his wanderings many instances of fraud, practised by holy ascetics and learned Brahmins, in the name of religion, came under Sivanarayan's notice. Some of these are set forth here, names being suppressed for obvious reasons. An examination of the narratives shows that the ignorant superstition of the people is the chief confederate of priestly imposition and holy rascality. Derisive amusement and heartless ridicule are the only consolers of the victim of misplaced confidence. Naturally he hides his fate from his neighbours, who are too timid and lazy to punish the wrong, and too cruel to sympathize with suffering.

There is no power in the universe which is or can be outside of God. None may wrest the end from the means appointed by Him thereto or achieve an end, except by the means rendered appropriate by Him. He heats by fire and cools by water. The work of the one He does not perform by the other, His laws none can transcend; what men call miracles are also subject to His laws. Why should He allow a miracle without an adequate cause? Those alone fall into error and are deceived whose faces are turned away from Him. Those who seek refuge in the Supreme Being manifested as light find wisdom which removes all errors and establishes man in the supreme joy as joy itself. Of this, doubt there is none.

The holy impostor, taking advantage of some temporal or spiritual weakness of the beholder, shows false miracles for his own gain or glorification, or to serve some equally selfish end. The ensuing narratives make this clear. But on reflection it will be evident that of all things God alone

is the master. As nothing is outside of Him, in Him all things are equal. If glory really exists it must be His form, quality, or power; transcending Him no glory is or can be, anywhere or at any time. As the all-comprehending glory He is eternally self-existent. To leave Him in search of glory is folly. Looking to the world's good, He bestows on an individual all powers necessary for the work assigned to him. In this there is nothing strange or miraculous. An unfaltering, loving faith in Him compasses the temporal and spiritual end of existence, without any ceremonial display. Without His mercy nothing can be accomplished. If He be merciful there is nothing to obstruct His mercy. None can deceive him whose refuge is God. He being found all ends are gained, all wants fulfilled.

I.—Milk from Wine.

In the midst of incantations and other deceptive ceremonies, pills of pounded *sāti*[1] rice are secretly introduced into the bottle of liquor. The bottle shaken, the liquid assumes a milky colour before the beholder's eyes. The holy rogue is worshipped as a god, and God is forsaken.

II.—Manufacturing Gold.

A hollow pellet of cow-dung or ground charcoal is filled with a bit of very inferior gold. Concealing this on his person, the artful sannyāsi, while preparing his chillum (earthen smoking-bowl) with ganja (*Cannabis indica*) or tobacco, inserts it in the bowl. The smoking finished, the bowl is emptied so that his host can see the contents, and the holy man takes leave. The simple-minded householder notices the gold, and attributes it to the blessings of Siva, whom, he is convinced, he has entertained unaware in the form of the sannyāsi. With humble

[1] A red rice from Behar.

prayers and earnest solicitations the wise ascetic, lingering at no great distance, is brought back to the house and worshipped in due form. His fame spreads and gives him the desired opportunity to steal valuables and not unfrequently to defile hospitable households.

Sometimes the sannyāsi promises to double all gold and silver things brought to him. The piece of cloth with its ends tied into a knot, and hanging from his shoulder as a bag (*jhuli*), contains hollow earthen balls. Into one or more of these, through suitable openings, are introduced the articles to be doubled. The sannyāsi and his host shut themselves up in a room to worship the balls, containing the articles, with proper rites and ceremonies. While the host, as instructed, meditates with closed eyes empty balls are substituted for those originally used. The worship ended, the sannyāsi departs leaving strict injunction not to disturb the balls till the following day, when the promise will be fulfilled and the articles doubled. The injunction is followed, and the credulous householder loses what he had in the hope of getting more.

If the conditions are favourable the sannyāsi in watching the balls through the night disappears with all he can collect, cutting a hole, if necessary, through the mud floor or the wattle walls.

III.—The Living Lingam.

One day two sannyāsis came to see Sivanarayan. Each was clad in a scanty loin-cloth, besmeared all over with ashes, and a bag, formed by the ends of a piece of cloth being tied together in a knot, hung from the shoulder of each. After some conversation one of them, saying that the swāmi (meaning Sivanarayan) ought to be shown the living *lingam*, produced from his bag an iron ring, a magnet, and a piece of stone, to which was given the name Siva. He laid the iron ring on the ground and placed the stone on it. Sitting down at a little distance

he commenced washing the magnet and said: "O lord Siva, in mercy come forward so that thy glory may be seen of all." Owing to the unevenness of the ground Siva fell down and the ring moved towards the magnet, to the shame and discomfiture of the sannyāsis. Sivanarayan said to them: "If you wanted Siva to move, why did you not select a smoother surface? But your intention was evil, injurious to yourselves and others. Do not harm people by such deceptions." The sannyāsis left, tongue-tied with shame.

IV.—The Divine Script.

A sannyāsi and his disciples came to the house of an educated Bengali gentleman at Bhowanipur and prophesied imminent calamity to him and his sons. "If you do not believe," he continued, "try a test. Write this question on a piece of paper, burn it, and put the ashes in my hands." This was done, and the sannyāsi rubbed the ashes on the palms of his hands, which were then carefully washed and shown to those present. To the terror and amazement of all, on one hand the writing was distinct, "*Sighra Mrityu*" ("Death impending"). Doubt was no longer possible, and the sannyāsi was earnestly entreated to remove the evil. Propitiated by much solicitation, he caused a question to be similarly written inquiring as to the means of averting death. The same course was followed as before, but the ashes were placed on a disciple's hand. This time the writing on the palm promised removal of the evil on payment of Rs. 100—to the sannyāsi. The money was paid, and the sannyāsi gave his blessings.

The secret of the mysterious writing was subsequently discovered. Being in the juice of the Indian fig (*vata*) the writing became as it dried invisible. When rubbed the ashes stuck to the gummy juice, and brought out the writing on the hands being washed.

V.—The Bleat of a Goat's Ashes.

A Raja of Upper India fell under the influence of some Brahamachāris. He looked upon them with feelings of profound respect and veneration. They induced the Raja to undertake a fire-ceremony (*yajna*) in which a goat, immolated in the fire, would, by supernatural agency, bleat from its ashes. The fireplace was built and a shed erected over it, under the guidance of the Brahamachāris, whose quarters were constructed just behind the shed and touching it. Admission to these quarters was strictly prohibited to all. On the appointed day the fire-ceremony was celebrated with much pomp and display. The goat was sacrificed, the body cut up and consigned to the fire. The chief of the Brahamachāris repeated many holy texts and called upon the invisible goat to bleat. Wonderful to relate, the muffled bleat of a goat was heard by all present, who immediately prostrated themselves before the holy men and blessed their stars and of their ancestors for the miracle they had witnessed. The chief slapped the Raja's back, and said that by his spiritual powers he had rescued from torments the seven ascendents of the Raja. A promise was also given to save the three lines of the Raja's connection—father's, mother's, and father-in-law's. The Brahamachāris were worshipped with divine honours and rich gifts.

The Raja's son loved truth and had a balanced mind. None but God, he was convinced, had power to call the dead back to life, to create, preserve, or destroy. All powers were His. Moved by this conviction he endeavoured to find out the true explanation of the apparent miracle. He pushed aside the resisting Brahamachāris and forced his way into their sanctum. Inside he saw a heap of loose earth by the side of a pit, from which emerged a man with a living goat. The pit was found to lead by a gallery to the neighbourhood of the fire, and the mystery was a mystery no longer. He

had the Brahamachāris seized and brought before the Raja, who in rage and humiliation wanted them to be killed." "To slay such as you," cried the Raja, "is a service to God. For to punish the wicked is to protect the good. But I forgive you this time. Such conduct, if repeated, will work you harm in this world and the next."

VI.—The Voice of the Divine Mother.

A Raja heard the voice of the divine Mother by the grace of a deceitful Brahamachāri. The customary water-pot was consecrated in the name of Mother Durga, and two bumble-bees were introduced into it along with the necessary mango twig before the earthen saucer was placed on the top. After performing worship in due form the Raja, under direction, made a libation of water on the saucer, causing the insects to hum the louder, and believed the noise to be the divine voice blessing him. In ecstasy the Raja granted the Brahamachāri a pension, which, together with the deception, still continues.

VII.—The Mortal's Vision of the Immortal.

A learned pundit, living in the odour of sanctity, for a fee of Rs. 500 promised to show a Hindu gentleman of Upper India the god Bhairav. The fee paid, he was led, in the depth of night, to a tree at the end of his village. By torchlight he saw on the tree a fearsome form which spoke to him. That was Bhairav, without doubt, and many gifts were placed at his feet. Enthusiastic over the vision vouchsafed to him he wrote to his brother, a Subadar in the native army, to come and be blessed likewise. The Subadar had by contact with men gained a greater knowledge of the world. He wrote home saying he would soon obtain leave, and requested all things to be kept ready against his coming. On his arrival he repaired by night to the appointed place under the pundit's direction.

"O lord Bhairav," prayed the pundit to the figure on the tree, "thy devotee has come for a sight of thee. By thy own merit forgive the evil in him and show thyself."

The figure remained silent. The Subadar promised an additional Rs. 200 for celebration of the worship. The pundit prayed: "O Bhairav, this is a devotee of great zeal. He has promised a further sum of Rs. 200 for thy worship. Be gracious to him and speak."

The Bhairav gave an unearthly yell. The Subadar, to be supremely blessed, desired to approach nearer and prostrate himself in adoration.

"Prostrate yourself here," said the pundit, trying to dissuade him; "draw no nearer, else he will be enraged."

"Let him come down from the tree, and I shall lay on his feet five coins of gold."

The influence of gold moved the pundit to pray: "O Lord of mercy, come down from the tree to bless this thy best of devotees."

The figure descended and stood at the foot of the tree. The Subadar whipped up his sword and went for the god, saying: "Declare who you are, or I cut you down."

The figure threw down from his head an inverted black earthen pot pierced with holes, discovered his features, and gasped for breath. Falling at the Subadar's feet the god cried for mercy.

"I am a barber," he sobbed out, "acting as the pundit directs; I am innocent, have mercy on me."

The pundit was seized, and kept a prisoner until he disgorged his ill-gotten gains.

VIII.—The Fasting Saint of Mozaffarpore.

A saint of great repute lived in a Raja's palace not far from Mozaffarpore. In addition to his saintliness he possessed good looks and physical strength. He had led the Raja to believe that he had for the twelve preceding years observed unbroken fast, and stopped the natural

functions for the removal of bodily refuse. Daily, with closed doors, he offered in the sacred fire large quantities of cream and fruit. The holy ashes he solemnly carried to the fields outside the town and buried them in a solitary spot. These ashes none dared touch for fear of the saint's curse. The saint passed his days in peace and the Raja in the contentment that piety brings. One day a dependant Talukdar came to the Raja and obtained permission to entertain the saint at his own home. This change of habitation caused no break in the even tenour of the saintly days. For the Talukdar nowise departed from the rules observed by the Raja in his treatment of the saint.

After some days very finely powdered croton seed was mixed with the cream brought to the unsuspecting saint, for his daily worship. The doors were closed as usual, and the saint engaged in his devotions. In a little while strange sounds from the room assailed the ears of the frightened attendants, watching outside, and many feet were running fast to carry news of the unwonted occurrence to the master of the house.

Hurrying to the spot the Talukdar shouted to the saint to open the door. There was no response. The door was forced, and the saint found on the floor in collapse from exhaustion. Suitable treatment was followed by recovery. In secret the Talukdar said to the saint: "My lord, if such practices are resorted to by men like you, what are we sinful householders to do? While there is life in the body it must be supplied with food as the lighted lamp with oil. When the lamp is out or the life goes back to its origin neither food nor oil is needed. Our duty it is to hold fast to the all-comprehending God, whose manifestation is light, and supply the reasonable needs of the body."

"True," said the shame-faced saint, "but neither prince nor peasant respects one without some such device."

"Never mind all that. My unabated hospitality is yours."

The saint was silent, and secretly left by night.

IX.—Laying Ghosts.

A Brahamachāri, on arrival, found a case of sickness in a well-to-do household. To the master of the house he diagnosed the disease as the work of ghosts. The necessary expenses arranged for, the Brahamachāri promised to let the household hear the sound of fighting between the domiciled ghosts and those commissioned by him to expel them. The patient was removed from the sick-room, which the exorcist filled with smoke and locked as he came out. The family collected outside to hear the din of war. None dared approach the room for fear of the unearthly combatants. In trembling hope they heard distinct thuds from the locked room. Throwing themselves at the exorcist's feet they glorified him, and rejoiced at their deliverance from such malignant spirits. In a little while the ghost-layer unlocked the room, and entering it by himself bolted it from within. Soon he came out with his belongings, which had been left inside. He informed the faithful crowd that the earth-bound souls had been sent to heaven, and departed with a handsome fee.

Subsequently he confessed that the supernatural agency invoked by him was but large-sized frogs let out from cloth-bags in his *jhuli* and hopping about under the influence of smoke.

X.—In Terror of Ghosts.

Not far from Mokameh on the East Indian Railway lived a Zemindar, rich and miserly. His spiritual guide, family priests, and generally his servants and dependants, felt injured by his niggardly life. Mysterious disturbances commenced in his house, which he had no difficulty in

attributing to supernatural agency. Bones and filth were scattered about nightly. Life became intolerable. Watches were set, within and outside the house, but the disturbances continued unabated. He turned to the family priest and begged him to sleep in the house, saying: "We are greatly terrified. Protect us from this dreadful visitation. Stay in the house. Ghosts dare not approach you." The priest consented. But after the first night he reported that the ghosts were very powerful.

"Last night," he continued, "they were actually carrying me, charpoy (stringed bedstead), and all right through the roof. With the help of many muttered formulæ I managed to return with the charpoy."

"Save me," said the Zemindar, putting on his head the dust off the priest's feet, "spare no expense."

His miserliness overcome by supernatural terrors, the Zemindar performed many expensive rites and ceremonies under the direction of his ghostly counsellor, but with no apparent effect on his invisible tormentors. As the last resort he invited to his house ascetics of note from Benares and Hardwar.

The priest with assistants took charge of entertaining the holy men, who, as the events would show, were too well pleased with the attention shown them. After preliminary examination that lasted some days the holy men declared that a large colony of ghosts had established itself in the house, and its dislodgement would involve considerable outlay. Fear loosened the miser's purse; the required ceremonies were performed, and the Zemindar's troubles ended. Restored to peace he dismissed the holy men with bountiful gifts.

But, it would seem, encouraged by the visitors' departure, the ghosts resumed their old practices. The Zemindar with his family passed their nights in the open fields. But the ghosts pursued him there. A well-aimed brickbat coming from a neighbouring cornfield smashed

the bowl of his hubble-bubble, scattering the fire on his bed. The same night he left with his family and retainers for Benares. After a short respite the old trouble recommenced. A visit to Hardwar led to no better results. Despair seized the Zemindar.

"Death is upon us," he said to his assembled household; "such sumptuous worship of gods and saints have failed to bring help. Let us go home and die." He returned to the house of his fathers prepared for the worst.

Sivanarayan was staying at Mokameh at this time. By his advice none were allowed to live in the house itself except those of the Zemindar's blood. All night they watched the house, within and without. Their labours were rewarded by the discovery of a confidential servant trying to throw strange things—human skull and filth—into the Zemindar's sleeping chamber. When questioned, the servant confessed that he had joined in the conspiracy at the instance of the family priest and other dependants of the Zemindar. The holy men were won over to the unholy cause, and the brickbat that smashed the smoking-bowl was aimed by priestly hands.

The Zemindar was constrained to spare his connections, but the others were expelled with ignominy.

GLOSSARY.

Aghori. A worshipper of Siva under the name Aghora. A sect of Sivite ascetics, supposed to be addicted to the most disgusting practices.

ākāsa. In Hindu philosophy space considered a material reality, of great tenuity. That element of existence which makes vibration possible, and prevents all matter being condensed into a single rigid drop.

āsan. A seat made of matting, skin, or cloth; the resting-place or abode of a wandering ascetic.

Asoka. The flowering tree *Jonesia Asoca.*

ātchālā. (Beng. *āt,* 'eight'; *chālā,* 'thatch.') A bungalow with eight thatches, i.e. having a doubled-hipped roof.

Auliya. (Arab. 'a companion.') A holy companion of Mahomed.

Babu. Distinctive appellation of a Northern Indian gentleman, equivalent to the French 'Monsieur.'

bael. The Indian wood-apple, fruit and tree (*Ægle marmelos*).

bāruni. A bathing festival in the Hindu month of Chaitra (March–April), when the moon appears in the 25th lunar mansion on the third day before she is at full.

Bhairav. (Skt. 'the terrible one.') A form of Siva.

bhāng. An intoxicating potion, having the leaves of the Indian hemp for its principal ingredient.

Bhārati. One of the ten monastic orders founded by Sankarāchārya.

Bhubaneswari. A name and form of Durga.

Brahamachāri. (Skt. *Brahma,* 'God'; *chāri,* 'practiser.') (1) One under training in perception of God in all things; (2) a celibate Brahminical disciple; (3) a neophyte attached to an ascetic order within the fold of orthodox Brahminism.

Brahmā. The first person of the Hindu trinity. God viewed as presiding over His creative energy, called *rajas.* Energy is often identified with the consciousness pervading it and the material basis resisting it, the distinction being regarded as purely intellectual.

charpoy. (Hind. *chār*, 'four'; *pai*, 'foot.') A bedstead formed by four upright posts, joined by horizontal bars, over which coarse tapes or rough strings are passed to make the bottom.

chhattra. (Skt. 'umbrella.') A religious hostelry.

dandi. (Skt. 'staff-bearing.') A generic designation of the monastic followers of Sankarāchārya.

dasnāmi. (Hind. *dasi*, 'ten'; *nāmi*, 'having name.') Monks with ten names or sub-orders, claiming Sankarāchārya for founder.

Dattātreya. (Datta of the family of Atri, a Vedic sage and one of the seven patriarchs.) An ancient Hindu sage said to have attained wonderful powers, and deified as an incarnation of Siva.

Devi. A goddess, especially Siva's consort, the many-named and many-formed Durga.

Ganesa. The god with a human body and an elephant's head and trunk, presiding over wisdom, and the remover of obstacles.

Ganja. Indian hemp (*Cannabis Indica*).

Gāyatri. The holy formula of the Brahmin's faith, said to epitomise the whole of the Vedas. It may not be uttered by a Sūdra without profanity, visited by dire penalties, temporal and spiritual. In substance it means: "We meditate upon the intelligence, expressed as light, the lord of all things, and the internal ruler of individuals."

ghāt. Masonry steps leading into a river or tank.

Giri. One of the monastic orders founded by Sankarāchārya.

Goraksha nath. Founder of a religious sect (circ. thirteenth century A.D.) aiming at a fusion of Buddhism and Hinduism.

gotra. Brahminical septs, claiming descent from different sages, named in the Vedas.

guru. Teacher, spiritual director.

halwa. A paste made of cooked flour, clarified butter, and sugar.

Hanumān. Rama's general, a monkey divinely born and gifted with miraculous powers. He is associated in the worship of Rama and also separately worshipped.

jatā. Matted hair, sometimes of great length, worn by ascetics, chiefly of the Sivite sects.

jhuli. A bag formed by tying into a knot the four ends of a piece of cloth, carried by religious mendicants, hanging from their shoulders.

Kabir. Founder of a religious sect in Northern India (c. 1450), non-idolatrous, monotheistic, and caste-less, taking recruits from Hindus and Moslems.

Kailas. The heavenly abode of Siva and his consort Parvati, situated on a peak of the mountain of that name in Tibet.

Kālighāt. In the suburbs of Calcutta, containing a famous shrine of Kāli.

Kāmākhyā. A name and form of Durga.

Madhvāchārya. Founder of a religious school of orthodox Brahminism (c. thirteenth century A.D.); maintained distinctness of soul and God, and salvation by devotion to the special incarnation Krishna.

Mahātmā. (Skt. *mahā*, 'great'; *ātmā*, 'soul': 'great soul.') A high-caste monk, specially of the Sivite sects.

maund. A measure of weight—80 lbs.

māyā. God's powers considered abstracted from the Divine substance, and therefore unreal; illusion, the phenomenal world.

Mohunt. (Hindi form of *moha*, 'illusion'; *anta*, 'end.') One for whom the illusions of life have ended; the head of a monastery.

mukti. Salvation by realising God.

Muktināth. A name and form of Siva.

muni. (Skt. 'a man of mind.') A Hindu sage devoted to spiritual knowledge.

Nāgās. A sect of mendicants noted for carrying weapons and for scantiness of clothing.

Nānak. Usually called Baba or Father Nānak, founder of the Sikh religion (fifteenth century A.D.); taught unity of God to be worshipped with purity of mind, action, beneficence, and non-idolatrous ceremonies.

nāt mandir. A dancing pavilion attached to a temple or idol-house.

neem. The tree *Melia Azad directa*.

nirākāra. (Skt. *nir*, 'privative'; *ākāra*, 'form.') Formless, applied to the unthinkable, transcendent aspect of the Deity.

nirguna. Attributeless, of similar application as the last.

Om. The mysterious Divine name; the verbal emblem of God.

Paigambar. (Arab. 'prophet.') Usually applied by Mahomedans to Mahomed, Christ, and the Jewish prophets.

Paramhansa. A monk who has attained the highest spiritual condition.

Pir. A Mahomedan saint.

Prakriti. The totality of God's powers, including the visible universe, but exclusive of the soul.

Puri. One of the ten monastic orders founded by Sankarāchārya.

Purusha. Person, sentience, soul.

Ramānanda. Pupil of Ramānuja, from whose teachings he departed by abolishing caste restrictions (q.v.).

Ramānuja. Founder of a school of Brahminical thought and a Vaishnava sect, worshipping the incarnation Rama (eleventh century A.D.). He taught that God with His twofold powers—matter and soul—was one, and should be worshipped with love.

Ramlilā. An open-air passion play, representing incidents in Rama's life, enacted on the lunar anniversary of his birth in the Spring.

Rishi. A sage who discovered a Vedic hymn which, being coeval with time, cannot have an author.

rudrāksha. The fruits of the *Elæocarpus ganitrus*, which, when dried, are used by the Sivite Hindus as beads for rosaries.

sādhu. 'A true man,' a monk, specially of the Vishnuvite sects.

saguna. 'Having attributes,' same as *sākāra* (q.v.) in another aspect.

sākāra. 'Having a form,' applied to the visible universe, animate and inanimate, considered as an aspect of God.

Sankarāchārya. (The teacher Sankara.) The great Brahminical revivalist and exegetist of the eighth century A.D. He taught the unity of Being, identifying in the order of existence or substance, considered apart from powers and attributes, God, Nature, and Soul.

sannyāsi. (Skt. a man of *sannyās* or renunciation.) A wandering religious mendicant, a monk of Sankarāchārya's order.

Sarvamangalā. (Skt. *sarva*, 'all'; *mangalā*, 'the beneficent one.') A name and form of Durga.

Sāvitri. Another name for Gāyatri.

shastra. Sacred writings of the Hindus, usually in Sanskrit.

Siva. The third person of the Hindu trinity, God presiding over His destructive energy, called *tamas*.

swāmi. 'Master' or 'sir,' distinctive name of all monks and friars.

swarupa. (Skt. *swa*, 'self'; *rupa*, 'form.') What an object of knowledge is in itself, independently of the knower's thoughts and perceptions.

Talukdar. A fief-holder under the State or a superior landlord.

tattwas. The elements into which, according to the Hindus, existence can be reduced in terms of the senses and faculties of cognition, e.g.: smell, earth; taste, water; sight, fire; touch, air; hearing, ākāsa; mind, moon; judgment, sun.

tripundra. Three upright bars, curved at the lower ends, painted on the forehead as a sectarian mark.

Vaikuntha. The heavenly abode of Vishnu.

Vaishnava. A worshipper of Vishnu.

Virāt. 'The Supreme King,' God as the universe and its Lord.

Vishnu. The second person of the Hindu trinity, God presiding over His preservative energy, called *sattwa*.

Vishnuswami. A Vaishnava religious teacher of Western India, and founder of a monastic order.

Viswanāth. An idol representing Siva, located in the celebrated temple at Benares.

Vyāhriti. 'Amplification' of Om prefixed to the Gāyatri, e.g. Om bhuh (earth), etc.

Zemindar. One holding land as full owner, subject to payment of revenue to the British Government.

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by Trina-Dhumagni

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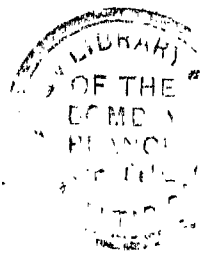
ADVERTISEMENT.

TOLKAPPIAM written by Saint Trina—dhumagni, the disciple of Agastya, the first grammarian of the Tamils, is the oldest Tamil grammar extant in the world. It is divided into three chapters, Eluttu, Col and Porul, corresponding roughly to what we may classify as Orthography Etymology, and Rhetoric. The first two chapters are concerned with Tamil grammar and are not therefore of universal interest. The third however treats of the contents and the conventions obtaining in the oldest texts of Tamil Literature which were available to that sage, and which unfortunately are lost to us for ever, and is interesting to us as affording an insight into the life, the aims and the aspirations of those ancient Tamils, whom we have the privelege of claiming to be our noble ancestors, of whose culture and civilization, there is not any other evidence documentary or epigraphical left to us. In its nine subdivisions, the Porul treats of the family life of the Tamils, their wars and their loves, stealthy union and wedded felicity, their fourfold objectives in life and their acheivements in the field of Law and Politics, Rhetoric and Metrics and Natural Science.

A vigorous attempt is herein made for the first time, to portray vividly the life of the ancient Tamils, by translating into English, this wonderful mine of information. The nine *Iyals* or chapters of Porulatikaram are being translated faithfully in their aphoristic setting and comments in English are added, based partly on older authority and partly on the conclusions arrived at independantly by this author. It is expected that the work will be completed in about 20 fasciculae of 48 pages, with an elaborate Introduction and notes. The *Akattinai iyal* is being taken now on hand and the Introductary and notes portions will be published towards the last.

Being ourselves the publishers, we do not wish to expatiate either on the importance of the work or on the



தொல்காப்பியம்.

TOL-KAPPIYAM.

பொருளதிகாரம்.

CHAPTER ON OBJECTIVES.

INTRODUCTORY

THIS chapter is the third in the most ancient and authoritative of the Tamil Grammars available-*viz.* Tolkappiam. The former two concerned themselves with Eluttu and Col, Orthography and Etymology, and having with their aid given us some insight into the forms of Tamil expressions and their significance, the author TRINADHUMAGNY proceeds to give us some account of the subject-matter of these manifold expressions which in main, in a particular setting constitute Literature. The subject-matter or significatory contents of these expressions would constitute the whole universe and this viewed from the standpoint of an oriental reflective analyst, would lend itself to the time-honoured division into the four-fold objects of human existence—*viz.* virtue, wealth, pleasure and bliss; so that this chapter, which within its purview seeks to treat of those subjects has come aptly to be rendered into a "Porulatikaram" or a "Chapter on Objectives."

These fourfold objects of human existence, again, from their modes of apperception, lend themselves but to a double classification. The Tamil seers felt that virtue, wealth and bliss when experienced by an individual was perceptible to people without, that the enjoyer

of these fruits was able to give expression to what he feels exactly, and so to convey an adequate idea of what he felt. They perceived also that "Love" was something elusive, that the enjoyer alone was able to feel it inwardly and that though thus perceived, his language failed him, when he attempted to recount what his experience was like. So, with their characteristic precision, they classified these objects into two divisions, one that was felt from within and the other which was perceptible from without, and so called them "AKAM" (inner) and "PURAM" (outer) life. We might however for convenience term them "Love" and "Life."

And this part which follows now busies itself with detailing the course of "Love" in a general manner.

அகத் திணை யியல்
The Nature of Love.

1. கைக்கிளை முதலாப் பெருந்திணை யிறுவாய்
முற்படக் கிளந்த வெழுதிணை யென்ப.

"Kaikkilai" as first and "Peruntinai" last
Primarily are reckoned seven Tinais, they say.

Kaikkilai first=*Kaikkilai* is one-sided unreciprocated Love; literally, vulgar undignified Love. It could also be interpreted as that kind of Love, which subsists among the lowly.

Peruntinai last=Literally, the great genus. *Perum* means "great" and *Tinai* means classification or "genus" *i.e.* the great variety of Love which has many sub-divisions. It could also be taken as the variety of Love, which prevails amongst the great.

Primarily are reckoned=This indicates that there is a secondary corresponding classification into seven Tinais or genera in the section on "Life" also.

Seven Tinais=Seven kinds of Love. Two have been mentioned above *viz.* the first and the last. The other five will be detailed later.

They say—i.e. the former grammarians. Nacchinarkkiniar would say that this refers to the sage "Agastya" the foremost and the first amongst Tamil Grammarians. Says he "They say,

refers to Agastya; learn also that these technical terms were fixed by Agastya."

To understand this section rightly, we have to remember the Samskritic classification of the eightfold marriage, into the Brahma, Prajapatya, Arsha, Daiva, Gandharva, Asura, Rakshasa and Paisaca forms. The Tamilian form of Love and marriage was mainly Gandharva. (cf. Tol. Porul. 92.)

This Gandharva form, being the favourite mode and the normal type of union amongst the Tamils, has been studied and developed exhaustively, and has come to be studied under five aspects and therefore goes under the name of *Aintinai* or five-fold love. Gandharva thus claiming for itself five out of the seven varieties of Tamilian Love, the other seven forms have been brought under the other two kinds *Kaikkilai* and *Peruntinai.*

Gandharva or Aintinai being the normal type, the other two should follow naturally as being abnormal types, at least according to the Tamilian reckoning, and they could admit of two varieties only as being either above or below the normal.

Below the normal is Kaikkilai and claims for its share, Asura, Rakshasa and Paisaca forms. In none of these three forms is to be found that mutuality of love, which obtains in the Gandharva form. Asura is a form of bride-purchase, in which the maiden's love is of no consequence. It is only the transference of the control or authority from the parent to the husband for a consideration. Rakshasa is forcible abduction and Paisaca is rape pure and simple. All these occur only among the lowly and the vulgar, in a society wherein an aesthetic

sense had not set its foot bringing in its train, nobler concepts of life and love, wherein brute force and sneaky advances only reigned and therefore have been appropriately brought under Kaikkilai. The great *Ilampuranar* thus explains its significance· "*Kai* occurs usually in the sense of inferiority. *Kilai* is relation. Thus, it means the relation subsisting between heroes and heroines devoid of greatness."

That above the normal is Peruntinai. And under this are brought Brahma, Prajapatya, Arsha and Daiva. These four forms of marriage occur only amongst the Brahmins, the great in the land, and thus perhaps also this came to be called the greater or superior love. It should also be noted, that this genus comprises four kinds of marriage and is on that account also the greater numerically. Ilampuranar supports the former explanation saying "Since Peruntinai occurs as being either greater or lower than the middle five Tinais which constitute mutual and equal love, since of the eight kinds of marriages, Brahma, Prajapatya, Arsha and Daiva come under this head, since all these four marriages occur among the superior class of people, and since these are counted to be superior usages in the land, it has been called the Peruntinai." Nacchinarkkiniar supports the latter argument saying "This came to be called Peruntinai, since this was the greatest of all Tinais. How? Since this embraces all alone, four kinds of marriage out of the eight varieties, whereas, Kaikkilai and the other five Tinais together constitute the other four." There is no mutuality as between the lovers in all these cases and therefore are they fitly brought under the "abnormal."

Thus the Tamilians recognised only three sorts of love and marriage, the normal, the superior and the inferior. The normal is detailed at large and has been described under five heads, and so has been styled the Aintinai. These along with the two abnormal types form the seven Tinais relating to Akam *i.e.* Love or subjective life.

This sevenfold classification of love or subjective life, suggested to the symmetry-loving Tamils, a similiar arrangement in Life *i.e.* Objective life also into seven modes of outer life, and these are the Vetchi (*ixora coccinia*), Vanci (*hiptage madablata*), Ulignai (*oerna lanatar*), Tumbai (*phlomis indica*), Vakai (*mimosa flectuosa*), Kanci (*ulmus integrifolia*), and the Patan Tinais. Of all these more later.

2. அவற்றுள்,

நடுவே ணைந்திணை நடுவண தொழியப்
படுதிரை வையம் பாத்திய பண்பே.

Of them
The middle five Tinais, the middlemost one excepted,
Of the roaring ocean-clad earth, form the sundered nature.

Of them = Of the sevenfold Tinais or modes of love and marriage.

The middle five Tinais = The five tinais as different from Kaikkilai the first and Peruntinai the last of seven tinais. They are called respectively: Mullai, Kurinci, Palai, Marutam and Neydal, as will be shown later.

The middlemost one expected = The middlemost one is Palai; therefore the four others.

Of the roaring ocean-clad earth = Land and water together constitute the world. Water consists of seas and oceans and the land is made up of continents. Differentiating water, we have land.

Form the undered nature = Constitute the distinctive nature. *i.e.* the four Tinais respectively denote land, which is divided according to its characteristics into four kinds of land *viz.*, mountain-land, forest, plains and the seacoast.

This aphorism discloses to us, how of the five modes of love, four are dependant on and accord with, the nature of the land. To appreciate it fully, we have to remember the varying nature of the soil of the earth around us, which is divisible physically into forests, mountains, plains and the coast, each of which division favours a particular love-action. These divisions have been called by the Tamil seers, by the name of the most prominent flower of the region. The forestland wherein jasmine thrives so luxuriant has been accordingly styled the Mullai, or the jasmine. The mountainous region has been perhaps for a similar reason called the Kurinji, the plains Marutham, and the coastland the Neydal. The middlemost one which has been excepted in the aphorism, is the desertland, or more properly the dreary dread waste, the land of perils, and has been styled the Palai. The love-actions that accord with these regions are respectively wooing, secret union and all incidents connected therewith for Kurunji, separation for Palai,

patient waiting for Mullai, pining for the absent lover for Neydal, and love-quarrels and sulking for the Marutham. Readers will note how the Saint gives a classification of the whole world, thereby indicating that this work would govern literary usages, the world over. It does not profess to lay down the usages of the Tamil country alone, as Tamil scholars ordinarily assume.

3. முதல்கரு வுரிப்பொரு ளென்ற மூன்றே
நுவலுங் காலை முறைசிறந் தனவே
பாடலுட் பயின்றவை நாடுங் காலை.

The essential, the surrounding and fitting action,
these three alone
When in poetry depicted, are superior successive
When the contents of songs are carefully scanned.

The essential = The elements essential for the happening of any occurrence *viz.* time and space.

The surrounding = This refers to the environment or the incidents of the land, the fauna and the flora and the life of the people therein.

Fitting action = That particular kind of love-action or warfare, which accords with the nature of the land and therefore is prominently to be perceived in the land.

These three alone = These are the three sub-divisions, under which is to be considered any given piece of poetry.

When in poetry depicted = The author bases his observations on an analysis, which he has effected, of the contents of Tamil poetry, since grammar is based only on a substratum of current literature.

Are superior successive=Environment is superior to the essential, and action superior to the environment, and so serve to define the Tinai to be attributed to any song.

When conten's—scanned=The author declares how he has been careful to base his observations on usages honoured by the practice of the elder poets. By the expression songs, the author indicates how this classification holds good in the case of the chapter on " Life " also.

This aphorism effects a further division of the fourfold land. All incidents must happen necessarily conditioned by space and time. The land is necessary, since, we treat of incidents and things happening in this world. Time is also necessary, since any event that occurs, is bounded within its ever-rolling cycle. The land we have already seen is divided into four kinds. The unit of time is the year which similarly is divided into six seasons. All the seasons occur equally in all the divisions of space, but there is a particular season and time, in which, Nature in a particular setting, appears beautiful and sublime. The essential therefore refers to that particular division of the eternally rolling time-wheel, which most sets off the particular division of space, wherein the plot of any poem is depicted as occurring.

The land again is not something bare and bleak. It has its own characteristic fauna and flora, its own geological structure and its own geography. Its climate, natural resources and aspect, lend something of their own energy to the character of its denizens and their manners and modes of life similarly undergo an

imperceptible, but none the less decided change. The Tamilian seers have therefore bestowed serious and devout attention to considering these particulars also and they bring under this head, the surrounding, the food or the cultivated products of the land, its fauna, its trees, birds, the drum and the music characteristic of the land, the occupations, its special flowers, rivers and towns. These various particulars have their own influence in the shaping of men's traits and habits, and that the Tamils of the age of Tolkappiar and Agastya should have made such a careful analysis, is itself a tribute to the genius of the Tamil race.

Nor is it all Nature in its static mood, "idle as a painted ship upon a painted ocean." Activity is the life and the being of man, and his actions are as diverse and numerous, as the number of individuals inhabiting this earth. But as we have observed before, the geography of a country tends in a large measure to modify men's impulses and generally to give a distinct tone to all their actions. Thus, the incidents that occur in a particular clime always assume a uniform and distinct shape. So that, "fitting action" must refer to that action which is most appropriate to a given region, as being one which its geographical or natural position has imperceptibly, yet definitely, prescribed for it.

This classification refers to both "Love" and "Life" as the author has chosen cautiously to word it, as applying to all poetry generally. That love-actions are determined to a large extent and heightened by Nature all round, which serves as an excitant, is something admitted by Samskritic rhetoricians also. The Tamil seers go a little way further and postulate that Nature has its excitant or calming influence also on war and

"Life" generally other than "Love". The frowning cliffs abounding in dense forests on which is reared an ancient fortress, affords chances for the youthful lover to steal an embrace from his beloved and so fans up his passions, whilst the same environment must to a heroic soul serve to fire instinctively his ambition and lead him to covet and therefore to march against those virgin battlements.

These particulars will be determined and dwelt on later.

4. முதலெனப் படுவது நிலம்பொழு தீரண்டின்
இயல்பென மொழிப வியல்புணர்ந் தோரே.

The essential is of both land and the time
The inherent nature, say the discerning seers.

The essential—i.e., the land and seasons appropriate.

Of both—nature = Is the nature of the region and the time in which a certain incident is depicted.

Say—seers = Those ancients who have truly observed and discerned the essential or true nature of both land and seasons.

This aphorism postulates how the essential is concerned with the depiction of the proper regions and the seasons that are appropriate. By "appropriate" we mean, the season when Nature appears most beautiful and sublime, in which it is able to inspire with its full influence the hearts of men. Since the author speaks of the inherent nature, it is possible to surmise that he was aware also of how artificially atmospheric and regional conditions could be altered. He thus allows room

for the happening and therefore of their depiction in poetry, of incidents that are not really peculiar or appropriate to the season and which occur freakishly consequent on the freakishness of men generally and nature also occasionally.

5. மாயோன் மேய காடுறை யுலகமும்
சேயோன் மேய மைவரை யுலகமும்
வேந்தன் மேய தீம்புன லுலகமும்
வருணன் மேய பெருமண லுலகமும்
முல்லை குறிஞ்சி மருதம் நெய்தலெனச்
சொல்லிய முறையாற் சொல்லவும் படுமே.

The forestabounding world, where darkhued
Vishnu abides,
The dark mountainworld, where the ruddy
Kumara sports,
The sweet-watered world, where the lordly Indra
stays,
And the widesanded world, which Varuna rules,
Mullai, Kurinji, Marutam and Neydal respectively,
As enumerated here, are also duly treated.

The forest-abounding—abides = Forestland forms one out of the four regions, into which earth is divided and its president deity is Lord Vishnu, the dark-hued Lord of protection.

The dark—sports = Similarly the mountainous region has for its patron deity, the redhued Subrahmanya.

The sweetwatered—stays = The well-watered plains abounding in fields which their streams help to fertilize and lands where the worship of Indra obtains.

The wilesanded—rules=Similarly Varuna wields his protective sway over and is prayed unto in the seacoast or littoral land where high sandy mounds are formed by the raging seas.

Mullai—respectively=These are the arbitrary names assigned to these regions by the ancient grammarians, who called the forestland Mullai, the mountainland Kurinji, the plains Marutham and the seacoast Neydal.

As—here=In the order of enumeration herein observed, *i e*, in the order of Mullai, Kurinji, Marutham and Neydal.

Are also treated=By poets in composing their works, this order is also observed. The "also" indicates, how some poets have chosen to observe a different order in their treatment.

The fourfold land and its varied nature are dealt with in this aphorism. There is the forestland first, affording an immense pasturage providentially designed for the rearing of cattle, an occupation which gave rise to the race of shepherds. The patron deity of these woods is the protective Lord of Worlds, God Vishnu who incarnated amongst them, was born a cowherd, benevolently protected them from tyrannical oppression, performed many miracles and was worshipped by them in return. This shepherd race is a tribe which made an honest living by a very innocent calling, that knew no harm to either man or beast and is it any wonder then, that such innocence and purity should be reflected in their happy domestic lives also? The proverbial felicity of a pastoral life is one of worldwide and age long

experience. From the perfume that such chaste households breathe, the wedded love of the proud chaste housewife, who patiently awaits her absent lover uncomplaining with a love-begotten faith in her lord came itself to be called the "jasmine," a flower which blossoming in the unespied corners of a bower in the midforest, sends forth its perfume far and wide and wooes the admiration of even a stranger and wins his unstinted praise, a flower indicative of all auspiciousness and prosperity. The loveaction in this region is patient waiting on the part of the chaste wife and the hastening of the lover from distant realms with a love-lent speed.

Next comes the mountainland, of which Kurinji, the most prominent flower therein, is the technical name. The land is a mountain fastness. Hardly any of the richer vegetation could grow there. Its wealth consists in the mountain forests, their timber and their wild animals. The elephant yielded its tusks, which found a ready sale in the distant Italian markets. "As when one stains *Indian Ivory* with crimson dye— such hues her maiden features showed" sings Virgil describing Lavinia. (Aenead XII. 67). But these beasts, to yield their flesh for food and their tusks for gold, had to be killed first and this live necessity trained the people here to be a gallant race of valiant hunters and hillmen, whilst the bare bleak rocks and the frowning crags around imparted some of their own ferocity to their character. And the God of such valiant heroes was naturally Muruga, the ever-youthful God of war, who chose his wife from among the women of this tribe and abode eternally in all mountain heights. The loveaction pertaining to this land is stealthy courting and illicit union, the stealthy guilty nature of their loves partaking of the lawlessness of the region around.

Next in order came the plains with their prosperous cities and towns, The many streams and reservoirs which the everbenevolent God of Showers, Indra kept flooded, kept the rich fields ever smiling with plenteous harvests. The men had simply to plough up and prepare their fields and turn up their flooding sluices unto them and the land blossomed with its wealth of grains. A fertile soil and plenteous showers reared a race of cultivators free from care and they lived like gods, cultivating the land and the fine arts alongside of each other. The Muses came down from their heights and abode with them. And they adored the Lord of Gods, Indra who was also the Showerer of waters and kept constant festival. The loveaction appropriate to this clime is sulking on the part of the housewife, who is angered at the husband's having spent the previous night in the company of a courtezan or a Mistress—that inevitable product of all material prosperity and a maddeningly luxurious city-life.

The last and the least profitable of lands was the seacoast. It was a dreary waste of sandy mounds, that met the eye of the dweller here. No vegetable matter would take root in this soil and the coastman was thus inevitably driven to the sea. It was a precarious existence that fell to the lot of the poor fisherman, who despite the raging waves, the frightful storms and the muchdreaded sharks and whales, had daily to march ahead of the breakers and return home with his barge full of fish, which he bartered away for his necessities. It is here really that,

" Men must work and women must weep
And there's little to earn and many to keep
Though the harbour bar be moaning."

(Ch. Kingsley. *The Three Fishers.*)

But they kept up a brave face in spite of all these and celebrated on the sands on the days of the newmoon and the fullmoon, the worship of Varuna, The Lord of Oceans, the Indian Neptune, who they believed kept up the proper boundaries of land and ocean and so came in a mystic way to be the Lord of Justice also. That with the Rigvedic Aryans this same Varuna was the much-dreaded Lord of Truth, who with his noose, bound the sinful, might also be noted. There also he is the Lord of Justice and truth. The prevailing loveaction here is pining for the lover, who had hasted on his perilous quest braving the gales. No poet was ever truer than Ch. Kingsley, when he wrote describing the life of these poor fishermen, how,

> " Men must work and women must weep
> Though storms be sudden and waters deep
> And the harbour bar be moaning."
>
> (*The Three Fishers*)

We have thus in a rather cursory way described the fourfold regions of the earth, their primary inhabitants, and also their appropriate loveactions. But they are not watertight compartments each clinging steadily to its denizens, particular practices and modes. These climes often abut one upon the other and the denizen of one tract is not proscribed by any law from entering into the other. Similarly might the loveactions stray into stranger abodes. A hunter enriched by the gold, his forest tuskers had yielded, or a hillsman conspicuous for his valour, might be received at the court by the king, honoured and stationed near his person and so become transformed into a nobleman of the city. His wife in the city might await his return with patience, her tresses inlaid with Jasmine, whenever he goes abroad

bound on the king's errand. Nor would the nature of the land prevent young fishermen and maids from wooing each other by the Gnalal-fragrant strand. The aphorism brings out only the main incidents of each region, the race and tribe which were reared within its bounds, the traits to be found in those races and the mode of love-action that was characteristic of and prevalent in those climes. Therefore does the author often appeal to the discerning seers, who knew the nature of things.

"As detailed here, are also treated" says Tolkappiar in the last line, referring to the arrangement of loveactions into those of Mullai, Kurinji, Marutam and Neydal in the order of their relative importance or superior virtuousness. It may be as Nacchinarkkiniar says, that chastity being the mainstay of all domestic virtues and the preserver of the hearth and the home has been mentioned first. Kurinji or courtship is the loveaction, which precedes all others in point of time and is the herald of marriage and wedded state and so is considered next. Marutam or the sulky state serves to bring out the high pride and the fidelity of the wife—she is angered most being wronged most, and the grievousness of the offence is in direct proportion to her own love—and so is placed next. Neydal is pining, grievous mourning after the lord who had graceless deserted her and as serving to depict a melancholy state of things where neither the maid nor her lover appears in a favourable light is suitably mentioned last.

But the author also affords us information, that there is no prescribed rule of precedence in the *tinai*-mention. Tolkappiar himself violates this order in his 14th aphorism, where he declares the love-actions in the

order of stealthy union, parting, patient waiting, pining, and sulking. The later poets have treated this Aintinai in no order in particular. The following is an analysis of their treatment.

AINKURUNURU	MAR	NEY	KUR	PAL	MUL
KALITTOKAI	PAL	KUR	MAR	MUL	NEY
AINTINAI 50	MUL	KUR	MAR	PAL	NEY
TINAIMALAI 150	KUR	NEY	PAL	MUL	MAR
TINAIMOLI 50	KUR	PAL	MUL	MAR	NEY
AINTINAI 70	KUR	MUL	PAL	MAR	NEY
KAINNILAI	KUR	PAL	MUL	MAR	NEY
IRAIYANAR	KUR	NEY	PAL	MUL	MAR
NARKAVIRAJA	KUR	PAL	MUL	MAR	NEY
VIRASOLIYAM	MUL	KUR	MAR	PAL	NEY
MARANALANKARAM	KUR	PAL	MUL	MAR	NEY
ILAKKANAVILAKKAM	KUR	PAL	MUL	MAR	NEY

Ahananuru, Kuruntokai, and Narrinai do not observe any order and have strung their verses indiscriminately.

We observed before how these natural divisions of land came to be named after the most prominent flowers of the region. But it is clear from the ancient texts that there was a definite language of flowers. We know how the Jasmine from its abode in the bower in the midforest, sent forth its arresting fragrance to the world without and so made its sweet mild influence felt, how on that analogy it came to signify the chaste life of the lady of the house who by her hospitality, devotion and piety shed her radiance far and wide and how therefore Jasmine came to signify chastity and the patient uncomplaining stay of the wife at home awaiting the arrival of her lord. The dark-blue Kurinji blooming on the hills and covering the entire hillslope visible from afar, came similarly to denote the guilty loves of the young

people, which though secret becomes a gossip in the village. Marutam with its oppressively strong scent denoted likewise the exuberance of the unbridled passions of the townsmen which begets the sulking and came later to denote the effect rather than the cause. Neydal stood for grieving, as in the term Neydarparai, which meant the funeral drum. Thus in,

"Vaster than the earth, farther than heavens,
Deeper than the unfathomed deep is my love
Towards that lord of hills, where the busy bee
Distills honey from flowers of the strong-boughed
Kurinji"
(Kuruntokai 3).

the ladylove, desirous of revealing to her maid how far her courting had advanced, refers to her lover as the lord of Kurinji hills, thereby indicating how they had enjoyed stolen pleasures. So too we have,

"He wedded me of old in that dear long moonlit hour—
The king of men, loving, embraced me then, and today
The Jasmine on my curls, unsullied spreads its fragrance."
(Kuruntokai 193.)

Jasmine denotes here wedded love and chastity.

6 (a). காரு மாலையு முல்லை.

Early winter and dusk are for Mullai.

Early winter = The season of occasional showers, constituting the months of Avani and Purattasi, two months from the middle of August to mid-October.

Dusk=The first four hours of the night.

Are for Mullai=Are the appropriate season and hours when Mullai presents its most fascinating nature.

This aphorism describes the appropriate season and hours of the day for the several *tinai* incidents. The year with the orientals is divided into six seasons *viz.*, winter, autumn, the season of early snows, the season of later snows, spring and summer, claiming each a period of two months, beginning with July. The day is similarly divided into six divisions of ten Indian hours, or four hours each.

Winter and dusk have been posited to be the most appropriate season and hour for Jasmine. This is the season when the minds of the youthful are drawn fondly towards thoughts of love, when the wandering merchant, the soldiers warring in a distant clime, and all sojourners abroad generally haste back to their domestic hearth and are reunited to their beloved ones. H. H. Wilson observes in the course of his comments on the Cloud Messenger of the great Kalidasa, " The commencement of the rainy season being peculiarly delightful in Hindusthan, from the contrast it affords to its immediately preceding sultry weather, and the refreshing sensations it excites, becomes to the lover and poet, the same source of love and tenderness as the season of spring is to the young and the poetical in Europe." It is the dusky evening in winter that is Mullai's proper hour and season. The atmosphere then is cool and most favourable for the march and as the lover hastes home, he espies all winged creation wooing their mates to their sides with plaintive yet melodious cries, the shepherd youth

returning with his cattle homeward, his head wreathed in Jasmine, which the blossoming bowers had yielded, and his heart feels strangely enthralled, drawn towards his expectant chaste wife.

It might also be noted that winter is pre-eminently the season and dusk the blooming hour for Jasmine.

"The Mullai buds have blossomed in the bower,
The grovelands have put on their festal winter robes,
And he does not come, who afore caused my bright jewels
To glide from their spots. The eventide is come to rob me of my all!"
(Kuruntokai 188.)

Here occur winter showers, evening, groveland, and Jasmine and all pertaining to the mullai region.

It might also be noted that Kalidasa, the supremely gifted Poet of Nature, puts his Meghaduta, which treats of the lovepangs of parted lovers, in the Mullai season. The first cloud heralding early winter is seen (Megh. I. 2); the wild Jasmine—Kutaja—has blossomed (Megh. I. 4) and the lover anxious to assuage the heart of his beloved sends the message.

6 (b). குறிஞ்சி,
கூதிர் யாம மென்மனுர் புலவர்.

Kurinji has
Late winter and midnight, say the learned.

Kurinji has late winter = A period of two months beginning with mid-October and ending with mid-December is assigned for Kurinji, the period most favourable for wooing.

Midnight=Four hours during midnight beginning with 10 p. m. and ending with 2 a. m.

Say the learned=*i. e.* the former grammarians and poets.

This aphorism mentions the season and hour for stealthy wooing which is the love-action for Kurinji. The dread hour of mid-night and constant showers would render the union of lovers, a thing of terrible difficulty and also serve to heighten the pleasure of enjoyment, wherever it is had. Then is every beast in its lair, and every bird in its nest, resting itself locked up in the delightful embraces of its mate, and the few hours of stolen enjoyment which they are able to snatch from the jealous watch of guards and mothers at home, are the most exciting. Hence is this season and hour most appropriate for Kurinji.

cf. " It was not daytime. The rain had not ceased.

The lightning flashed, robbing even the ghosts of their sight.
And above all these, my mother would keep calling me ever,
Bearing in her arms, children wearing the tiger-claw amulet.
I knew not what confusion overcame my love, when
His expansive chest fragrant with the sandal of his hills,
He stood without, waiting like some huge elephant in the rains."

(Kuruntokai. 161.)

Here we have the late winter rains, midnight, and the jealous watch of the mother, all pertaining to Kurinji,

as the lover without, awaited his ladylove, keeping the appointed tryst.

It might perhaps be interesting in this connection to observe, how that master-poet Browning fixes up this season and hour for the tryst in his rather sketchy "Porphyria's Lover" Sings he.

"The rain set early in tonight,
The sullen wind was soon awake,
It tore the elmtops down for spite,
And did its worst to vex the lake;
I listened with heart fit to break,
When glided in Porphyria; straight
She shut the cold out and the storm.
* * *
So, she was come through wind and rain;
Be sure I looked up at her eyes
Happy and proud; at last I knew
Porphyria worshipped me"

Samskritists also prefer this season for their *abhisarika* dames. Vasantasena visits her lover Carudatta on a stormy day. Vatsyayana also prescribes this hour. (Kama Sutra I. 4. 25.)

7. பனியெதிர் பருவமு முரித்தென மொழிப.

The season of early snows also accords they say.

The season of early snows = Two months from mid-December lasting till the middle of February, when the snow begins to fall early in the evening.

Also accords = i.e., with Kurinji.

This prescribes an additional season and an additional two months for Kurinji, though because of the

secondary mention, this is not so important or appropriate as the period formerly prescribed.

8. வைகறை விடியன் மருதம்.

Daybreak and morning are for Marutam.

Daybreak and morning = The last four hours of the night *i. e.* from 2 a. m. to 6 a. m. constitute daybreak. Morning is from 6 a. m. to 10 a. m. being the first four hours of the day.

This aphorism prescribes only the hour most suitable for Marutam action, which is "sulking". It is at the hour of early dawn, that the gay libertine returns homeward after having spent a gay festive night at the dwelling of some courtezan, listening to her songs and feasting on her charms. The lady in the house had spent a livelong night in her lonely couch and we can well imagine the effect of the appearance of her husband at the hour of daybreak laden with the sickening rich perfumes of the hireling wanton's dress. There is a love quarrel in which the lady reproaches her lord with his unforgivable incivility in thus leaving her alone. The husband either pleads innocence or prays for forgiveness and by various "*rapprochements*" is reconciled to her. The lady is not wholly unyielding. There is the child, the offspring of their affection, and the healer of all their mutual quarrels, or there are guests arriving who should be attended to, and the chaste lady unto whom hospitality is a paramount duty, then forgets her wrongs, but joins him in waiting on the guests.

Since infidelity of husbands to their wives could happen at all times, irrespective of seasons, the author has expressly avoided specifying any season as being appropriate for this variety of love-action.

8. (b) எற்பாடு

நெய்த லாதன் மெய்பெறத் தோன்றும்.

Evening hour

For Neydal action, as most fitting, should also follow.

Evening = The last four hours of the day between 2 p. m. and 6 p m.

Evening hour is the most distressing to parted lovers and so constitutes the hour of moaning. The day is done and the hotrayed sun sinks into the west shorn of all his heat. All winged creation then ceases its quest and hastes to its nest to be united to its mates. The cool shady bowers by the beachside, look appetizing to the youthful lovers and as the white round moon rolls along in the canopy of heavens, the hearts of the young are strangely afflicted and become filled with tender thoughts of love.

But that is the hour at which the fishermen who live on the coast, leave their homesteads, and betake themselves to the rough seas bent on their perilous avocation. And what could the poor lady left behind do, but sit down and wail through the livelong hour; for here as the poet has it.

" There's nae luck about the house,
When our gudeman's awa' ".

(*W. J. Mickle.*)

9. நடுவுநிலைத் திணையே நண்பகல் வேனிலொடு
முடிவுநிலை மருங்கின் முன்னிய நெறித்தே.

The middlemost variety, hath midday with
summer,

In regions where parting in full obtains, as
people might wish.

The middlemost variety=The Palai whose loveaction is parting.

Hath midday with summer=The middlemost and the hottest part of the day, between 10 a. m. and 2 p. m. Early summer and late summer, spreading themselves over a period of four months from mid-April to mid-August are seasons most appropriate for this loveaction.

In regions where parting in full obtains=In those lands where parting is wholly possible *i. e.*, the lands of Kurinji and Mullai, since a lengthy separation does not occur in either Neydal or Marutam.

As people might wish=According as the poet might conceive of it in his imagination.

The middlemost of the five loveactions is "parting" and such a parting occurs only in summer, when the roads are clear and dry for travellers to venture forth to distant lands. The trader then starts for foreign climes laden with his merchandise. The soldiers then are summoned to march against the foeman and there is busy fight going on. Minor chieftains and princes then hurry forth to compass the commands of their overlords. The state officers are busy treating with the enemy. Then are lovers parted and adieus bidden. Fond lips close in possibly final kisses and everyone marches forth grim at

the call of duty, bracing up his heart, breathing words of comfort, pledging eternal love and assuring his beloved one of his speedy return. All this occurs in the land of Mullai.

Possibly there are amongst these, parted lovers, maidens who had but lately gained an insight into the mysteries of love and who, having been wooed had not been wedded. To them such parting comes in with a double keenness. The dread waste to whose wayside hardships her lover was resigning himself might pain her sorely, to which her own dread of a parting from a newly-found pleasure and happiness might lend some sharpness. But go he must. Either to earn wealth, which is so necessary for purchasing the consent of the bride's parents or to quiet the clattering tongues of the chattering gossips of the village who are in possession of the secret doings of the stealthy lovers. Terrible is the parting. Heartrending are her entreaties, bidding her lover desist from his resolve. Equally vehement are his consoling speeches promising his beloved speedily to return. The waiting maid who is also in the secret, in vain unites her voice to that of her mistress. He replies to them all calmly adducing argument against argument and tears himself away from their company. All this occurs in the land of the Kurinji.

Similarly, lengthy partings do not occur either in Marutam or in Neydal. Their separationsare of a short duration limited to a twelve hours period, lasting from about the evening to the last quarter of the night and they occur throughout the year. The frequency of such partings tends to rob them of their extreme poignancy and as such these partings are not so terrible to the

imagination as that which occurs in Palai. But let us confine ourselves to Palai.

The lady that is left behind in both Kurinji and Mullai, almost sinks under the burden of grief, which the parting engenders. Her feminine imagination clothes the lands to which her lover is sped with all kinds of real and fancied dangers, with the wolf, the tiger, and the lion, with the cruel robbers to whom the slaying of straggling travellers is but a pastime, where the trees are parched up and where the fiery sun rains fire. It is scorching summer and it is midday, when not a single beast doth prowl about, nor doth any wind murmur. Her wail which is ceaseless, the words of consolation addressed to her by the maid, her replies thereto, their joint and several plaints to the lover and his replies, all constitute the songs relating to Palai.

10. பின்பனி தானு முரித்தென மொழிப.

Season of late snows also accords they say.

Season of late snows = A period of two months between mid-February and mid-April.

This aphorism prescribes an additional two months for the season of parting, though of course it is not as appropriate as the months aforementioned. And we may take it also that there is no distinction as to the hour, since no hour is specified.

11. இருவகைப் பிரிவு நிலபெறத் தோன்றலும்
உரிய தாகு மென்மனர் புலவர்

The twofold parting, suitably happening,
Accords with this, say the wise.

Twofold parting=There are two different interpretations offered of this twofold parting. Ilampuranar would have it that it refers to the parting of the lover from the lady and the elopement of the youthful lovers, the parting in this case being from the bride's people. Nacchinarkkiniar would have it that it refers to the parting of the lover, when he undertakes a journey either by land or by sea.

Suitably happening=When the lover is one to whom such journey by land or sea, is sanctioned by the scriptures.

Accords with this=Is suitably described as happening in this season.

Any parting in any region, by any means, in any manner whatsoever, constitutes the main loveaction of Palai and the two varied descriptions of the twofold partings, serve to illustrate to us the varied kinds of parting. The author later on is going to restrict sea-voyage to the males alone, so that it stands to reason that the ladies who stay behind should indulge in much wailing, which being caused by a parting, which involves a lengthy stay abroad, should partake of the character of Palai, and so be differentiated from Neydal. Nacchinarkkiniar quotes from Akananuru, verse 255, in which a lady bewails her lover who had sailed away to a foreign clime and inquires of her maid, if she should not send a messenger after him, which is taken to be Palai, by the compiler of that anthology, who naively remarks, " This song is Palai, because of its action."

We must remember with regard to this verse, that sea-voyage is not permitted to the twice-borns. Brahmins,

Kshattriyas, and Vaisyas could not undertake foreign travel, since it was apt to disturb the proper tending of the domestic fires. Though this was strictly enforced in the case of the Brahmins and the Kshattriyas, Vaisyas were given the option of appointing a priest or some other qualified deputy, for its proper maintenance and then undertaking the voyage.

12. திணைமயக் குறுதலுங் கடிநிலை யிலவே
நிலனெரு ங்கு மயங்குத லில்லென மொழிப
புலனன் குணர்ந்த டலைமையோரே.

Confusion of Tinais, is no cause for censure

Land always is not confused, say they,

That are with usages, well conversant.

Confusion of Tinais=A confusion in respect of Time, being the essential other than land, which cannot be confused, as is expressly stated in the second line, is permitted. But, according to Nacchinarkkiniar this would apply equally to all the characteristics that could be predicted of a Tinai, excepting the land. According to him there could be a confusion of time, environments and also of appropriate loveactions. Ilampuranar would take the aphorism to refer to only the essentials.

Is no cause for censure=*i.e*, Is allowed.

Land—confused=There could not be a confusion of the soil, since a mountain could not become a plain or a forest or a seacoast.

Say—conversant=Again the author bases his observations on the consensus of opinion of scholars, who know the poetic usage.

This aphorism provides for a confusion of Tinais, which is noticed to occur in poetry. Tinai comprehends as we know, the essentials, environments and the appropriate love-actions, and confusion denotes the occurrence together, side by side of two dissimilar and inappropriate things. We know how in former aphorisms particular seasons and hours, environments and actions have been settled to be the appropriate ones for a given land. Thus Kurinji comprehends mountainlands, where the midnight hour of late winter serves to excite the passions of lovers, who steal to each other's arms of nights. There along mountainslopes wander the tiger, the leopard, the elephant and other wild beasts, whilst in the bowers, there lie the parrots and the peacocks warbling sweet to their mates and wooing them to their sides. There the Kandal (*gloriosa superba*), the Kuvalai (*blue nelumbo*), and the Venkai (*kino*) bloom and fill the woods with their maddening influence. But all these excepting the face of the land, which human agency cannot so easily change and the loveaction which cannot also admit of confusion, can exist alongside of the Tinai features of other Tinais. Thus, though Nature had ordained a particular fauna and flora to a particular region, and so has prescribed to the parrot a mountain clime, human agency can yet transport it to the city and make it dwell alongside of the other birds of the Marutam land. Similarly might the Kurinji, the Kuvalai and other flowers be reared in a seaport town and made to blossom alongside of flowers peculiar to Neydal. Similiarly a dewdripping dusky evening might be des-

cribed confusing the Kurinji season with the Mullai hour or a summer midnight, confusing the Palai season with the Kurinji hour. Similiarly might wooing occur on the Neydal strand. (As in Kuruntokai verse. 245.)

Thus though two environments and a season with an illmatched hour might occur together, there could be no confusion in land, the nonconfusion of lands being affirmed by the second line of the aphorism. That land could not be both mountainous and sandy or that it could not be a mountainous plain is patent. That two love-actions cannot similarly coexist, is being postulated by the next section.

13. உரிப்பொரு ளல்லன மயங்கவும் பெறுமே.

Save "appropriate actions" all else could also confuse.

Save—actions = This indicates how appropriate actions are not subject to confusion.

All else = By this Ilampuranar would take it that environment and the essential of time alone are meant. But Nacchinarkkiniar would take it to refer to the other kinds of weddings and loveactions, other than the five kinds of love-actions, described under Aintinai and would bring Kaikkilai and Peruntinai under this head.

Would also confuse = This indicates how nonconfusion would be better, if that were possible.

In interpreting the previous aphorism and this Nacchinarkkiniar has adopted a bolder and a more liberal interpretation. These two sutras treat of confusions. By the former, all else save land and loveaction,

he said, was subject to confusion. By this, he brings in other lovemodes also under the scope of confusion. Ilampuranar on the other hand would take it that the former had reference, only to the essential of time, and that this referred to "environment" omitted under the other, land and love-action being exempt from such coexistence or confusion. Of these two interpretations Ilampuranar's explanation is more logical, whereas Nacchinarkkiniar's is more useful and practical. For, we perceive that Asura marriages are treated of, as occurring in Mullai regions, (Kali-103 & 104) and the Madal Kaikkilai (Kali 139) put in, in Neydal. Similarly do we have the mating of the dwarf and the hunchbacked dame brought under Marutam and the Rakshasa form of Kaikkilai (Kali-112) in Mullai. And all these have to be brought under some aphorism or other of TOLKAPPIAM and this section according to Nacchinarkkiniar serves that necessity.

14. புணர்தல் பிரித லிருத்த லிரங்கல்
ஊட லஃற்றி னிமித்த மென்றிவை
தேருங் காலைத் திணைக்குரிப் பொருளே.

Union, Parting, Patient stay, Wailing,
And Sulking and their incidents, these
When analysed are "appropriate actions".

Union = Union secretly effected as between lovers and other incidents connected therewith are the appropriate loveactions for the land of Kurinji.

Parting = Parting and the incidents connected thereto are the lovemodes for the Palai.

Patient stay=The patient stay of the chaste house wife at home and causes contributory thereto and other incidents are attributed to the Mullai region.

Wailing=Bewailing the absence of the lover, causes therefor and other attendant circumstances occur on the seaside.

Sulking=Lovequarrels, wherein the lady having heard of or otherwise scented the misdemeanour of her lord, refuses to receive him or otherwise reproaches him and other such circumstances are held to occur in the Marutam.

And their incidents=Causes contributory thereto, the actual occurrence, results therefrom, are all included here.

When analysed=When the contents of all poetry are carefully considered, for the author frames his rules, basing his conclusions on the strength of usages found there.

Are appropriate actions=Are the naturally suitable loveactions or lovemodes, being something induced or dictated as it were by Nature herself.

The fivefold land has been already detailed, and in this section is described the mode of love or fitting or appropriate loveaction obtaining in these climes. And in this detailing of lovemodes, the author adopts a different order of enumeration and places secret union first, as that is the source and the prime ingredient as it were, in, and preceding all lovemodes. This consti-

tutes Kurinji. Parting comes next in the order of time; since united lovers must necessarily part, and this is Palai. This is placed second on the list, as all the immensity of the love experienced by the lady is here revealed. There is a deep heartfelt passion breathing through all the songs assigned to this genus, such as is found nowhere else. This might also perhaps in a way account for the placing of the Palai songs in Kalittokai first. After parting, there is the lady staying alone at home awaiting faithfully the return of her lord, and this is Mullai which comes in next. This is given a third position since there is a sober reasoning asserting its influence over the lady which makes her calmly endure the pangs of separation. The lady here is less exhuberant and weighed in the scale of sentiment and passion, comes only third. There is then a short spell of domestic felicity, in the course of which, owing to various influences at work, the husband becomes guilty of disloyalty to his nuptial couch and there ensues a lovequarrel which is styled "sulking". This loveaction which occurs in the land of Marutam is not anything very flattering to the prestige of the lady and so has been accorded a position lower than that assigned to Mullai. The sulking might be won over by sweet words of reconciliation and the quarrel patched up. But it might also happen that the lady who had secretly surrendered herself to the lover has been gracelessly abandoned by her lover, leaving her to her lamentations. This would beget the wailing of the Neydal and this being the least creditable of the lovemodes, to both the lovers is placed last. Thus is the order here observed to be explained in the light of the intensity of the passion and the buoyancy displayed by the lady and her attendants and the lover also in certain cases.

Though the union of lovers could occur in all regions, it is the first stealthy embrace that affords the most exquisite and the supremely delicious pleasure and this explains its treatment first. It comprehends a mutual stealthy embrace, the meeting of lovers, the union effected through the efforts of friends and attendant maids and the rendezvouz by day and night. The preferring of one's suit to the lady through the maid, the reply of the maid, the maid's offer of help and her refusals would all constitute its incidents.

Separation again includes all distant journeys undertaken by the lover or the husband, for purposes of learning, embassy, fighting the enemy and other travel incidental to war and peace and for the acquisition of wealth. The resolve of the lady and the varied counsel which she holds with her maid, complaining of the enemical relatives, the untoward season, and the dread defiles along mountains, are all incidental to Palai. The words of comfort which the maid addresses to her lady, when the lover is sped, also constitute Palai.

Then also, the confidence with which a lady affirms that her lover would not part, even when a projected journey is reported to her by the maid, and her consoling herself saying that it was not yet the season to return even when parted and so confidently awaiting the arrival of the season and her lord and her complaining when the season alone had come, the words of reassurance uttered by the lady and the words of the lover at the approach of the wintry season as he stays in his camp, are all its incidents. Then the moaning indulged in by the lady, at the sight of the sea and the channel and her graceless lover, who had unheeding deserted her side, at the approach of the dread even hour, as she sees the birds

singing in pairs, conform to wailing. The cruel departure of the lover and the seaside are all excitants.

Sulking is lovequarrel. Causes are the appearance of the bard, the courtezan and the like. Thus the Kuruntokai verse,

" Her breasts have assumed the shapeliness of a bud.
On her crown, the curls have fallen to a side in their massiveness.
The close-set teeth too have ranged themselves after their fall.
A golden gleam hath spread over her form. Now is she
For aught I know, a fit subject for the inevitable yet delicate
Malady. She knows it not herself, though I know.
This best of girls
The offspring of a noble race, I know not for whom she is destined."
(Kuruntokai 336.)

where the lover indulges in a monologue praising his ladylove is incident to Kurinji, as being conducive to union.

" What is my mother unto thine?
What comrades were they, my father and thine?
How came I to know thee at all?
Like showers that pour on the thirsting soil,
Our loving hearts of themselves have united,"
(Kuruntokai 40.)

Here the lover describes how he came to be united to his ladylove and as such is a good Kurinji song.

The parting of the palai is best illustrated by verses such as,

" If scorning kindness, scorning love, he that deserting
his mate
After sordid wealth hasteth, be counted wise and
strong,
Be he strong, be he wise, and we who brave not,
Women we are maid! Be we weak! Be we fools!
(Kuruntokai 20.)

where the ladylove declaims against the ungentle departure of her lover, and,

" Being so loving, he might yet favour us,
And by the forest glades he would see
The lord of tusks breaking the Yam-tree
To allay the thirst of his beloved mate."
(Kuruntokai 37.)

where the maid comforts her mistress, saying that the lover perceiving the lovegentle acts of the elephant, might be reminded of his lady and so return. The former represents the grief of the ladylove whilst the latter shows how the maid comforts her.

In the verse,

" Though with bunches of blossoms, appetising to the
honeybees
The creepers of the forest show the newbudding
Konrai
That beautifully ape the golden jewels in the tresses
of girls
And declare to me that it is the season of showers
I will not beleive it. He is not capable of such deceit."
(Kuruntokai 21.)

the lady is so full of implicit faith in her husband s words, that she is not prepared to beleive that winter is arrived, even when the Konrais have begun blossoming. Her husband who had promised to return home during winter had not come and she is prepared to discredit Nature as being freakish, disbeleive her own sight and distrust all other evidence rather than beleive that her husband could be false to his word " He has not come, and how could it be winter? " is her question. This is better expressed in a later verse which runs,

" These be fools, these Konrais growing on high.
He told us as he sped to those hills, he would return
By the time winter is on. The winter is not arrived.
And yet these trees sprang to blossoms on every branch
Taking these freakish showers for winter's approach."

(Kuruntokai 66.)

Such is the patience and the charity of the lady, that accords with Mullai.

And again the song,

" The birds are singing and the flowers are drooping ;
The seaside also roars in its loneliness ;
The sky as though assailed by a like malady
Lost to day, has put on like ourselves dreary looks !
I can drag out my existence yet, my friend !
If I should find someone to carry my message
To that lord of shores where the cool Gnalal blows."

(Kuruntokai 310.)

shows the ladylove pining after her betrayer at sight of eventide. All the Neydal incidents are here. It is evening, beachside ; the whole atmosphere is heavy with an incomprehensible uneasiness and the lady's lover is far away unmindful of his former vows. The sulking of

the ladylove is best brought out in the verse,

"Though our happiness is lost and our beauty fades
And though through pining Death ensue, revile him not
Is he not dear to us as a father or a mother?
Why then quarrel, when he feels not any love for us?"
(Kuruntokai 93.)

where the lady refuses herself to her wedded lord saying that he had been full ungentle and that he was a dear relation like a father or a mother, whom one is bound to respect though unkind and with whom a wedded love were incestuous.

15. கொண்டுதலைக் கழிதலும் பிரிந்தவ ணிரங்கலும்
உண்டென மொழிப வோரிடத் தான.

The elopement together and the moaning when left
There could be, they say, in but a single region.

The elopement together = The running away of the two lovers, without the knowledge of the bride's parents.

Moaning when left = The wailing the ladylove indulges in, when the lover goes away without taking her also.

There could region = The poets are agreed that both these actions might occur as appropriate actions of Palai.

This section describes to us how there could be the action of the Kurinji and the Neydal fusing into the Palai.

In desperate cases as when the parents of the bride refuse to bestow the girl on the youth of her choice, the

two lovers make up their minds to run away and get themselves married informally. There is thus afforded to them a chance of union all along. But the author would take it that this is none the less a Palai action as there will always lurk in the minds of the pair, the disquieting fear of pursuers (vide Tol. Porul. 41) which would certainly serve to damp the their zest and joys. It would not be Kurinji which stands for supreme pleasure and the maximum of joy but would only be brought under Palai or parting, for, here the bride any way parts from her parents.

There might be cases also, when the Lover is not bold enough to essay an abduction. He believes, he can persuade her parents to bestow her on him, or he departs hence to bring the wealth they had demanded for the brideprice. In both these cases, he leaves her under her parental roof and departs. This pining which partakes of the Neydal lovemode the author would affirm is Palai only.

But this aphorism as a whole is not of universal application. It is applicable in its entirety to only the Vellalas to whom marriage by elopment together is ordained (Tolkappiam. Porul. 143). The twiceborns cannot contract a runaway marriage. To them nothing is valid that is not witnessed by Agni "the eye of gods." So that, the latter portion of the sutra which refers to the pining of the lady when the husband separates from her, for purposes of war, learning or the king's errand alone refers to them. It is thus a Peruntinai fusing into Palai as Ilampuranar says.

16. கலந்த பொழுதுங் காட்சியு மன்ன.

Union and sight are of similar state.

Union=Nacchinarkiniar would take it that a physical embrace is meant here, whereas Ilampuranar would restrict it to a mere softening of the heart or an onesided love on the part of the youth.

Sight=Vision.

Are of similar state=Both belong to the same class, *viz.*, Kaikkilai according to Ilampuranar and Palai according to Nacchinarkiniar.

This aphorism according to Nacchinarkiniar shows, how there could occur Kurinji in Palai. But according to Ilampuranar, this only brings Kaikkilai under Kurinji. Union according to him would refer only to that moment when the youth lets his heart wander after the maid who had appeared within his vision. There is afterwards a suspension and an anxiety assailing the heart of the youth, till he should learn her exact intentions. Therefore from the moment of his sight till he should learn of her exact intentions, is one single state of suspended love or Kaikkilai. Everything that occurs thereafter such as addressing her or approaching her should become a Kurinji incident.

17. முதலெனப் படுவ தாயிரு வகைத்தே.

Essentials are twofold divided.

The two essentials as we have seen before, are space and time.

18. தெய்வ முணுவே மாமரம் புட்பறை
செய்தி யாழின் பகுதியொடு தொகைஇ
அவ்வகை பிறவுங் கருவென மொழிப.

Patron deity, food, fauna, flora, birds and drum
Activities along with musical modes, all reckoned,
These and kindred others, they say, constitute
"environment."

Patron deity=The chief deity that presides over a particular region, as enumerated in aphorism 5.

Food=The staple food of the region, as also the means of livelihood.

Fauna=The beasts and the domestic animals that are native to a particular clime.

Flora=The fruitbearing and flowerbearing trees and creepers that grow in those lands, naturally.

Birds=The particular birds which are by nature placed in a particular Tinai land.

Drum=The musical drum with its accompaniments, which is indulged in and which is adopted by the children of a particular soil and in which they find particular delight.

Activities=The occupations of the people; the prevailing occupation, industry or trade.

Musical modes=Particular tunes and notes belonging to the several climes.

These and kindred others reckoned=These and the rest of a similiar nature such as the name of the flower, water facilities, village, inhabitants and the rest.

They say constitute environment=These together form the surrounding. viz., the various natural things that could be predicated of any country.

This aphorism predicates what are treated of as environments, in Tamil grammar. These differ with the varied Tinais. The following are the environments, accepted for the various tinais.

Mullai has as Deity, Lord Vishnu; food, various kinds of millet, (*panicum crusgalli*, *panicum miliare*, *panicum miliacium* etc.) and gram; fauna, the deer, *pulvay* and the hare; flora, Konrai (*Indian laburnum*), Kurundu (*hiptage medablota*); birds, junglefowl, partridge and the quail; drum, the bull fight drum; activities, tending cattle, weeding, threshing, and the like operations in the millet fields; musical mode, the mullai-yazh, and kindred others; Jasmine and its varieties for flowers; forest streams for water; and *padi* or shepherd hamlet, *ceri* or the herdsman's village and *palli* for towns.

Kurinji has as Deity, Lord Muruga; food, mountain paddy (*oryza mutica*), millet and bamboo rice; fauna, tiger, elephant, bears, and boars; flora, agil (*agallocha*), sandal and teakwood, timis and kino; birds, parrot and the peacock; drum, *murugiyam* or the musical instruments used in the worship of Lord Muruga and *thondaka* drum; activities, gathering honey, digging up edible roots, cultivating millet, and the scaring away of parrots from fields; musical mode, the *Kurinji* melody, and kindred others; kandal (*gloriosa superbo*) vengai (*kino*) and blue lotus springing in pools for flowers; hill torrents and pools for water; and *cirukuti* (hamlets) and *kurucchi* (hillmen's town) for towns.

Marutam has as Deity, Indra; food,superior yellowish paddy and other common varieties of rice; fauna, buffalo and the waterdog; flora vanci (*heptage*), kanci (*Elmtree-ulmus integrifolia*) and marutam; birds, the duck

and the waterfowl; drum, the wedding music and the drum used in harvesting; activities, sowing, weeding, harvesting and threshing in the fields; music, *marutayazh* and kindred others; lotus and the waterlily as flowers; river-water, wells, and tanks for water and well built towns and cities for towns.

Neydal, seacoast or littoral land has as Deity, Lord Varuna; food, sale proceeds of fish and salt; fauna, pack-oxen used in dragging salt waggons; flora, punnai, gnalal (*Climber wagaly*) kandal (*the screw pine*); birds, the swan, the curlew (*anril*) and others; drum, the fishing drum; activities, fishing, fiishcuring, salt manufacture and its sale and kindred others; kaitai (*fragrant screwpine*) and neydal for flowers; sand-wells and pits dug up in the marshes for water; and fisherman's hamlets and ports for towns.

Palai has no deity. It is a godless, god-forsaken waste. It has as food, wealth had by highway robberry and pillage; fauna, the faint elephant, tiger and the brown coloured dog; flora, dried up mahua (*brassia longifolia*), the tooth brush tree (*salvadore persica*), the ballon wine (*cardiospermum halicacabum*), and the gnemai; birds, the eagle, the kite and the dove; the drum that is sounded when assaulting people for plunder and in cattle-clifting; music, palaiyazh and kindred others; naraa, the bottle flower (*webro corymaza*) and the Padiri for flowers; dried up springs and wells for water and deserted hamlets for towns.

Under kindred others we might also bring the names of the inhabitants of these regions, of which later.

19 எந்நில மருங்கிற் பூவும் புள்ளும்
அந்நிலம் பொழுதொடு வாரா வாயினும்
வந்த நிலத்தின் பயத்த வாகும்.

In all these regions, the flowers and birds
Though with their lands and seasons may not occur
Assume the character of the land of occurrence.

In all the regions=In the fourfold regions into which earth is divided.

The flowers and birds=The birds and flowers described to be peculiar to the region as explained in the previous aphorism.

Though—occur=Though they may not be described in their proper regions *i.e.*, though there might be a confusion as among the lands, the flowers and the birds.

Assume—occurrence=The confusion is made right by treating them as natural.

This section regularises the confusion that might arise through the coincidence of lands with stranger flowers and birds. A very telling instance of the confusion of flowers occurs in Kapilar's song of the Kurinji.

20. பெயரும் வினையுமென் றுயிரு வகைய
திணைதோறு மரீஇய திணைநிலைப் பெயரே.

Tribal and vocational, thus twofold divided
Is the tinai name, differing in each region.

Tribal=A name based on the race or tribe to which the people in a particular region belong *i.e.*, a classname.

Vocational=A name derived from the occupation or profession followed by a particular class of people.

Twofold divided is the tinai name = The name of people belonging to a single region is derived from two sources, from the tribe to which they belonged and their vocation as mentioned supra.

Differing in each region = The names so derived are peculiar to each of these regions.

This aphorism describes how the varied names used in the body of poetry are derived. They are based, he observes, on either the classname of the race or the particular profession which the individual was following, and these were differrent for the various regions. Thus the names based on race or tribe are *Kanavan* (forester), *Vettuvan* (hunter), *Iravular* (wanderer), *Kunruvan* (hillman), *Vettuvittiyar* (huntress), *Kurattiyar* (gypsy-woman), *Kunruvittiyar* (hillwomen), and other female names for the Kurinji region. *Kovalar* (herdsmen), *Idaiyar* (herdsmen being the people of the middle regions), *Ayar* (cowherds), *Poluvar* (herdsmen deriving their living by grazing their cattle on the common), *Idaicciyar* (shepherd women), *Kovittiyar* (cowherdsmen's wives), *Aycciyar* (cowherdesses), and *poluviyar* (potuva women) are the names for the people of the Mullai region. *Nulaiyar*, *Timilar* (boatsmen), *paratavar*, *Nulaittiyar* (nulaya women), and *Paratti-yar* (paratha women) are names of people on the Neydal seaboard. *Kalamar* (threshing floormen or threshers), *Uzhavars* (tillers or husbandmen), *Kataiyar* (the least of men in the agricultural tracts), *Uzhattiyar* (uzhava women) *Kataiciyar* (katai or the least of women in the agricultural tracts) and other names are for the people of the Marutam tract, whilst for the Palai we have *Eyinar* (hunters of the desert tracts), *Eyitriyar* (Eyina women), *Maravar* (warriors), *Marattiyar* (warrior women), *Mili* (the strong) the *Vitalai* (the tenacious one) and *Kalai* (the bull-like one).

But the heroes and heroines that occur in the old songs are always not mentioned by name but are taken generally to be the chiefest in the land. (cf. Tol. Porul. 25). Their names therefore are different from what we have seen above, and are based on the lordship over the several regions. They are *Verpan, cilampan, poruppan,* etc. all meaning "lord of mountains or hills" and *Koticci* (creeperlike girl) for the Kurinji people, *Annal* (lord), *Tonral* (scion), *Kurumporainatan* (chief of the sylvan tracts), and *Manaivi* (wife) for people on the Mullai, *Konkan* (chief of the maritime tract), *Turaivan* (lord of the seaport), and *Mellampulampan* (the lord of shores where obtains the low moan) for people in the Neydal seaboard, and *Mahizhnan* (the joyous one or the delighter), and *Manaiyal* (the lady of the mansion) for the Marutam people. No name has been given for the lady of the Neydal, because all the songs pertaining to this tinai are put only in the lady's mouth and she could speak of herself only in the first personal pronoun.

21 ஆயர் வேட்டுவ ராஉத் தினைப்பெயர்
ஆவயின் வருஉங் கிழவரு முளரே.

Herdsmen and hunters are the tinai names of males.
There are also "lords" named after their tracts.

Herdsmen—males = These two are the names of the ordinary people inhabiting the Mullai and the Kurinji regions respectively.

There—tracts = There are also names such as "lord of jungles", "lord of hills" etc., derived from the fact of their ownership of tracts of land.

This aphorism gives the division of the tinai names, we enumerated supra, into the names of the common

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